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8725  
*Thos. M. Fox*  
1799  
A  
GENERAL COLLECTION  
OF  
VOYAGES  
AND  
DISCOVERIES,

MADE BY THE  
PORTUGUESE AND THE SPANIARDS,  
DURING THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES.

CONTAINING  
THE INTERESTING AND ENTERTAINING VOYAGES OF THE CELEBRATED

GONZALEZ AND VAZ,  
GONZALEZ ZARCÒ,  
LANZEROTA,  
DIOGO GILL,  
CADA MOSTO,  
PEDRO DI SINTRA,  
DIOGO D'AZAMBUZA  
BARTHOLOMEW DIAS,  
VASCO DE GAMA,  
VOYAGES TO THE CANARY  
ISLANDS  
VOYAGES OF COLUMBUS,  
NINO AND GUIERRA,  
OJEDA AND VESPUSIUS

CORTEREAŁ,  
ALVAREZ CABRAL,  
FRANCIS ALMEED,  
ALBUQUERQUE,  
ANDREA CORSALI,  
VOYAGE TO ST. THOMAS,  
VOYAGE OF DE SOLIS, PINZON, &c.  
VOYAGE OF JOHN PONCE,  
GRIJALVA,  
NICUESSA,  
CORTES,  
OJEDA AND OCAMPO,  
MAGELLAN.

WITH OTHER VOYAGES,  
TO THE EAST-INDIES, THE WEST-INDIES, ROUND THE WORLD, &c.

Adorned with COPPER-PLATES, MAPS, &c.

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LONDON:

PUBLISHED BY W. RICHARDSON, ROYAL EXCHANGE; J. BEW, PATERNOSTER-ROW;  
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## ADVERTISEMENT.

THE invention of the mariner's compass forms a grand epocha in the history of navigation. Before that period, the voyages of the Europeans were principally confined to coasting ; but the fortunate discovery of the properties of the magnet, and the subsequent invention of the compass, have enabled the mariner to explore new seas and discover new countries, which, but for that invaluable acquisition, would probably have remained for ever unknown.—From that time the present collection commences. Not that we conceive the relation of nautical affairs antecedent to that æra to be unworthy of notice, but that the most celebrated actions have undoubtedly been performed since. That the former part may not be entirely neglected, we have determined to combine all that history has furnished us with on this head, in a concise historical dissertation ; and shall here proceed to lay before our readers the plan we have digested for this undertaking ; which is, that all the early voyages shall be printed at large, excepting such parts only as are too trivial to deserve notice, and which would increase the work too considerably. Where any other voyager has afterwards pursued the same tract, what is new only will be inserted ; but all variations will be carefully marked, and particular attention paid, to do justice to every one, who, by his discoveries or remarks, hath contributed to the information of mankind.

Copious prefaces will be annexed to the different voyages, where necessary ; and where any authentic information, respecting the adventurer, the motives of the undertaking, or any other circumstance deserving notice, can be obtained.



tained. In this compilation, some voyages will be introduced that have not been translated into English, others which have not appeared in print.

The proprietors of this work were induced to undertake it, from observing that the most valuable voyages with which this country and the other maritime parts of Europe are furnished, appeared in so detached a state, that many of them were in danger of being lost. To compile, therefore, and secure to posterity whatever is valuable in this way; to separate what is useless from what is estimable; and to give to our country such nautical information as has hitherto been confined to foreign languages, is the intention of this compilation.

The advantages which this country has derived from navigation are inestimable. If not first in point of time in our discoveries, we have been at least equal to our contemporaries; and perhaps we may, without vanity, affirm, that the naval genius of Britain has shone superior to them all. From us, therefore, a record of these transactions may, with the greatest propriety, be expected.

It is not the intention of the compilers to form a history, but to present a selection of authentic voyages; not to obtrude their own tales and relations on the reader, but to present them with the narratives of the voyagers themselves; or of those who, from certain circumstances, may be presumed to have been best acquainted with the transactions.

It is obvious, therefore, their attention will be applied to two circumstances; to make choice of the best editions of those who have written on the subject, and to select such parts only as are either instructive or entertaining. Towards accomplishing the first point, the advice of persons, whose superior knowledge in those affairs best enables them to judge, has been taken; to secure the latter, the greatest circumspection has been used; and in the philosophical and nautical parts, every precaution has been taken to guard against error. The translations from foreign authors have been attentively compared with those which have already appeared.

The maps and charts are engraved from the best editions extant.— Here it may be proper to observe, that as this compilation is equally designed for



for the use of the mariner and the gentleman, the most scrupulous attention will be paid to rectify or explain the mistakes of any former navigators, or the editions of their works ; and that every thing will be retained that can afford information to the professional man, without rendering it tedious to those who read for amusement.

Having thus taken the necessary precautions to secure to this compilation every degree of correctness, it remains only to speak of the ornamental part: this will consist of plates of natural history, portraits of the navigators, &c. or views of places, which will be engraved by the best artists ; and such only as are genuine will be inserted.

The liberal support this work has experienced by the subscription of many of the most distinguished persons in these kingdoms, has exceeded the most sanguine expectations. The proprietors can only assure the public, that this will be an additional motive to use every exertion to render the work worthy of the patronage with which it has been honoured.







*The P. M. Fo*

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B O O K I.

P O R T U G U E S E V O Y A G E S

I N T H E

F I F T E E N T H C E N T U R Y.

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C H A P T E R I.

*Introduction. Account of Prince Henry, Infante of Portugal: Discoveries first promoted by him. Account of the Portuguese Authors. Cape Non passed. Cape Bodajor discovered. Voyage of Juan Gonzalez Zarco and Tristan Vaz Texiera. Discovery and Settlement of Porto Santo.*

THE inhabitants of Europe had been acquainted with the property of the magnet, long before they began to make use of it in the prosecution of those voyages, which have justly excited the admiration of mankind. Superstition and bloodshed, foreign wars and domestic commotions, engrossed their whole attention; so that trade was but little attended to by the European states until the daring geniuses of Gama, Columbus, and others, awakened to action a spirit of adventure and discovery.

The Arabians, mean time, who had been equally buried in the depths of superstition, forsook their supineness, and began to improve the advantages which conquest had put into their hands: they turned their thoughts toward the sciences, and encouraged the art of navigation, in which many circumstances concur to shew they had made great progress. The passage round the Cape of Good Hope had not hitherto been made use of; at least, for the purposes of commerce. In possession of Egypt, they had it in their power to secure to themselves the trade of India on the south side of the isthmus, and Alexandria became the great emporium for that commerce. On the Mediterranean side, the trade was open from Alexandria to all the European powers; but the feudal system had spread itself over the western world. The people, the nobles, and even the monarch, lived in a kind of savage state; learning was engrossed by the clergy, and trade was neglected; the first dawning of the sciences appeared in Italy; Venice



Venice and Genoa, two republics of little consequence, became respectable by their attention to trade and commerce; and by availing themselves of the supineness of their neighbours, had, in a manner, engrossed the whole Indian trade on the Mediterranean.

The profits which arose by this commerce were the great motives of action to enterprizes by sea. Another passage to India naturally occurred to the people of Europe, as soon as they began to turn their attention to these affairs; and the Portuguese had the distinguished honour of leading the way to these great undertakings, which have since added such a degree of celebrity to the navigators of Europe.

Circumstances peculiarly favourable concurred to bestow this honour upon them. They had the good fortune not only to drive the Moors out of their territories, but were enabled to attack them on their own ground. In an expedition against the city of Ceuta, Henry duke of Viseu, and grand master of the order of Christ, a younger son of king John, surnamed the Avenger, and of Philippa of Lancaster, sister of Henry IV. king of England, having attended his father thither, gained some intelligence from the Moors of countries hitherto unknown, not only to the Portuguese, but also to the other nations of Europe.

He brought back with him so ardent a zeal for the discovery of new countries, that he employed more than forty years in these enterprizes. His inclination led him to cultivate geography, and the other branches of the mathematics, more particularly applicable to his pursuits. To this knowledge he gained all the information he could possibly procure. Being a prince of the blood, and grand master of the order of Christ, he conceived himself equally obliged, as such, to submit to the rules of his order; and, as a prince, to endeavour to extend the dominions of his ancestors.

Animated by these noble motives, he made choice of this motto, *Talent de bien faire*, which we have since seen so often engraved in all the countries discovered under his auspices. Perhaps he chose this motto in a foreign language, to declare his esteem for a nation, whose sovereign he regarded as the support of his house; or, he found in it, an idea more perfectly consonant to his meaning. In truth, he conceived, that a prince was obliged more than any other to support a superiority of rank by a pre-eminence of merit: to the Christian and heroic virtues he joined all the study and application which could enrich a mind already stored with that part of learning which the sciences and *belles lettres* afford; a study very rare in those days.

The better to succeed in his design, he removed from the tumult of the court, and went to reside in Algarves, near Sagres, at one of his houses a little distance from Cape St. Vincent. There, in an agreeable solitude, sweetened by the society of learned men, and the amusement of his books, he became strengthened in the opinion he had imbibed from the Moors, and confirmed therein by the study of geography, that some advantageous discoveries might be made by sailing along the coast of Africa. We are however told, by Orderic Rinaldi, that he was the more excited to these enterprizes by some Frenchmen of Britany, who had been driven far to the westward, and had there discovered new lands. These people arriving at Lisbon, informed him of these adventures and discoveries\*.

Prince Henry wished to take the whole expence of these expeditions on himself, and that the merit of his labour should remain with the order of Christ, of which he was

\* *Lafitau Histoire des Conquêtes des Portugais.*

commander,





Silva Pinx!

Wooding Sculp!







commander, and over whose treasures he had the controul; and likewise, because he was ambitious to attain the title of first conqueror and discoverer of the idolatrous nations; an enterprize which no prince before his time had attempted.

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OF the early voyages of the Portuguese, few are published separate, but are to be found in the following historians: Castagneda, De Barros, and his continuator De Couto, Oforio, Maffei, Faria, and others.

Francis Lopez de Castagneda first began to write in Portuguese "The History of the Discovery and Conquest of the East-Indies," which he published in eight books, and carried down to the end of the government of Nugno d'Acugna. It was printed at Coimbra in 1552. The merit of this author is not great. He is too diffused and very minute; yet, as he had himself been in the East Indies, in the train of his father, who held a considerable office in the law there, he speaks as a man well informed of the facts he relates.

John de Barros was a man of quality, but still more estimable by his taste for the *belles lettres*; he wrote almost at the same time as Castagneda, "The History of the Indies," in his native language, with so much success, that he has acquired the name of "The Titus Livius of Portugal." He published three decades in his life time, which appeared successively in 1552, 1553, and 1563. This work has greatly raised the reputation of its author, who has the character of being very elegant, very exact in the relation of facts, and well informed respecting the geographical descriptions he gives of the countries he speaks of. Barros was three years governor of St. George de la Mina, on the coast of Africa, and afterwards treasurer general of the chamber of the Indies; whence he drew the memoirs from which he wrote his Asia by order of the king of Portugal. The fourth decade is a posthumous work, which was finished by Donna Louisa Soaraz, widow of Jerome de Barros, the author's eldest son, and published by J. B. Lavanha, historiographer to Philip III. king of Spain, by order of that prince.

Diogo de Couto continued the history of De Barros, and begun with the fourth decade. De Couto had made considerable progress in the *belles lettres* and philosophy. He went to India, where he served eight years, and then returned to Europe. He went to India a second time and settled at Goa, where he was keeper of the archives, and gained the best information for his history; he undertook the continuation, by the order, and under the auspices of Philip II. His fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh decades were printed at Lisbon, in 1602, 1612, 1614, and 1616. He had continued it to the twelfth; some of the latter are still in manuscript, in the libraries of the curious; five books of the twelfth were printed at Rouen, by the care of Don Emanuel de Villa Real, *chargé des affaires* of Portugal at the court of France. This author is exact and particular, and his work does honour to himself and his country.

Oforio, bishop of Sylva, in Algarves, wrote a chronicle of king Emanuel in Latin; in which language he is not inferior to any.

Maffei, so esteemed also for the elegance of his Latin, went into Portugal for the purpose of composing his history of the Indies, which he carried down to the death of king John III. divided into sixteen books. It may be conjectured, that the place he wrote in may have given him a little of that subjection which is so contrary to the liberty of an historian, and to the truth of history: he is however faithful. Father



Anthony has translated Maffei into Portuguese. Emanuel de Faria says of him, that he is much below his original, and that the Italian translation is superior to his.

Emanuel de Faria y Sousa, knight of the order of Christ, has celebrated the praises of his nation, which he has followed in the four quarters of the world. The first volume of his Portuguese Asia, is only an abridgment of De Barros; the second is an abridgment of De Couto; and the third contains the history of what passed in India to 1640, the year of the revolution.

From these authors we have drawn our materials, observing the following rule:— Each voyage will be first related from De Barros, except where a particular relation can be obtained; after which the other authors will be carefully compared with him; every new circumstance worthy of notice will be inserted, and every variation carefully marked\*.

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Prince Henry, possessed of the above information, which was confirmed to him by many, began, in the year 1415, to put into execution the plan he had so much at heart, sending every year two or three ships, to discover the coast beyond Cape Nam or Non, twelve leagues beyond Cape Guillo, the boundary of the land then discovered, as laid down by the Spanish navigators. As the prince was a Catholic of a pure and religious life, there were persons who imagined that this enterprise was revealed to him from above. For being at the villa he was erecting in the kingdom of Algarves, which he named Terçanabal, now called Villa de Infante, one morning, on rising from his bed, he gave orders for fitting out two vessels, (which were the first on these discoveries) with such extreme haste, as if in the preceding night he had been exhorted to put his design into execution by some oracle. But these ships, as well as others, failed to the coast, and returned without further discovery than Cape Bajador, sixty leagues beyond Cape Nam, and there they all stopped, none daring to double the same. For this Cape run out to the westward near forty leagues, and formed the coast they had passed, into a great bay: to pass it would have obliged them to run many leagues to the westward, and out of their knowledge. A circumstance so new intimidated them from proceeding, and they gave it the before-mentioned name, which means projection. They also observed, that from the extremity of the Cape, shoals run out for near six leagues, and that the sea thereon seemed to break and foam, as if agitated from the bottom. This terrified them so much, that they did not dare to approach it; nor did they conceive there was a possibility of passing it, which they might have done, by standing out to sea beyond these six leagues, having in their former navigations been so long accustomed to keep close to the land, which served them as a guide instead of compass. They also had imbibed a notion, that the seas beyond were full of shoals, and not navigable, which was the reason why the Europeans had never penetrated into those seas. Some naturalists endeavoured to assign for reasons why the seas, in hot countries, were shallower than in cold; that the sun exhaled all the fresh waters and dried up the rivers; and that the salt waters in these climates were supplied by the overflowings from the colder†; from whence it was natural to suppose these seas very dangerous to navigation. The captains, who had been sent on

\* The Asia of De Barros, although so much celebrated, has not yet been translated into English, except a part of the first decade, which is only to be found in the libraries of the curious.

† This passage will give us an idea of the state of philosophy in these times.







Gomera 12 Leagues off  
appearing like a thin Cloud.

The Pike

Teneriffe

Part of the Great Canaria

View of the Pike of Teneriffe 34 Leagues distant to the North West.

The Pike

Gomera



these expeditions, knowing how agreeable it was to the Infante to perform any acts against the Moors, on their return, kept close to the coast of Barbary, as far as the Streight's mouth, landed near the towns, doing all the mischief they could, plundering and carrying off the natives, with whom they returned in triumph.

But these small victories did not satisfy his great spirit; he was intent on nobler actions, although at times prevented by the interference of the affairs of the kingdom, and by his military expeditions to the coast of Africa. However, two gentlemen of his household, who had been on some of these expeditions with him, begged he would permit them to embark in some ships that should be fitted out for these discoveries. He, acquainted with their merit, ordered a vessel, called a barcha in those days, to be fitted for that purpose, and gave them instructions A. D. 1418. to pass the tremendous Cape Bojador, and to make what discoveries they could; for he was convinced, from what had been laid down in Ptolomy's tables, and the information he had received from the Moors, that there would be found a continuation of land till they came directly under the line; notwithstanding he knew nothing concerning the navigation of the coast.

Before they reached the coast of Africa, they experienced a most dreadful storm, and their vessel being very small, was terribly tossed by the sea, and driven, at the mercy of the waves, far into the ocean. This intimidated the seamen exceedingly; they had never been accustomed to sail out of sight of land, and now gave themselves up for lost, ignorant where they had been driven. The storm being abated, they knew not which way to steer; nor had they any hopes of obeying the orders they had received from the infante. However, their good fortune brought them to the discovery of an island, now called Porto Santo; which name they gave it, as being the haven that saved them from destruction. They considered this island, as pointed out to them by the hand of Providence; that it would be of great use to Portugal, from its situation, not being inhabited by such terrible savages as the islands of the Canaries, of which they had obtained some knowledge. With this good news they returned, which gave infinite satisfaction to the infante, who now began to think that heaven countenanced and protected his labours.

It also afforded him great pleasure that these two gentlemen, John Gonzalez Zarco and Tristram Vaz, gave so favourable an account of the situation, air, and coolness of the island, that they wished to return and settle in it; and that from their observations on the soil, they had not the least doubt but it would produce plentiful crops of every useful seed.

Not only these two gentlemen, and those who accompanied them in their late voyage, but many others, knowing how agreeable it would be to the infante, made this offer: among the rest, Bartholomew Perestello, a nobleman of don John's household. The infante don Henry, seeing such a disposition for enterprise among his people, returned thanks to the Almighty for having pointed him out as the instrument for the first discoveries that were made from this kingdom, and a means for opening many more. He ordered immediately three vessels to be fitted out, giving the command of one to Bartholomew Perestello, and the others to John Gonzalez and Tristram Vaz, (the two first discoverers) and provided them with all sorts of seeds, plants, and other things for the settlement of the island. It happened that on board Perestello's ship, a female rabbit kindled at sea, which gave the whole expedition much satisfaction; they looked upon it as a favourable omen that they had begun to increase  
their



their stock on the voyage, and that their further increase on the new-intended settlement would be abundant: they certainly were not deceived; but in the end it gave them much uneasiness; for having set the rabbit and her young ones at liberty, they soon became so numerous as to devour every thing the new settlers had taken the pains to sow; and for the space of two years that they remained there, they became a great plague to them. This, and also the mode of life they had got into, so disheartened them, that Bartholomew Perestello returned to Portugal.

## CHAPTER II.

*Introduction. Story of Macham, from Alcaforado. Discovery of Madeira. Second Voyage of Gonzalez Zarco. Account of the Discovery of Madeira, from De Barros.*

THE account of the discovery of the island of Madeira, which is the subject of this chapter, has been mentioned by several authors; by De Barros, Dr. Manuel Clemente, Galvam in his discoveries, and Manuel de Faria y Sousa; but Alcaforado, who was esquire to prince Henry, the great promoter of these discoveries, wrote a complete relation of it, which was presented to that prince. It was first published in Portuguese, and afterwards being translated into French, appeared at Paris in 1671, from which the following particulars are taken. The story of Macham, which mentions a prior discovery, is also extracted from thence. The translator acknowledges that he has altered the style, which was very poetical, and struck out several useless, as well as tedious comparisons, digressions, etymologies, and reflections; but declares he has strictly preserved the truth and substance of the history, so as not to vary or omit the smallest circumstance that is material.

It is remarkable that no mention is made of Macham in the English historians; Hackluit was beholden to Galvam for the imperfect account he gives of it. And it is proper to observe here, that some objection lies against this history, on account of the following circumstance: We are told that presently after Macham's death, his companions sailed over to Morocco, and that Morales was in prison when they arrived. Supposing then that Macham's discovery happened in the year 1344, as Galvam relates, Morales must have been seventy-six years a prisoner when redeemed in 1420; or if, as Alcaforado says, it was in the reign of Edward III. as that prince died in 1373, his imprisonment must have been at least forty-two years; which is not only highly improbable, but contrary to the sense of the historian, who supposes but a short time to have elapsed between both events.

This circumstance certainly shews, either that the tract is not genuine, or that some error has crept into the text. How far this objection may be admitted, without prejudice to the whole, must be left to the judgment of the reader. The history of the discovery of Madeira differs in some respects from De Barros, but in none that are irreconcilable. With respect to the author, as he assisted at the discovery of the island, it may be presumed no one was better able to give an account of it. We shall first give his recital, and then that of De Barros.

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In support of the authenticity of the history of Macham, it is but justice to observe, that the book of Alcaforado was composed for prince Henry, who, jealous of the honour of the first discovery, would not have been willingly deprived of it, had he not been assured the story was founded in fact: the tradition also is generally received and believed in the island of Madeira. With these circumstances in its favour, as the compiler of Astley's voyages and the abbé Prevost have admitted it in their collection, we do not think ourselves authorized to omit it; especially as the extract is short, the story interesting, and as it cannot fail to be acceptable to an Englishman to read the particulars of an event which has rendered the name of one of his countrymen so celebrated in foreign parts.

#### EXTRACTS *from* ALCAFORADO.

In the reign of Edward III. of England, one Robert Macham, falling in love with a beautiful young lady, of a noble family, and making his addreses to her, soon won her affections. Her parents not brooking the thoughts of an inferior alliance, procured a warrant from the king, and kept Robert in custody until they had married the lady to a certain nobleman, who, as soon as the ceremony was over, took the bride with him to his seat at Bristol.

Thus all being (as they thought) secured, Macham easily obtained a discharge from his confinement; but stung with a high sense of the injury, and at the same time spurred on by love, he engaged some of his friends to assist him, and carried them down after the new-married couple. One of them he got introduced into the family, in the capacity of a groom, and by his means acquainted the lady with his design, and the measures he proposed to take; to all which she yielded a ready compliance.

When all things were prepared, she rode out on the day appointed, under pretence of airing, attended only by her groom, who brought her to the sea side, where she was handed into a boat, and carried on board a vessel that lay ready for the purpose.

As soon as Macham had got his treasure on board, he, with his associates, immediately set sail, to get out of reach of pursuit, intending for France; but being ignorant of the sea, and the wind blowing hard, they missed their port, and the next morning found themselves in the middle of the ocean.

In this miserable condition, they were tossed about, at the mercy of the waves, without a pilot, for thirteen days; at the end of which they chanced, at break of day, to descry something very near them that looked like land; which, as the sun rose, they could distinctly discern to be such, being covered with trees.

They were not less surprised with several unknown kinds of birds that came off land, and perched on the masts and rigging, without the least signs of fear.

As soon as they could get the boat out, some of them went to search the coast; who, returning with a good report of the place, though uninhabited, it was not long before our adventurer, attended by his best friends, carried his mistress ashore, leaving the rest to take care of the ship. The country, upon their landing, appeared agreeably diversified with hills and vallies; the first thickly shaded with a variety of unknown trees, and the latter enriched with cooling rivulets of fresh water. Several wild beasts came about them without offering them any violence. Thus encouraged, they marched further into the land, and presently came to an opening, encircled with a border of laurels, and watered by a small rivulet, which, in a bed of very fine sand, ran through it from the mountains. Here also, upon an eminence, they found a most  
beautiful



beautiful tree, whose shade inviting them, they concluded to take up their abode under it, for a while at least; and accordingly, with boughs, built themselves huts. In this place they passed their time very agreeably, making farther discoveries of the country, and admiring its productions. But their happiness was of short duration; for three days after, it blew a storm at north-east, which driving the ship from her anchor, threw her upon the coast of Morocco, where, suffering shipwreck, all the company were taken as slaves by the Moors, and sent to prison.

Next morning those on land missing the ship, concluded she had foundered. This new calamity drove them all to despair, and so much affected the lady that she did not long survive it: the ill success of their first setting out had sunk her spirits, and she continually fed her grief by sad presages of the enterprise ending in some tragical catastrophe; but the shock of this last disaster struck her dumb, and she expired three days after.

This loss was too great for her lover to survive; he died within five days, notwithstanding all his companions could do to comfort him; begging them at his death to place his body in the same grave with her's, at the foot of an altar which they had erected under the beautiful lofty tree above mentioned. They afterwards set a large wooden cross upon it; and near that an inscription, drawn up by Robert himself, which contained a succinct account of this whole adventure; and concluded with a prayer to the Christians, if any should come there to settle, to build a church in that place to Jesus the Saviour.

Thus deprived of their leader, the rest immediately prepared to depart; and fitting out the boat, set sail, intending for England; but happening to take the same route their companions had been forced upon, unfortunately arrived on the same coast, and accordingly met with a like fate, being carried to the same prison\*.

The jails of Morocco then, like those of Algiers at present, were full of Christian slaves of all nations; and among the rest was one John de Morales, a Spaniard, of Seville. This man, being an expert sailor, and one who had been a pilot for many years, took great delight in hearing the adventures of our English captives, from whom he learned the situation and landmarks of the new-discovered country.

*[Here follows an account of prince Henry's expedition, similar to what we have already given.]*

Juan Gonzalez Zarco, a gentleman of prince Henry's household, was the chief person employed by him in these undertakings. This Gonzalez was the first person whom king John made a knight on the first attack of Ceuta. He served the king, as well as the infante, in all their enterprises against Africa; and, it is said, was the first who introduced the use of artillery on board of ships. In 1418 he dis-

\* Hackluit's account, taken from Galvam, differs from the above. He says, in the year 1344, and reign of Peter IV. of Arragon, the chronicles of that age write, that about this time the island of Madeira, standing in 32 degrees, was discovered by an Englishman, named Macham; who, sailing out of England into Spain, with a woman he had stolen, was driven by a tempest upon this island, and cast anchor in that haven or bay, which (from him) is called Machio. The lady being sea sick, he went on shore with some of the company, and the ship sailed away. The lady died of grief: Macham, who had a tender affection for her, built a chapel or hermitage to bury her in, calling it by the name of Jesus; and caused her name to be written or engraven on the stone of her tomb, and the occasion of their arrival there. He afterwards formed a canoe out of a tree, and, with the people he had, put to sea in it, and arrived on the coast of Africa without sail or oar. The Moors, who saw it, taking it for a marvellous thing, presented him to the king of their country for a miracle, who sent him to the king of Castile. In 1395, Henry II. king of Castile, sent out people to discover it.



covered Porto Santo by accident, being thrown there by a storm in a voyage for the discovery of Cape Bojador; and in the year 1420, in the service of king John, he passed the Streights, in order to go upon the coast of Africa.

Don Sanchio, youngest son of Ferdinand king of Arragon, and grand master of the order of Calatrava, dying in the year 1416, left, by his will, a large sum of money for redeeming the Christian slaves of Castile at Morocco; for which purpose a cartel ship was sent from Spain; and, with a great number of these redeemed captives, among whom was one John de Morales; was in her way home from Africa to Tariffa, just as John Gonzalez crossed the Streights with his fleet last mentioned.

The two crowns having a little misunderstanding, though not in open war together, Gonzalez makes prize of the cartel; but, upon sight of the cargo, considering their misery, and his master's clemency, set them all at liberty, except de Morales, whom he found an expert and able pilot, and therefore judged he would be an acceptable present to prince Henry, on account of the discoveries he was then concerting. De Morales being made acquainted with the cause of his detention, offered himself freely to serve the infante; and declared, he did not doubt answering that prince's expectations. He then told Gonzalez of the new island that had been so lately discovered by the English, confirming it with the story of our two lovers.

Upon this news, Gonzalez immediately tacked about for the port of Terça Nabal, to bring this rich prize to prince Henry, who was no sooner acquainted with the circumstance, than he determined to send Gonzalez with John de Morales, immediately to Lisbon; to communicate this affair to his father, and propose the farther discovery of the island in question.

The project at first met with opposition at court, from some enemies, whom the prince had there; but having notice thereof from Gonzalez, he repaired thither himself. At his appearance, all difficulties immediately vanished, and the expedition was entered upon the beginning of June that year. For this purpose, a ship well manned and provided, was fitted out, attended by a sloop that went with oars, after the fashion of those times. The chief command of this little fleet was given to Gonzalez, who carried along with him captain John Laurence, Francis de Carvalail, Ruy Paes, Alvarez Alfonso, and Francisco Alcaforado, the author of this relation.

Gonzalez, in his way, touched at Porto Santo, where there went a current report among the Portuguese, (left there by him two years before) that to the north-east\* of the island, a thick impenetrable darkness constantly hung upon the sea, and extended itself upward to the heavens; that it never diminished, and that a strange noise, (proceeding from some natural cause) was sometimes heard at Porto Santo; and because, at that time, they durst not sail far from land, for want of the astrolabe, and other instruments invented since, it was judged impossible, without a miracle, to return from thence after having lost sight of it. In consequence of this ignorance in navigation, it was called by some an abyss, or bottomless gulph, and by others the mouth of hell, from the opinion of certain simple timorous divines; and the historians, who pretended to be more learned, absolutely pronounced it to be the island of Cipango, kept by Providence under this mysterious veil, whither they believed the Spanish and Portuguese bishops, and other Christians had retired from the slavery and oppression of the Moors and Saracens; that it was a great crime to dive into this secret, since it had not yet

\* It should be to the south-west, Madeira lying that way in respect to Porto Santo.



pleased God to reveal it by the signs which ought to precede the discovery, and are mentioned by the ancient prophets who speak of this wonder.

Gonzalez, however, had a short and prosperous voyage to Porto Santo, from whence he, as well as the islanders, observed this dreadful cloud; which, however, John de Morales at first sight judged to be a sure sign of the land they were in search of. Notwithstanding this, upon a full consultation, it was agreed they should stay here till the change of the moon, to see what effect that would have upon the cloud; when perceiving no alteration any way, the general panic seized the adventurers also, and the whole design had dropt here, had not the pilot de Morales, stood firm to his opinion; insisting, that according to the information he had from the English, and the course they held, the hidden land could not be far off. He supported what he said, by observing to Gonzalez, that the ground there being continually shaded from the sun by lofty thick trees, there exhaled from it a great moisture, which rising in vapours, spread itself through the sky. From whence proceeded that dark cloud they saw, and were so much afraid of.

After much contest, at last these reasons swaying with the captain, who had more resolution than the rest, he put to sea one morning, without communicating his design to any body but John de Morales. That he might have day light to make a full discovery, he crouded all his sail, and turned the ship's head directly facing the dark cloud. The boldness of Gonzalez served only to increase the fear of the rest; for the more they advanced, the more high and thick the gloom appeared; insomuch, that at last it grew very horrible to behold. At noon, they heard the roaring of the sea, which filled the whole horizon. This new-imagined danger made them all cry out, entreating the captain instantly to change his course, and save their lives. He made them a speech composed of solid arguments, which removed their fears, and reconciled them to his measures. The weather being calm, and the current very rapid, Gonzalez caused his ship to be towed by two shallops along the cloud. The noise of the sea served them for a guide, which they approached or retired from, according as it was more or less loud.

By degrees the cloud appeared less, and became not so thick on the east side, but the waves still roared frightfully; when at length they perceived, through the gloom, something still blacker; though being at a great distance they could not see it distinctly. However, some affirmed, they saw giants of a prodigious size, which afterwards they found to be the rocks wherewith the shores were covered. The sea already appeared more clear, and the waves abated, a sure sign of their being near land; which soon after, to their great joy, they plainly discerned, when they least expected it. The first thing that appeared, was a little point, to which Gonzalez gave the name of St. Laurence's Point. Doubling this, they found to the southward, rising land, which the cloud then vanishing, left open to view a great way up the mountains.

Here Ruy Paes was sent with De Morales in the sloop, to reconnoitre the coast, and they presently came to a bay, which answering the description given by the English, they landed, and there found the tombs, and all the other marks above-mentioned. Returning to Gonzalez with this news, he immediately took possession of the place, in the names of king John, and the infante don Henry, knight and grand master of the order of Christ; and raised an altar near that of the English lovers. This happened on St. Elizabeth's day.

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The next thing that occurred, was to look into the country for some inhabitants or cattle; but they found nothing but birds of various kinds, so gentle, that they suffered themselves to be taken by the hand without any trouble. Upon this, it was agreed to coast it a little in the sloop: Accordingly, doubling a point to the westward, they found a place where four fine rivers ran into the sea; of which water Gonzalez filled some bottles to carry to prince Henry.

Proceeding farther on the coast, they came to a valley, divided by a river; and after that to another covered with trees, some of them fallen; of which the captain making a cross, set it up there, and called the place Santa Cruz. Not far from this, they crossed a slip of land, projecting out into the sea farther than the rest; where, meeting with a prodigious number of Jays, they named it Punta dos Gralhos, a name which it keeps to this day.

This, with another point about two leagues distant, formed a gulph, which was bordered with a grove of beautiful cedars. Near this lay another vale, from whence issued a water like milk, which entering the sea, formed a great basin. The beauty of it invited Gonzalez to send Gonzalez Ayrez on shore with soldiers, to penetrate farther into the country; who quickly returned with the news, that they had seen the sea quite round the land; consequently they were upon an island, and no part of the continent of Africa, as some till then had imagined.

The captain now began to look out for a more inland part to fix his residence in, and came to a large tract of land, not so woody as the rest, but covered with fennel, (in Portuguese *funcho*) from whence the town which he afterwards built there, took the name of Funchal, which is the metropolis as to temporal affairs, and heretofore of all the east\* in spirituals.

Here three fine rivers that issued out of the valley, uniting just at their entrance into the sea, formed two small islands, which making, as it were, a natural mote, Gonzalez moored his vessel under their lee, laying in wood and water. From hence he continued his route, till he arrived at the same point he had seen from the southward, where he erected a cross. Beyond this point he found a shore, which, from its extent, and the smoothness of the sea that washes it, he called Playa Formosa, or, the Beautiful Shore.

Not far from thence they were stopped by a very rapid but clear stream, which two of them attempting to swim over, were carried away by the current, and would have perished, but for the timely assistance of their companions. This accident gave name to the river, then called Dos Soccorridos, or, of the Helped.

Keeping on their course, they came to a high rocky point, which being cut off from the main land by a small gut, formed a kind of haven; where landing, they discovered the traces of some animals. This sight raised their curiosity the more, as they had hitherto found none of any kind; but they were soon undeceived, upon seeing a great number of sea wolves leap into the water. They came out of a cave that was hollowed by the tide in the foot of a mountain, and seemed to be a rendezvous for these creatures, from which den (in Portuguese, *camera dos lobos*) Gonzalez obtained his additional name.

\* These words, "Heretofore of all the East," must have been added by the keeper of the manuscript, or the translator; for the author, if one of the discoverers, could not speak of a circumstance which did not happen till eighty years after. Funchal not having been made a bishop see, till towards the sixteenth century, or the year 1500: And it was not till many years after, that the archbishop of the Indies resided there, to which it has been said to have been once the metropolis of all the east in spirituals, has reference.



The cloud began here to hang thick and close down to the surface of the sea; the rocks appeared higher than elsewhere, and the noise of the waves dashing against them was more violent; the captain therefore concluded to go no farther; but returning to his ship, he stowed her with the water, wood, birds, and plants of the island, in order to present to Don Henry; and setting sail for Portugal, arrived at Lisbon, in the end of August, 1740, without losing a man in the voyage. A day of audience was appointed for him to make a report of his voyage, and in the conclusion, the king gave the island the name of Madeira, from the great quantity of various kinds of excellent wood found upon it; the thick trunks of which Gonzalez then presented to his majesty and the infante, together with the other products above-mentioned.

Not long after, an order was made out, appointing Gonzalez in the spring following, to return to Madeira, in quality of captain of the island.

A second voyage to this island was made in May 1421, when, taking his wife Constantia Rodriguez de Sa (some say, de Almayda) Juan Gonzalez, his eldest son and heir, and his two daughters, Helena and Beatrix, he arrived in a few days at Madeira, where, coming to an anchor in the road, till then called the *English port*, he, in honour of Robert Macham, the first discoverer, named it *Puerto de Machino*, which afterwards took that of *Machico*, and retains it at this day. Here, going on shore he made use of the beautiful tree, under which stood the afore-mentioned altar and tomb, to build a church in pursuance of Macham's request; which he accordingly dedicated to Jesus the Saviour, and laid the bones of our two unfortunate lovers in the choir.

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The account from de Barros, decade I. book I. chap. III. is as follows:

Juan Gonzalez and Trifan Vaz, being designed for better fortune and greater prosperity, would neither return nor remain in the island of Porto Santo; for as soon as Perestello had left them, they determined to go and discover whether an obscure appearance, which they now perceived, and was occasioned by the island now called Madeira, was land, and on which they had deliberated many days. This appearance sometimes they thought was a cloud, and at other times land; for, observing the spot attentively, it never was clear as other parts were; therefore, having constructed two boats, with the timber of the island they were then upon, and the sea being favourable for the attempt, they proceeded towards the supposed cloud, and finding it an island, called it Madeira, on account of the great quantity and thickness of the woods with which it was covered—a name now celebrated and well known in all Europe, and in many parts of Africa and Asia, for its productions; so noble, fertile, and well inhabited, that except England, it may be called the prince of all islands in the western ocean, if not in Europe. What fame hath reported of these captains, and of their landing, is, that Gonzalez, with his boat, came to a place now called Camera dos Lobos, or the Chamber of Wolves, near Funchal, where he landed, and Trifan Vaz landed at a point, to which he gave the name of Trifan; and from these landings, the territories adjoining were afterwards given them by the infante, as captainships. The heirs of Juan Gonzalez have a very particular manuscript account of this discovery, in which he assumes all the honour to himself, asserting, that Trifan Vaz was not so old, nor of so high quality as himself, and only connected with him from friendship and company; that they both came in one boat belonging to the said Gonzalez, and landed at the place  
now



now called the point of Trifan, and there Gonzalez left him, directing him to endeavour to penetrate into the interior parts, whilst he went in the boat round the island to seek another port; and having left Trifan, he came to the part now called Funchal, which, from the situation and disposition of the land, by outward appearance, he was well pleased with. Returning to the place where he had left Trifan, he presented him with all that territory, which was afterwards erected into a captainship; and this he did in the name of the infante, having such powers granted him in the commission he bore. Gomezaanes de Zurara, chronologist of Portugal, from whom de Barros took the proceedings in the discovery of Guinea, says, that both these gentlemen discovered the island; but always calls Trifan Vaz, *Trifan* only, as the less consequential person.

On Gonzalez landing, the ground was so covered with thick woods, that he discerned only a large cave, or vaulted chamber, under a projection of high land hanging over the sea, the bottom of which was much trodden or beaten by the sea wolves, who came there to recreate themselves, and to which he gave the name of Camera dos Lobos, and himself took this appellation, which remained to his posterity, all of whom bare the arms given to Gonzalez, viz. On a green escutcheon, a tower, argent, charged with a cross, or, two sea wolves proper, as supporters.

The infante, after these captains returned with the news of their discovery, by the consent of the king, his father, divided the island into two captainships. To Gonzalez he gave that part called Funchal, where the town of that name is built, with all its districts; of which, at present, his heirs are captains, by hereditary right, under this deed. To Trifan Vaz he gave the other settlement of Machico, whose successors possessed it till the year 1540, when the direct line of inheritance failed, and king John III. then bestowed it on Antonio da Silveira de Menezes, son to Nuno Martins da Silveira, as a reward for the services he did in India, in the district of Diu, where he served as captain when it was besieged by Solyman Bassa. Besides the merit these captains obtained in this discovery, and the gift of the captainships, they had other personal honours conferred on them for their behaviour in the expeditions abroad, and principally in the districts of Ceuta and of Tangier, where both behaved with great gallantry; and the infante created them knights, that no distinction of merit might be shewn, notwithstanding Gonzalez had nobility in his blood, which in some shape shewed itself in the division of the island, having had a larger portion given him, and ever after possessed a superiority over the captains of Machico. But in regard to the trouble they took in settling their districts, they both are deserving of infinite praise. They began in the year 1420, and Gonzalez, willing to clear the ground which is now called Funchal, from the wood and trees which covered it, in order to sow some seeds, &c. he set fire\* to the underwood, which unfortunately burnt so furiously, and communicated itself in such a manner, that it continued burning for seven years. This destruction of wood, though it might have been advantageous for the first settlers, by giving them ground to cultivate, is now severely felt; for there was more wood supposed to have been then consumed than would have been used to this time.

The infante was much grieved at this accident; he foresaw there would be a great want of that commodity, and gave orders that every one should plant wood; for in the making of sugars they consume so much, that it would in time bring the island to imminent distress.

\* The truth of this account is doubted by some authors.



The first church which the infante ordered to be founded, was N. S. do Calhào ; and after the island began to increase in population, another was built called N. S. da Assumpca, which is now a cathedral, an archbishoprick, and the primacy of India. Afterwards, at the town of Sintra, on the 26th of September, 1433, king Duarte, brother to the infante, endowed him with it for his life ; and the year following, at the same place, on the 26th of October, gave all the spiritual benefit of it to the order of Christ ; which donations were confirmed by king Alfonso, his nephew, in the year 1439.

From the knowledge we have of this island now, we need not enter on the fertility of it ; and shall only take notice, its produce was so abundant, that the fifth of its sugars, which were paid annually to the order of Christ, was more than 60,000 arrobas\* ; and this was produced from a space of about three leagues square.

The island of Porto Santo the infante gave to Pereftello to settle, which was very troublesome to him on account of the quantity of rabbits, which the inhabitants could not rid ; and there is now such abundance on a small island near it, that there has been 2000 killed at a time. There was also another reason why this island was not so well inhabited as Madeira, a want of water for their plantations ; so that Pereftello was not so fortunate as the other captains, though at the time the infante bestowed it on him, he thought it the best.

\* An arobe is thirty-two pounds.

### CHAPTER III.

*Prince Henry obtains a Bull from the Pope. Murmurs against the Infante's Plans. Gillianes doubles Cape Bojador. The next Year Gillianes and Baldaya sail ninety Miles beyond, and the Year following forty Miles further. Gonzalez and Nuno Tristan's Voyage to Porto de Cavalles. Tristan discovers Cape Blanco.*

**P**RINCE HENRY having succeeded thus far in his views, applied A. D. 1420 about this time to pope Martin V. who then filled the papal and 1431. throne, to inform him of his success, and to obtain some favours from him, on account of the great advantages which would result from these discoveries, for the good of religion, and to the honour of the holy see. He appointed Lopez d'Azevedo, a knight of the order of Christ, and afterwards commander of the same order, to make this application ; who represented to his holiness " the infinite obligations the church was under to the infante, his master : he set forth the zeal of that prince, who for several years had been at vast expence to discover immense countries, whose inhabitants had, for many ages, been the sport of ignorance and error ; that the principal motive which he proposed in these labours was the glory of God, the spreading of the faith, and the increase of the good shepherd's fold ; and that the Portuguese nation had devoted to that end their property, and even their lives. His holiness was requested to acknowledge and to animate their zeal for the extension of the faith, by conferring on the crown of Portugal all the lands the subjects thereof should



should discover along the coast of Africa, to the Indies inclusively; since the unbelieving nations ought to be regarded as unjust possessors, of whom, nevertheless, they only sought the salvation; that he would at the same time prohibit any Christian prince, under pain of the most grievous ecclesiastical censures, to oppose the Portuguese, or to molest them, in any respect, or to pretend to establish themselves in any country which they had discovered. Lastly, as their enterprises tended to the salvation of souls, that his holiness would open the treasures of the church, and bestow his favours upon those, who, trusting their lives to an uncertain element, exposed themselves to a thousand kinds of death, and the danger of perishing far from their native country, their families, and all the assistance, both spiritual and temporal, that they could receive at home."

The pope and sacred college were charmed with this account, and conceived great hopes for religion. His holiness, with the advice of the cardinals, expedited a bull, according to the form and in the tenor the infante desired; freely granting to the crown of Portugal, the sovereign dominion of all the lands which should be discovered to the Indies, inclusively; threatening with his censures, all those who should molest them in their conquests; ratifying all that king Edward had done in favour of the infante, and the order of Christ; adding besides, many special privileges, promises, and indulgencies, to the navigators; and to the churches the infante had founded in the newly-discovered island. With this the envoy returned well satisfied; and these privileges were afterwards confirmed and augmented by the sovereign pontiffs, Eugenius IV. Nicholas V. Sixtus VI.

This is the account given of this famous bull; but there seems to be some error in the date: Purchas places it in 1441, although pope Martin died in 1431. The compiler of Astley's voyages, and from him the Abbè Prevost place it about A. D. 1432. De Barros, and Lafitau, erroneously fix it after the expedition of Gonzalez and Vaz, which happened in 1440. On the whole, de Barros and the others following him, seem to have confounded the bull of pope Martin, granting the conquests, and islands discovered to the crown of Portugal, with the ratification of it, and of the grants of the kings of Portugal to the infante, and of the order of Christ, by a future pope.

With the countenance of the pontiff, and the discovery of those two islands, the infante began to be elated, and entered with greater spirit into his main design, which was to explore the African coast; but met with opposition at home. He had pursued it twelve years, contrary to the opinion of many, without the adventurers finding any fruits from their labour, but on the contrary, much danger seemed to attend those undertakings.

And so great a doubt was entertained of obtaining a passage round Cape Bojador, by many who had imbibed this prejudice from their parents, that it was with difficulty the infante could find persons to serve him, although the discovery of Madeira had given some encouragement to the seamen. It was said, that since so many navigators had continued to pronounce the passage of the Cape impracticable, and had declared the sea beyond it was not navigable, that the project should be given up. It was asserted, that the country the infante was in search of, was entirely barren; persons also of a higher rank, exclaimed much against these attempts; the undertakings, it was said, were rash; the lives and fortunes of many valuable subjects were exposed; the loss was certain and manifest, the advantage precarious and improbable; that preceding princes had been intent on great enterprises, but they had contented themselves with  
their



their own dominions, and had not sought discoveries, from whence they could neither reap honour or profit. Even if land should be discovered, it could only be an habitation for wild beasts. All the ancient geographers had agreed that those parts were uninhabitable, and so immediately under the influence of the sun, that no European could remain there, without having his complexion changed to the colour of the negro. That there remained uncultivated lands enough at home, in which the people might be employed, instead of sending them to people uninhabited countries. That former kings induced foreigners to settle in their dominions, instead of permitting their subjects to pass the sea, and settle in wildernesses.

These, and many other reasons, were urged against the prince's plan of discoveries.

However, the resolution of one man overcame all difficulties. The  
A. D. 1433. infante this year, armed a vessel which he put under the command of Gillianes, one of his servants, a native of Lagos; he had the preceding year, been captain of a vessel destined for the same purpose; but the wind having been unfavourable, he had put in at the Canaries, from whence he carried off some of the natives, whom he had seized in some excursions on the islands. The infante had manifested great displeasure at his conduct, which wrought so much on our adventurer, that he determined to perish, rather than return again with an unsatisfactory account. Fortune seconded his resolution; he passed this celebrated cape, to which he gave the name of Bojador, and which is supposed to be the same as the Ganarian promontory, mentioned by Ptolemy. The passage of this cape, from the silly prejudices which then prevailed, was extolled even beyond the labours of Hercules. From this success, which turned so much to the glory of the prince's penetration and firmness, it may be easily conceived how much Gillianes was caressed by prince Henry on his return to Portugal. He received him with great distinction, and bestowed his favours on all those who had participated with him in the enterprise. The infante was much pleased with the specimens of the earth and plants which Gillianes brought him; which convinced him of the apparent fruitfulness of the soil; and happy in the information, that although the country did not appear to be inhabited, the climate was temperate and delightful. The plants he contemplated as productions of the promised land, and was often lost in thankfulness to Providence, at the same time imploring a complete success, as the means of propagating the Christian faith. Prince Henry was not singular in his triumph, king Duarte, his brother, who was no stranger to the murmurs that had been raised, took part in his joy, and was much pleased with the profits his subjects were likely to receive from the discovery. As a convincing proof of his satisfaction, he made a grant of the whole spiritual jurisdiction of Madeira, Porto Santo, and Deserta, to the knights of the order of Christ, of which prince Henry was the grand-master, requesting from the pope his ratification, and granting to the said infante full jurisdiction both criminal and civil.

The year following, in consequence of the information which the  
A. D. 1434. infante had received from Gillianes, of the fertility of that region, and that the navigation was not so dangerous as had been asserted, he ordered a vessel, called a barinel, to be fitted out, the largest vessel that had been hitherto sent into those seas; as it was now certain, that the shallowness of the water so much talked of, was imaginary. He intrusted his cup-bearer, Alonzo Gonzalez Baldaya\*, with the command of her, and Gillianes, in his bark, went in com-

\* Called so in Faria.



pany. Having favourable weather, they sailed ninety miles beyond the cape, and landing, they perceived the tracks of men and camels who had passed there in caravans. They surveyed the country and its situation, and immediately returned, either for want of provisions, or by express order, giving to the place the appellation of Angra de Ruyvos, or, the Bay of Roaches, on account of the quantity of those fish which they had caught there.

The infante sent them the ensuing year, with orders to advance until they could find some inhabited country, and sent an interpreter with them. A. D. 1435. The general panic having now been allayed by the two former successful attempts, they went, in a short time, forty miles further than the last year; and where the land appeared even and open, they landed two horses, which the infante had put on board; on these Alphonso Gonzalez mounted two youths, whom he would not permit to carry armour, that they might not be inclined to come to action; they only carried lance and sword, and had orders not to employ themselves in any thing, but to view the country, and that without separating from each other, or dismounting; and if they should see any persons whom they could make prisoners of, without danger, they should do it. They were both lads between fifteen and sixteen years of age, and by their conduct in this affair, shewed what they would afterwards become; for they set off to execute the commission Gonzalez intrusted them with, with as much spirit, as if they were going to some well known and safe country. They were not long before they had occasion to give a proof of their courage; for having wandered a good part of the day, they met with nineteen men, each with a dart in his hand; and because they fell in with them unexpectedly, without being able to retreat unseen, and return to their vessel with the intelligence, although they were forbid to come to action, yet they saw they should incur a greater wound to their honour by flight, than if in disobedience to their captain, they attacked them. They immediately assailed them, thinking to wound some of them with their lances; but the Moors took better care of themselves, for as soon as they saw them, surpris'd at the novelty, they took shelter in a cave.

The two youths, when they saw they could not dislodge the Moors, and one of them being wounded in the foot with a dart, they left them, and proceeded in search of their ships, which they had strayed too far from, and did not reach until the next morning. They were received on board with great joy; for the enterprise was dangerous, and their conduct entitled them to the honour they obtained. If we consider their age, the situation of the country, the accounts which had been given by former navigators, and the dread with which it had struck every person, we shall find that it was really a noble action; and we must admire their courage in assailing nineteen men, of a figure and aspect so uncouth, that it required some degree of courage even to behold them. The names of these two youths were, Hector Homen and Diogo Lopez D'Almada, both gentlemen, and cavaliers, educated in that school of nobility and virtue, the household of the excellent prince the infante don Henry. Gonzalez being informed of the place the Moors had retreated into, dispatched some of his cavaliers in quest of them. But all the fruits of this expedition were the remains of what the Moors, in their panic, had left behind them, which were brought off, more as marks of victory than for their value. They gave to this place the name of Angra dos Cavallos, or, the Bay of Horses. Sailing from this place, they proceeded forty miles further, and run up a river; at the entrance of which, on an island, formed in the middle, they saw such a multitude of sea wolves sleeping, that they reckoned



five thousand ; they killed many of them, and carried away their skins, which, being a novelty, were much valued.

Gonzalez was little satisfied with this adventure, as he was not enabled to carry the infante any of the Moors : with a desire to find some, he proceeded further to the point now called Pedra de Galé. At this place they found a fishing net, the thread of which appeared to be made of a stuff growing under the bark of trees, like that of the palm tree. This was a proof the land was inhabited ; but although he cruized up and down the coast, they saw no people, nor did it afford any thing worth carrying to the infante ; on which account, and his provisions being nearly consumed, he returned.

From this period nothing remarkable happened, with respect to discoveries, for some time ; the death of king Duarte, who left a successor only six years of age, caused great discord in the state, respecting the regency. But don Henry

A. D. 1440. dispatched two caravels, which contrary winds and other accidents compelled to return, without having performed any action worthy of notice.

A. D. 1441. The following year, the troubles of the kingdom having subsided, and the infante being at liberty to pursue his inclination, armed a small vessel, of which Antonio Gonzalez, a young man, went captain ; who, if he could not procure any account of the country, was to load his vessel with the skins of sea wolves, at the place where Alphonso Gonzalez had killed some. But Antonio Gonzalez, who was more anxious to gain honour than to procure skins of wolves and oil, having, besides, in a short time, killed sufficient of them to return well loaded, called Alphonso Gotterez, an officer of the infante's chamber, who was also secretary of the ship, and likewise the rest of the ship's company, in all twenty-one persons, and made a speech to them. " Friends and brethren," says he, " we have performed  
 " a part of the service on which we have been sent, that is, the loading of the ship ; and  
 " how much reward shall those servants be worthy of, who shall observe the com-  
 " mands of those who employ them ? but how much more praise shall we deserve, if  
 " we perform what the infante has not directed us, that is, if we can carry home some  
 " inhabitants of the country ? Because his intention in this discovery is not so much  
 " the trade we might carry on with these countries, as to enquire after nations who are  
 " at a distance from the church, and to bring them to baptism, and afterwards to have  
 " such intercourse and commerce with them, as may be for the honour and interest of  
 " the kingdom. And since you are all convinced of this, I trust that you will assist in  
 " endeavouring to carry home some of the people : and as Alphonso Gonzalez has  
 " seen signs of population on the shore of this river, we must necessarily find also some  
 " people. I think, therefore, that some ten persons should be landed, who are the most  
 " enterprising ; and I hope, with your help, we shall depart this country with more  
 " honour than any of our predecessors."

Alphonso Gotterez, and all the ship's company, applauded Gonzalez's resolution ; but they did not approve that their captain should be one of the number, but that he should remain on board.

After disputing a long time, they gave way to Gonzalez's reasoning, and he and nine more landed that night ; and when about ten miles or more distant from the ship, they saw a naked man passing, with two darts in his hand, chasing a camel. Immediately as he heard the noise our people made, and saw them running towards him, he was so struck with fear that he remained immoveable ; and before he could recover,

was



was seized by Gotterrez, who being a young man, and very swift, had out-stripped the rest. Having made this prize, which gave them great joy, they began to walk back towards the ship, as there were none of them who understood him, so as to gain information of the land, and enable them to go farther; and having travelled some time pursuing the footsteps of several persons, they came in sight of them, being in number about forty, of which company our prisoner had been one; they took in their sight a woman also, one of their number. As soon as they perceived our people, they left the track, and retired to a hill, from whence they contemplated the novelty: the majority of the Portuguese were for attacking them in this post; but Antonio Gonzalez, though a young man, and desirous of acquiring honour, was yet checked by prudence: he observed that as the sun was setting, and their distance from the vessel very considerable, as their strength was exhausted, and they had still a fatiguing way to go, it was not proper to assail them. That the taking of the woman, who, in all probability, belonged to them, was sufficient for the honour of the day; and his advice was, to return to the ship. That he would be first to draw his sword against them, should they offer violence; but that an unnecessary effusion of blood would be wantonness, and absolutely contrary to their instructions. During this delay, the Moors, who, however barbarous they might be by nature, were rendered prudent by the danger they were in, although they stood motionless, deliberated whether they should attack the Portuguese or not. The most timorous among them retired behind the hill. Gonzalez would not pursue them, fully convinced that he should give more pleasure to the infante by these two prisoners, than by a greater number purchased at the expence of the life of any one of the company. They returned to their ship, and were preparing to depart the next day, when they were met by another Portuguese vessel, under the command of Nuno Tristan, a gentleman of prince Henry's household, and whom he had brought up near his person, from his tenderest years. The infante, who was well acquainted with his boldness and resolution, directed him to pass the Punto de Galé, and to do his endeavour to bring some persons of the country back with him.

Tristan, when he was apprised of the recent adventure of Gonzalez, readily offered to accompany him that night in quest of the Moors: Gonzalez was pleased with the proposal, and they departed about nightfall. Diogo de Vigliadores, afterwards castellan of Villa Franca, joined the company, as did also Gonzalez de Sintra, whom we shall soon see signalize himself in these expeditions. Fortune was propitious to them; they met a number of Moors together, uncertain whether they were the same company or another. When our people approached them, they loudly exclaimed (in the usual warlike cries), "Portugal! Portugal! St. Jago! St. Jago!" When these exclamations reached the ears of the Moors, they were stupified, and taken as if they had been asleep; and the night was so dark, that they did not see our people, till they seized upon them as prisoners. Some of the Moors, although struck with fear, were roused by the wounds they received, and made a defence; wood, stones, their nails, teeth, and every instrument, were now made use of. The night was so dark, as to confound the naked with the armed; and, although the battle was not very bloody, yet the gloominess increased the danger; and had it not been for our people distinguishing each other by their language, the risk would have been great. The whole loss fell on the Moors; three of them were slain upon the spot, and ten made prisoners. One of the dead was slain by Nuno Tristan, with imminent danger to his own person.



They came to wrestling; the deceased was a man of great strength, and had the advantage by being naked, and Nuno would have been conquered in spite of his vigour, if it had not been for his arms. Having obtained this victory, they returned to their vessels after day-break. Before they went on board, they requested Gonzalez to give a name to the place, in commemoration of a day in which he conducted himself with so much valour, and also that he should be made a knight. Gonzalez shewed some repugnance to the latter distinction, but was obliged to yield to their importunity, and accordingly was created a cavalier by Nuno Tristan; the place was unanimously called Porto de Cavalieri, a name it retains to the present day.

The captains having come on board their respective ships, found, among the captives, one of a peculiar tribe of the savages, who understood the language of a Moor that Nuno Tristan had on board. From their conversation and inquiries, the captains thought it adviseable to let the Moorish woman go on shore with the interpreter, to effect some intercourse with the inhabitants, and see if they would come and ransom some of the captives they had on board, which turned out accordingly; for two days after their being sent on shore, there came to the port, about one hundred and fifty men, with camels and horses, who used a stratagem, sending three or four men first, which they thought would draw our people on shore, and the rest they concealed in ambush; but finding our men not so ready to leave their boats, concluded their scheme was discovered, and came forward, bringing the Moorish linguist bound, who advised the captains by no means to come on shore, and leave their boats, for that these people were very much exasperated. They soon convinced them of this, by throwing stones at the boats. These captains, in compliance with the instructions they had received from the infante, did them no injury, but returned to their ships, and consulted what was best to be done. It was determined that Antonio Gonzalez should return to Portugal with the captives that came to his share; and Nuno Tristan, as he had orders from the infante to proceed farther, careened his vessel, and proceeded till he came to a cape, which, from its appearance, he named Cape Blanco, or White Cape; there he found fishing nets, and traces of people; but though he often made incursions on shore, never could meet with any. Finding the currents here to take a different direction, he was fearful of passing the cape, which might take him much time, and exhaust all his provision, which now began to run short; and without doing any thing farther, he also returned to Portugal, where he found Antonio Gonzalez safe arrived; and that the infante, for this, as well as other services, had bestowed on him the Alcaidariate of Thomar, and a commandary, and appointed him a private secretary.

The prince being informed by Antonio Gonzalez, that the principal A. D. 1442. Moor which he had taken was ready to pay a ransom for himself, if they would carry him to the place from whence they took him, and would give six or seven Guinea slaves for his liberty; and that also among the rest of the captives, there were two young men, sons of persons of consequence in their country, who would likewise give the same ransom, immediately ordered a vessel to be got ready, thinking, if he could not get so many slaves for these three Moors, that an increased number of souls might be converted to the faith; and as they were a people from a country, of the heat of which so many fabulous stories had been related, he should gain by this means some true information respecting it. Whilst this vessel for Antonio Gonzalez was fitting out, there was a gentleman in the house of the infante, whose name



name was Balthazar, belonging to the emperor, Frederick III. who had been sent by him to the infante to serve at Ceuta, where, by his merit, he obtained the honour of knighthood. Being a person of a curious disposition, and desirous of seeing new countries, [every person going on these expeditions were looked upon as men of valour] he begged of the infante to give him leave to go with Antonio Gonzalez, as he likewise wished to see a storm at sea; for the navigators had asserted that the storms in these seas were very different from those experienced in the European seas, which Balthazar very soon had trial of; for on this voyage there came on one so tremendous, that none of them thought of surviving it, and were obliged to return back to Portugal to repair the damage they had sustained.

Balthazar continued with Antonio Gonzalez; and on their arrival at the place where the ransom for the Moors was to be transacted, according to the orders of the infante, he sent on shore the Moor who had planned the business; and as he had been used very well, and had given assurances of his complying with his engagements, they did not doubt but that he would be punctual to them. However, finding himself at liberty, he soon forgot every part of them; only, it is supposed, he gave notice to the inhabitants of the arrival of the vessel, and that there were on board the two young men before mentioned, which might be ransomed; for at the end of eight days, there came above an hundred persons for that purpose. For their exchange, they gave ten negroes of different countries, and a good quantity of gold dust; and this being the first instance of that commodity being so obtained, the place acquired the name of Rio d'Ouro, or the River of Gold, although only an inlet of salt water, which runs not further than about six leagues into the country: they likewise received for this ransom a buckler of undressed buck skin, and a great number of ostrich eggs, which, on Gonzalez's return to the kingdom, were presented to the infante; and the eggs were so fresh and fine, that he looked upon them as the greatest rarity. From these fresh informations received from Antonio Gonzalez, of what he had learned from the savages, and principally from the quantity of gold obtained, and the prospect of farther discoveries, the infante sent immediately Nuno Tristan, whom, as we have be-

A. D. 1443. fore mentioned, had sailed as far as Cape Blanco. In this voyage, he proceeded farther, and came to an island, which was by the inhabitants called Adeger, and is one of those now called Arguim. Being in sight of the same, and likewise of the continent, he observed about twenty-five almadias, or small boats, in each of which were three or four naked men who sat astride, so that they used their legs instead of oars, which was a wonderful sight to the Portuguese, and at first they took them to be sea birds; but as soon as they discovered what they were, seven of their men jumped into their boat, which they had out, and took fourteen of them, which loaded the boat; the rest, though they escaped at sea, were taken on the island; for after the boat had brought those they had on board, they sent for the others; by which means the island was stripped of its inhabitants. They then went over to another island in the neighbourhood, which they named Garças, on account of the number of geese and other birds of the same species they found, which resorted there on account of their nesting; and as they had never been disturbed by mankind, were so tame, as to suffer themselves to be taken by the hand, and in such abundance, as to be a great refreshment to the ship's company during the time Nuno Tristan remained there. He made several incursions into the country, but could make no more prizes



than those he had already, because the country had been much alarmed. He returned to Portugal.

#### CHAPTER IV.

*Prince Henry makes a Purchase of the Canary Islands: Sends a Fleet and Army thither. A Company formed at Lagos. Lancerota's Voyages. Gonzalez de Sintra's Voyage and Death. Antonio Gonzalez and Denis Fernandez's Voyages. Antonio Gonzalez's second Voyage.*

A. D. 1444. **P**RINCE Henry having made a purchase of the Canary islands, sent this year a fleet and army thither.

We have reason to believe that the ancients had some knowledge of the Madeira, Canary, and Cape de Verde islands; but their accounts are indistinct and confused: some of them seem to answer the description of the Fortunate Islands in Plutarch's Life of Sertorius; who, when he was at the mouth of the river Bætis, in Spain, met with some seamen newly arrived from the islands of the Atlantic, which are divided from each other by a narrow channel, and are distant from the coast of Africa 10,000 furlongs. These are called the Fortunate Islands, where the rain seldom falls, and then in moderate showers; but for the most part they have gentle breezes, bringing along with them soft dews, which render the soil so fruitful, that it produces, of its own accord, plants and fruits sufficient to feed and delight the inhabitants who may here enjoy all things without trouble or labour.

These are by many thought to be the Canary islands. Whether this account is true or not, is uncertain; but if true, they undoubtedly remained unknown to the moderns until near the time of the discoveries we are now treating of. We shall not here enter into a particular detail of their discovery and conquest, as that will come with more propriety in the next book, but only give a slight account of them prior to the sale made of them to Prince Henry.

The Normans are said to have invaded them as early as the year 846; and Labat asserts, that these people traded as far as Sierra Leona in 1364; if so, they penetrated earlier and further to the southward than the Portuguese; however, they certainly first discovered them, a ship of that nation being, between the years 1326 and 1344, driven upon them by a storm.

Lewis de la Cerda, count de Clermont, a prince of the blood of Spain and of France, nephew of John de la Cerda, who was called the Disinherited, but who named himself the Fortunate Prince, appears to have had a desire of establishing himself there. To effect this, he addressed himself to the king of Arragon, and afterwards to pope Clement VI. who crowned him king of the Canaries, and gave him the dominion of those islands, on condition that he went thither to conquer them, and caused the Christian faith to be preached. This prince preferring something more solid, went to seek an employ in France, where he served in a war against the English. The kings of France and Spain acquiesced in this donation of the pope, as is proved, by their letters patent, recorded by Raynaldi; they both of them complained, however, that it had been made without their privity\*.

\* Laftau.



The first that established himself in this island was John de Betancour, a French gentleman. Robin de Braquermorte, one who had followed Henry III. of Castile, and had rendered him great service against Peter the Cruel, obtained from that prince a grant to his relation, the above John de Betancour, of the islands of the Canaries, with the title of king. Betancour mortgaged his estate to his cousin, and conquered three of the islands, Lancerota, Fuertaventura, and Ferro; but sustained so great a loss and expence therein, that he was obliged to return to Europe for further supply, leaving Massiot de Betancour, his nephew, to maintain his conquests. The latter having quarrelled with the bishop, or vicar-general, whom John had carried with him; hurt likewise by the long stay his uncle made in France, where he was detained first by his infirmities, and afterwards by the king of France, who had need of his services; and having likewise, with the assistance of some Castilians, conquered the island of Gomera, he entered into a treaty with the infante don Henry, to whom he surrendered all his rights, and received of him, in exchange, some lands in the islands of Madeira, where his family established themselves, and entered into an alliance with that of Gonzalez Zarco, who possessed the principal captainry of that island.

The infante having become master of these islands by this agreement, and as there still remained the islands of Canaria, Palma, Gratiofa, Inferno, Alegrazze, Santa Chiara, Rocca, and Lobos, to conquer, he this year fitted out a powerful naval armament, and transported thither 2500 infantry, and 120 cavalry, under the command of Fernand de Castro, grand master of his household. These islands not having sufficient cultivation for the support of so many people, the infante lost more than he gained; he had however the satisfaction to see a great number of the Pagans converted and receive baptism; and this was the only fruit he gathered from this expedition; for the kings of Castile claimed these islands, as an appendage to their crown, Betancour having conquered them, by the assistance of the subjects of Castile, and held the islands of them in homage. They were therefore ceded to the Catholic king by a treaty between Castile and Portugal\*.

Nuno Tristan being returned from his last voyage with so valuable  
A. D. 1444. a prize, without having staid so long as the other ships had been used to do, and having passed twenty leagues and more beyond what any other ships had done, discovered some islands, where they found every thing different from the opinion people had formed, when the infante began these discoveries, consequently the murmurs and reflections on this business ceased. It was no longer said that he was in search of inhospitable places and deserts, to the injury and destruction of the kingdom, but they extolled the infante's firmness, saying, he was the first who had opened to the Portuguese new ways to gain honour and treasure, which never had been discovered since the creation of the world: that he was more entitled to the love of the people, than any other prince; because, without oppressing them, he had found a new way of enriching them, by the slaves and captures they made.

This last success was now the topic of the whole nation, and every individual seemed desirous to enjoy a part of this mine of wealth. The infante was now at his village of Tercanabal, which he had built in Algarves, where he had been ever since his return from Tangier; and for which reason, all the vessels which arrived from Africa, unloaded at Lagos. It was the people of that town who were the first that proposed to the infante to make voyages on their own account, paying in the tribute settled by gift from the king. The principal person among these, was

\* Laftau and De Barros.



one Lancerota, who belonged to the prince's household; the others were Gillianes who doubled Cape Bajador; Estevam Alfonso, who died at the conquest of the Canaries; Rodriga Alvarez, and Juan Dias, all men of note, who fitted out six caravellas, or vessels, of which Lancerota was, by the infante's appointment, made captain-general. This squadron sailed from Lagos, and arrived at the island of Garças, on the eve of Corpus-Christi day, where they made a great slaughter among the birds. They there deliberated how to proceed to the island of Nar, being informed by the Moors, whom Trifan had carried to the infante, that it was in the neighbourhood, and had near two hundred inhabitants on it. Lancerota was of opinion, that if they went in such large bodies in sight of the island, they would have been observed by the Moors; and that Martin Vicenté, and Gil Vazquez, who had been near it, should go in their boats, only with men enough to row them, to reconnoitre, and that one of them should return to make a report, the other taking his station between the island and the continent, to prevent the inhabitants escaping; that afterwards he (Lancerota) would come up with the whole force to assail them. This advice being approved of, they accordingly set out, but the business succeeded differently from what was imagined. They did not reach the island until break of day, fearing they should be seen by the inhabitants of a village near the coast, and thinking they had an opportunity to perform a great action, which opportunity they might lose by sending back a message to the ships, they assailed the said village, where they took one hundred and fifty persons; some others perished in making a defence; and as they were only thirty men, most of them obliged to row, and the captives so numerous they could not put them on board the boats, they left some behind with a guard, and carried the others on board, where they were received with great joy, notwithstanding the great regret which many felt in not having had a part in the action. Captain Lancerota, desirous of employing himself in such enterprises, ordered, with all expedition, the boats to be repaired, because, from the captives, he was informed of another island very near, which they called Tider, affording an opportunity for an enterprise of the same kind; but this island was, on going to it, found to be deserted. It was thought that one of the Moors had given him a wrong information designedly, therefore he put him to the torture, until he promised to carry them to another island, where he would amend his error.

Before they reached this island, there arose so many doubts respecting the Moor's information, and they lost so much time, that the inhabitants had most of them gained the continent; however, they took some of them, and the two days they were employed in going from island to island, and to the continent, they took about forty-five, with whom they returned to the ships, which were about five leagues distant. It seems that the fortune of Lancerota, and the other adventurers with him, was this voyage made on the islands; for from the several descents they afterwards made on the continent, the Moors were so much on their guard, that they took only a young woman who was left asleep in a village; and on their return off Cape Blanco, they took fifteen fishermen. Their provisions beginning to grow short, from the number of captives on board, they returned to Portugal, where Lancerota was received with great honour by the infante, who made him a knight, and promoted him to the rank of nobility: he gratified also the others who accompanied him.

This year the infante armed a vessel, the command of which he  
 A. D. 1445. gave to Gonzalez de Sintra, a gentleman of his household: he was promoted to this rank on account of his qualifications and good conduct



conduct in former affairs. He left Portugal with a determination to eclipse all his predecessors, and by the advice of an Azenegue Moor, whom he took with him as an interpreter, he proceeded to the island of Arguim, forty miles beyond Cape Blanco, where the Moor assured him of making great plunder. But the event was very different from his expectation, for before he arrived at Cape Blanco, in a bay, to which (as we shall afterwards see) they gave a new name, the Moor ran away, together with another old Moor, who had voluntarily embarked with him, saying, they were going from the ship to see some of their relations, and that for the affection he bore them, he would rather die in slavery with them, than enjoy liberty in his native country; but his real intention was only to find out the business for which the ship was come upon the coast. This flattery wrought so much on Gonzalez de Sintra, that he permitted him to go on shore; but when Gonzalez saw that he was the dupe of his own credulity, and was censured by his people, he determined to retrieve his error by some momentous service, therefore went, the same night, with twelve of his people in a boat, to take revenge on a village; unfortunately the tide being out, the boat run on a bank, and he could not disengage himself. In this situation he was seen the next morning by the Moors, who, to the amount of two hundred, attacked and slew him and seven of his companions; the other five saved themselves by swimming. As there remained no person in the vessel capable to take the command of her, the rest being common seamen, they returned home with two Moors they had taken on the coast, where so many men lost their lives, and were the first who in this country died in war. They gave a name to the place from this accident, calling it Angra de Gonzalez de Sintra, lying fourteen leagues beyond the Rio d'Ouro.

Although this loss greatly affected the infante, yet the following year A. D. 1446. he armed three vessels, the command of which he gave to Antonio Gonzalez, whom we have before spoken of, Diogo Alfonso and Gomez Perez, the king's pilot, who was sent by the infante don Pedro, the regent. They all had instructions to enter the Rio d'Ouro, and to endeavour to convert these barbarous nations to the faith of Christ; and if they would not receive baptism, at least to cultivate friendship and peace with them; but they proved equally averse to either. The captains perceiving that all their endeavours in this business were fruitless, either from an opinion they had imbibed, or for other causes, they returned, carrying with them a single negro, whom they had received in ransom, and an old Moor that voluntarily came to see the infante, who afterwards sent him back to his country. As this Moor had a desire to see Portugal, a Portuguese gentleman, named Juan Fernandez had the like desire to see the continent of Africa, where the Azenegue inhabited, whose language he understood, in order to render a satisfactory account to prince Henry, and was therefore left behind.

About the same time Nuno Tristan made another voyage, and took twenty prisoners in a village lying beyond Rio d'Ouro, on which he returned home.

In the same year Denis Fernandez, a gentleman of king John's household, and an inhabitant of Lisbon, allured by the favours and distinctions which don Henry had bestowed on him for his ability to a like enterprise, armed a vessel, intending, if possible, to pass beyond any former navigators, as he actually did; for after having passed the river Senegal, which divides the country of the Azenegue from the first kingdom of Guinea, whose inhabitants are called Jalofs, he came up with some almadias, in which were some negroes fishing. He only captured one boat with  
four



four of them, who were the first from that country ever seen in Portugal, although he had strong proofs of the lands being peopled. As it was more his design to discover new countries than to make slaves for his own use, he continued his voyage, and would not make any incursions on that coast, but sailed to an extraordinary cape, which projected into the sea to the westward, and to which, from the green aspect it presented, he gave the appellation of Cape Verde. This cape is now one of the most celebrated in the western ocean. As the passage to that cape could not, with any appearance of safety, be attempted in that season, on account of the storms which began then to rage, his proceeding further was hindered, and he contented himself with landing at a petty island near it, where the crew found a great refreshment in the goats with which it was stocked. From hence he returned home, and was received with great distinctions by the infante don Henry. The novelty of the land he discovered, and the peculiar circumstance of having taken his captives on their native soil, rather than to have them purchased of Moors, as had heretofore been practised, greatly enhanced his service, and the infante was not wanting to recompence those individuals who had best attained his views, and strengthened his hopes.

Seven months having elapsed since Antonio Gonzalez returned from the Rio d'Ouro, where he left Juan Fernandez, to procure information respecting the country of the Moors, the infante thinking, from his inquisitive disposition, that he would, by this time, have gained considerable knowledge on these matters, and always attentive to his great object, sent Antonio Gonzalez to seek after him, with whom went Garcia Mendez and Diogo Alfonso, each in his caravella. They were overtaken by a storm. The first that arrived at Cape Blanco was Diogo Alfonso, who, as a signal to his companions, erected a large cross, made of wood, which remained there for a considerable time, and proceeded to the islands of Arguim, where all those that meant to reap benefit from their voyage always touched, as that coast, and the islands opposite, had the most inhabitants of all the parts yet discovered, by reason of the fisheries, which those miserable people, the Azenegue Moors, maintained themselves by; and on that coast also there was more shelter from the sea, which broke much on all the coasts, and caused a greater abundance of fish to come there. These islands were not on the whole bad, though much visited by the winds, and their shores beaten by the waves. They had each their name, being six or seven in number, but the Portuguese call them all the islands of Arguim, on account of a fortification which king Alfonso ordered to be built on that called Arguim. Diogo Alfonso, before his companions joined him, made several descents on the continents, as soon as he had doubled Cape Blanco, but took nothing, except at the island of Arguim; for the Moors had intelligence of these ships. An old man and a boy having been left in one of their villages, Alfonso suspected it was done on purpose, as the man advised them to go to another village, on *terra firma*: they debated long whether they should go or not, fearing some ambuscade had been laid for them, but they at last determined, and it was broad day before they reached the village: they found it deserted, nevertheless they took about five-and-twenty by hard running, who had concealed themselves in the vicinity. The Moors took this method of running away, rather than oppose us, as they had been so beaten by our arms. By these victories, the Portuguese were in general much fatigued; Laurenço Dias, an inhabitant of Setubal, signalized himself most in this way; for he alone took seven of these Moors. When they returned, they found Juan Fernandez, whom they were seeking, and had been for several days on the coast to search for some vessel, that would



would take him from this voluntary banishment. His conduct during his stay among those barbarians had gained him their esteem, and they were grieved for his departure; some of them came along with him to protect him from the fishermen; and also to agree for a ransom with our people. Antonio Gonzalez got nine blacks, and a small quantity of gold dust. On account of these transactions the place was called Cabo do Resgate, or Cape Ransom. The chief motive being accomplished, which was the finding of Juan Fernandez; and what further has been related, they, to celebrate this exploit the more, caused one Fernam Tavares, an aged nobleman, to be knighted; who, though he had gained great honours before, would in no place accept this honour but on this new-discovered ground.

Antonio Gonzalez returning to Portugal, passed Cape Blanco, where, on a descent he made at a village, he took fifty-five persons: some lost their lives in defending themselves. With these prizes they immediately sailed and arrived safe. The infante, notwithstanding ninety slaves and some gold dust were brought home from this expedition, of no inconsiderable consequence to him, yet it gave him little pleasure in comparison to what he received from seeing Juan Fernandez safe; full of novelty, and recounting the wonderful things of the country he had been in; some particulars of which we shall relate. He said, that the Moors with whom he was left, were shepherds, and related to the Moor that was brought to Portugal by Antonio Gonzalez. As soon as they conveyed him to the interior parts of the kingdom, the first thing they did was, to take from him all his cloaths, some biscuit, wheat, and other things that were left of his provisions; and in return, gave him an alquice, or sort of blanket, to cover himself with, almost in rags. This was a very different treatment to what their relation experienced from the infante, when he arrived in Portugal; insomuch that he would not return with Antonio Gonzalez, when he sailed to seek for Juan Fernandez, being then in the infante's house, at liberty and at his ease, but in his own country subject to the miseries we shall now relate. But as Juan Fernandez had reconciled himself to suffer every thing, so they did not touch his life, he peaceably gave up all he had; nor was he much affected at their taking every thing from him. He led a most miserable life with these people, for they themselves fared wretchedly; their food was little else than a small kind of seed which their country produced, some roots, and some sprouts from herbs, and these not in abundance; even lizards and grasshoppers are eaten, roasted and dried by the heat of the sun, which always exists under the tropic of Cancer; but many months their certain food (as they cannot depend on the foregoing from the violent storms they are subject to) is the milk of their cattle, which serves them often as drink, their country being so barren and dry, that they have water only from a few wells that are very brackish; and from these very sparingly. As to meat, if they eat any, it is from what they can catch in hunting, or birds they kill; but on festivals only they touch any of their cattle, and those of the male kind, preserving always the female for the use of the milk. Such is the life of those who inhabit the interior parts: upon the sea coast they live upon fish dried without salt, and fresh fish, which makes them less thirsty. But since the Portuguese have built their fort at Arguim, they are become more dainty, these furnishing them with wheat and other things; and whatever comes to their hands they devour immediately. One part of the soil is sandy, and the greater part is like the worst of our heaths; a few palm trees, and what we call devil's figs, or prickly pears; and these are so thinly



spread about the country; that, considering the large territories they have, it appears as if they had planted them for shade, which they afford scantily from the few leaves they spread, the barrenness of the soil affording them no nourishment. This country is all a flat; and as there are no mountains, woods, &c. it is very difficult to travel to any distance in it, as you can make no land-marks, and are only guided by the winds, stars, and the flight of birds, particularly crows and hawks, who generally keep near inhabited spots, for the filth that is scattered about the suburbs of the towns and villages, if such they can be called. But the people are generally removing from one place to another, on account of the pasture necessary for their cattle; and if any spot supplies them for eight days, it is reckoned a wonderful thing. Their habitations are small huts, and their cloathing the skins of their flocks. The better sort have fine cloth, and their horses have the same distinction in their accoutrements. Their general employ is to feed their cattle, which is all the wealth they possess, as well as their chief support. Their language is not the same as the Barbary savages; yet, like the Portuguese and the Spaniards, they easily understand each other. Among them they have no king or prince, but keep in tribes, who are related to each other, and the strongest or most powerful are the rulers. These parties often quarrel, and make war with each other; and these quarrels generally arise about the pasturage of their cattle, or the use of the water of their wells. But mankind ever finds one thing or other to quarrel with their neighbours about.

This kind of life and policy Juan Fernandez observed whilst he was among these shepherds; but getting afterwards into a kind of habitation belonging to a principal Azeneguan Moor, called Huade Meimon, who lived well, treated Juan Fernandez with such confidence, that he gave him leave to go and look for our ships, and sent some men with him, as we mentioned; and though he came dressed like a Moor, yet the food he had been used to, with the milk he had drank, agreed so well with him, that he was healthy and fat.

## CHAPTER V.

*Voyage of Denizeanes de Gram and others. Second Voyage of Lancerota. Second Voyage and Death of Nuno Tristan. A Portuguese Ship discovers the Island of the Seven Cities. Voyage of Gomez Perez. Grant from King Alfonso to Prince Henry. The Azores settled.*

AT the time these things were going on prosperously, a gentleman of a very worthy character at Lisbon, who had belonged to prince Henry's household, but was in office as treasurer of the house of Ceuta, whose name was Gonzalez Pachecos, who being very rich, had sent out ships to different places, got leave from the infante to fit out a ship on these discoveries, the command of which he gave to Denizeanes de Gram, one of the infante don Pedro's esquires. With him went Alvaro Gill, one of the assayers of the mint; and Malfaldo, an inhabitant of Setubal, each in his caravella, or vessel; and as it was then customary for them all to touch at Cape Blanco, on their arrival there, they found a writing of Antonio Gonzalez placed in a conspicuous place, informing those that



that should happen to read it, that it was needless for them to land in search of the village that was there, for that he had destroyed it, in the manner already related. In consequence of this information, by the advice of a Galician pilot, they steered to the island of Arguim, where they took seven persons; and by the information of one of the captives, and following his advice, Malfaldo made a descent on a village on the continent, and captured forty-seven more. Afterwards, though they often made descents, they could take nothing, except an old Moor, which, for the sake of his receiving immediate baptism, they brought away with them, and also for the intelligence he might give them; and as the Moors now began to be very watchful, they proceeded about eighty leagues on the coast, and in their going and returning, and stopping to refresh themselves at the island of Garças, by their descents, they captured fifty persons, with a loss, however, of one of their boats with seven men, which unfortunately got aground, and they were all killed by the Moors. On their arrival at the island of Garças, they found a vessel commanded by one Laurenço Dias.

The infante, who transacted all his maritime business at Lagos, had now granted to its inhabitants, in consideration of their good offices, permission to fit out a certain number of vessels for Africa, whereupon they armed fourteen caravellas to act in conjunction. The command of this fleet was given by the infante to the above-mentioned Lancerota, whose abilities were thought equal to this undertaking: with him several noblemen joined, who commanded under him, and who were all men of reputed valour; these were Soeiro da Costa, brother-in-law to the same Lancerota, who had been in his earlier years a servant of the chamber of king Edward, and had signalized himself at many places, particularly at the battle of Agincourt, between the kings of France and England. Alvaro di Freitas, commander of Algiazur, a man of an illustrious family, who had done prodigies of valour in the war against the Moors of Granada, and Bellamarina was captain of another caravella. The others were Rodrigueanes Travafoi, a servant of the infante don Pedro; Palazzano, who had spent the greater part of his life in the war against the Moors, and Gomez Perez, once the king's governor; with other gentlemen of note at Lagos. To these fourteen vessels were added two of the island of Madeira, under Tristan Vaz, commander of Machico, and Alvaro Dornelas, who offered to join them; but they were forced back by contrary winds before they arrived at Cape Blanco. However, Alvaro Fernando, with John Gonzalez, his uncle, and commander of Funchal, in the same island of Madeira, made good his passage. The other captains were Denis Fernandez, the first who ever passed the land of the negroes, in one of don Alvaro di Castro's caravellas; and John of Castile, in a caravella belonging to Alvaro Gonzalez of Taide, the king's governor, afterwards count of Tognia, with some other caravellas, making up the number of six-and-twenty, exclusive of the ten gallies of Palazzano.

Every vessel departed from the port where it had been fitted out. A. D. 1445. The fourteen caravellas that lay in Lagos hoisted sails together the tenth of August; but they were no sooner out of sight of the coast of Algarves, than they were overtaken by a storm, which separated them. The commandant-general, Lancerota, had given orders before they sailed, that in case of any such accident, they should steer to the island of Garça, where the general rendezvous was to be; and it is upon this occasion, and by these orders, that the above-mentioned Laurenço Dias came there; he was taking in water, when he was joined by Denizeanes de Gram, with three caravellas. Denizeanes having now been apprised by Laurenço Dias of the grand fleet expected



pected that way, he remained behind, in order to take revenge by the destruction of those who had killed his seven men. After two days, they saw Lancerota arrive, and with him Soeiro da Costa, Alvaro di Freitas, Rodrigueanes, Gomez Perez, il Picanzo, and others, commanding nine caravellas. It was thought necessary, after the report of Denizeanes, to come immediately to action, before the number of vessels had given the alarm to the barbarians; but they were soon seen by them, and they had all on the continent taken to their heels. When they arrived at the Arguim islands, they put eight men to the sword for their obstinate resistance, and reduced four to slavery, which were the only ones who had not deserted the islands. In the scuffle, one of our mariners received a wound, of which he died a few days after. Soeira da Costa here received the honour of knighthood, which he had merited in many actions in Christian armies, but thought it worth accepting only on this expedition. Accordingly Alvaro di Freitas, commander of Algiezur, conferred it on him. Denizeanes was promoted to the same title, which served in some manner to soothe his bitter regret for the loss he had sustained. The other caravellas arrived now in succession; and Denizeanes, after having laid in some provision, steered back to Portugal with his three caravellas. Lancerota resolved, with the other captains, to pass the island of Tider, where they would station three caravellas in a place of the strait, where the inhabitants used to pass from the island to the continent. The Moors, informed of this design, passed in the greatest security to the continent, during the night, unperceived by the Portuguese. The next morning, when they could see them, they were retreating, and railed at the Portuguese with loud taunts.

A servant of the infante's chamber, named Diogo, who was stung by the raillery and contempt cast by these barbarians upon his countrymen, resolutely asked Pedro Alemano, a native of Lagos, whether he felt the courage to follow him, to take vengeance for these provoking injuries. Alemano having offered to second him, without communicating his design to any body else, they took the necessary arms and swam to the shore. The Moors, upon seeing their danger, took flight, and howled so amazingly, that the rest of the crew were roused to attention, and such as could swim immediately followed their tracks. These were Gill, a gentleman of the infante, and Lionello Gill, the son of the standard-bearer of the crusade. These two, united with the former, attacked the Moors, who stood now upon the defensive, to protect their women and children. An affray ensued, which cost the Moors ten dead near the shore, and as many at some distance from it, together with fifty-seven prisoners. In spite of this fatigue, when they were joined by a few others who had remained spectators to the first scene, they the same night assailed a village twenty miles from the sea, in hopes of taking such as had escaped at the first engagement, which some of the prisoners affirmed would be found there. But the inhabitants had previously removed, upon the warning of those who had escaped, and abandoned the shore, so that this scheme was wholly defeated: they only found upon their return five Moors, who had concealed themselves behind some bushes, on their flight the preceding day. As they had now accomplished the intention of this voyage by this considerable conquest, the following day Lancerota assembled the chiefs and captains in the fleet, to whom he addressed the following speech: "No one of you, gentlemen and friends, is ignorant that the  
" principal intention with which we have been sent hither from the infante, and in  
" which I had the honour to preside, is fulfilled, by the reduction of a people which  
" had hitherto proved obnoxious to our shipping. Your general valour and conduct  
" has



“ has been so conspicuous, that I think it unnecessary to put you in mind of the grati-  
“ fication your exploits will afford to the infante, and of the extent to which I am  
“ confident he will reward them. All those who deserve well of their superiors, are  
“ entitled to distinction, which never fails flowing from the hands of liberal and at-  
“ tentive princes, like that we have the honour to serve, although our undertaking  
“ has been rather the consequence of a former bounty, than the effect of any other  
“ expected future recompence, but that of an increase of his esteem for us. What  
“ remains now to be done, is to comply with the other part of his commission; we  
“ must now separate, and every one courageously follow his own destiny, in quest  
“ of some necessary private acquisitions. I therefore lay before you, and renounce  
“ this day, that power of superiority which the infante has graciously vested in my  
“ person, for the execution of the accomplished commission. As for my other inten-  
“ tions, I must acquaint you, that if I am not willing as yet to return home, it is not  
“ so much for a motive of glory, in climates which have happily established my  
“ memory, as the smallness of the prize, which must be too inconsiderable, if a parti-  
“ tion among so many vessels be attended to. It is my earnest wish, therefore, to  
“ join the first man who should move for a farther progress on the coast, in search of  
“ some other acquisitions. Here Soeiro da Costa, and with him Vincenzo Diaz,  
Rodrigueanes, Martin Vincenzo, and Il Picanzo adverted, that their caravella being  
the smallest in the fleet, and the winter season so much advanced, as willing as they  
were to support his wishes, yet the necessity was great on the other hand to hasten their  
return. But Gomez Perez, captain of the king's caravella, Alvaro di Freitas, Ro-  
drigueanes Travazos, and Laurengo Dias, a merchant, stepped over to the captain's side,  
expressing their desire to see the kingdom of the negroes, which had been described to  
them in so opposite and advantageous colours from that which they had before them.  
Upon this determination the two divisions went each its own way; the one returned  
headed by Soeiro da Costa, and the other to Portugal pressed forward under the con-  
duct of Lancerota.

Soeira da Costa was obeyed throughout his fleet, on account of his dignity of Cas-  
tellan of Lagos, of which place the greatest part of the crew were natives, and which  
they respected with an equal submission at sea. He obliged them to pass Cape Blanco.  
There they entered a harbour with their sloops, in which they advanced for about  
twelve miles, when they came to a village, where they took nine Moors, the others  
escaping by a timely alarm. The prize which he had made being little calculated  
to satiate his desire, he, notwithstanding the dissuasion of the other captains, wanted  
to turn to Tider, as there were among the slaves a female Moor, and a youth, the  
son of a leading man, who flattered him with large ransoms. Soeiro da Costa hav-  
ing brought the other captains into his views, tacked about for that island, where,  
as soon as they arrived, a treaty was opened on both sides. For the greater security  
of both parties, the Moors put into Da Costa's hands one of their principal men  
as a hostage, and he, in return, sent them the master of the vessel he was in, and  
along with him a Jew, who had joined company upon that voyage. As soon as the  
young man had been delivered to his parents, the female slave, who trusted far  
more to her skill in swimming, than to the possibility of her release by an exorbitant  
ransom, threw herself into the water, and made off. When the Moors had now in their  
power at once the woman and the young man, they refused restoring the two hostages  
committed to them upon any condition but their giving up three other prisoners.

Soeiro



Soeiro da Costa, though this was a heavy loss to him, gave way to it, to save the master of his ship; and to lose sight of this disagreeable situation, he returned to Portugal; but in his way back, he intended to make a descent on the Canary islands, where he met Alvaro Gonzalez de Taide with his caravella, whose captain was Juan de Castilla; and when they informed him what rout they intended to pursue, he told them that he believed it would be in vain, for that the business of Arguim was at an end, and the winter began to set in in those parts, which might endanger the loss of his vessel: that they intended steering to the Canary islands, and to make a descent on the island of Palma, where they expected to make some profitable prize, and that he had better go along with him, as he had come too late to go to Africa. Juan de Castilla followed this advice; and the first port they arrived at was in the island Gomera, where they were received by two captains, who were their governors, offering every thing in their power that they stood in need of, and acknowledging themselves much indebted to the infante don Henry; for though they had been at the palace of the king of Spain, and that of the king of Portugal, yet they had not received such favours from either as from him. The captains of the caravellas finding they might have some help from these gentlemen, knowing that they were great enemies to the inhabitants of the island of Palma, to which place they intended to go, acquainted them with their design, and proposed their going with them, and carrying some of their men to attack their enemies, whom the infante was much offended at for being a bad and rebellious people. The two Canarian captains, whose names were Piste and Brucho, to shew how much they wished to serve the infante, without further delay embarked on board these caravellas, with a considerable number of men, and setting sail, at break of day, arrived at the port of Palma, and landed without being perceived. The first people they met were a few shepherds, who were tending some large flocks of sheep. The moment they got sight of the Portuguese, they gave a particular cry or call to their sheep, which they had used them to; on this they all fled to a valley, which was situated between two high rocky mountains, as if they had been told the enemy was upon them. The Portuguese observing the Canarian captains and their men climbing the rocks after the shepherds, who were flying before them, began to follow; but as they were not used to this sort of attack, many of them had dangerous falls, and among the rest, a young man fell from a precipice and was dashed to pieces. Nay, some of these very Canarians which were in pursuit, trusting too much to their agility, shared the same fate. The Canarians, as soon as they perceived their enemies, gathered together in great abundance; but seeing the Portuguese armed, they did not dare come near them, but kept among the rocks, doing them all the mischief they could; but they were so expert in avoiding what the latter could do to them, that they received little harm. However, with chasing them in this manner, when the assailants rallied again, they found they had taken about seventeen persons; among them was a woman of an extraordinary size, which they said was the queen of a part of the island.

On our return to the island Gomera, we left the two Canarian captains in the place we had come from; and the one called Piste died afterwards in Portugal, being employed on some affairs of his island, and was always noticed by the infante.

Juan de Castilla being dissatisfied with the small portion that came to his share on this expedition, and to make himself some recompence for the loss he had sustained, by not being at the business of Arguim, persuaded them to make slaves of the natives



natives of the island they were at ; and though all looked upon it as a bad action to make captives of those from whom they had received so much friendship, yet the desire of gain got the better of their feelings ; and to incur less blame, they went to another port, and took twenty persons, and then returned to Portugal. This deceitful action coming to the ears of the infante, he was much enraged at the captains, and ordered all these men to be cloathed at his expence, and sent back from whence they were taken ; for the infante had been a friend to the Canarians, as will hereafter be shewn, and was very much hurt at any offence being given them.

Captain Lancerota, after Soeira da Costa left him, coasted about till he got beyond that part which the Moors call Cahara, and we corruptly call Zara, which is a part of the deserts of Lybia, and reach as far as the two palm-trees, of which Juan Fernandez, when he was there, took notice, and where the inhabitants say that the Azenegue Moors are separated from the black idolaters. Pursuing his voyage about twenty leagues further, they found a remarkable river, now called Canaga, from a principal person of that country, who transacted many ransoms in that place, whose name was Canaga ; but the real name of the river at the entrance is Ovedech, (according to the language of the blacks who inhabit the same) ; but the further you penetrate this river, the inhabitants that drink its water give it different names, which hereafter will be seen. They not only got this intelligence then, but by the information which the Azenegue Moors had given the infante, it came from the east, running through large kingdoms and provinces ; and that they had heard it was a branch of the Nile\*. On captain Lancerota entering this river, over the bar, he hoisted out his boat, and one Estevam Alfonso went in her to go on shore, and discover what he could. On his first landing, he perceived a hut on a sandy plain, which he supposed to belong to some fishermen ; in which were taken a boy and girl, brother and sister ; more, says De Barros, with an intent of saving their souls, than from the desire of making captives of them ; for when they were brought to Portugal, the infante ordered the boy to be instructed, so that he might receive priest's orders, and return to preach baptism and the faith of Christ ; but before he came to a proper age he died : his sister was properly taken care of, on account of the merits of her brother, and lived more like a free person than a slave. On the spot where they were taken, though they could not understand a word these children spoke, yet, by some means, they understood that they said their father and mother were nigh at hand ; and searching round the hut, at a little distance, among some thick brush, they heard a noise, as if somebody was hewing wood ; and fearing, if they went together, they should give too much alarm, Estevam Alfonso proposed to go by himself, and get as near as he could, to listen and observe what was the cause of the noise. Having approached by the sound, he perceived a black cutting a piece of wood ; and so intent was he, that he never heard or saw Alfonso till he seized him, which had like to have cost the former his life ; for the black being a strong large man, and naked, and he being cloathed, and a little man, at first the surprize so overcame the black, that Alfonso got him down under him ; but though his defence was with his fists and teeth, he would have soon got the better, had not his companions come to his assistance ; on the sight of which, the negro escaped, and ran into a wood. Alfonso, when he found himself released by their ap-

\* This notion prevailed a long time.



pearance, and seeing them follow the negro, tried likewise to keep pace with them, and advised them to surround the wood till they could get some of their dogs from the ships to drive him out; but the negro having his thoughts on his children, no sooner had got into the wood one way, but he was out of it another; and not finding them in his hut, followed the footsteps of the Portuguese, who had carried them to the sea shore, where Vicente Dias, the merchant and owner of the ship, was taking a walk coolly, in safety, as he thought, having only a boat-hook in his hand, which he used as a walking stick. The negro, as soon as he saw him, enraged at the loss of his children, fell upon him, and broke one of his jaws with a stake, and received himself a wound from the boat-hook on his head, before they grasped each other. Vicente Dias, nevertheless, had got him under, when another negro, his son, assisted his father: they both beat him terribly, and he would have been killed, had not Estevam Alfonso, and his companions, came running to his assistance, which, as soon as the negroes perceived, being active and light, got out of their reach in safety. They all went on board soon after they came up to Vicente Dias, he being the second that had been wounded by this black; and getting his wounds dressed, he was visited, as well as Estevam Alfonso, by the people of the other caravellas, who joked them upon the negro's being the best wrestler of all that were in the boat.

This day being passed, captain Lancerota having agreed with the other captains to proceed up the river to make discoveries, there came on such bad weather as to force them to leave the place they were at, and Rodrigueanes Travaços, and Denis Dias lost company of Lancerota, and returned safe to Portugal. Lancerota, with five caravellas, running towards Cape Verde, came to a peninsula joined to the main land, where they found abundance of goats, which were a great refreshment to his people. They also found the skins of some that had been lately killed, which made them conclude that some of his countrymen had been lately there; and he was confirmed in the idea, by finding written on the bark of some large trees, the infante's device or motto, "*Talent de bien faire*," which was left by Alvaro Fernandez, nephew to Juan Gonzalez; which captain had been attacked by six almadias, or boats of the blacks, in this place, and could only capture one, with two negroes on board, the rest having saved themselves by swimming. On this voyage, nevertheless, he proceeded as far as Cabo dos Mastos, or Cape Mafts, a name he then gave it from some dry palm trees, which had the appearance of rigged masts; and from thence he returned to Portugal. Captain Lancerota, in two days that he was at this island, with his five caravellas, watered, and furnished himself with plenty of goats flesh. He passed towards *terra firma*, where many blacks came towards the shore. Gomes Perez being sent in a boat to approach them, and to shew them signs of peace, which was always recommended by the infante in all his orders, threw them a cake, a looking-glass, and a sheet of paper, with a cross drawn on it; but they were so little desirous of having those things, and so much hurt at what Alvaro Fernandez did to them, that they not only refused them, but broke them to pieces, and began to let fly their arrows at the boat. Gomes Perez seeing there was no likelihood of a good understanding between them, returned them the compliment by way of taking leave. These captains seeing the disposition of these blacks, determined on the next day to fall upon them in the same way they used to do with the Moors; but suddenly there came on a terrible storm, which made every one attend closely to the management of the vessels; and Laurengo Dias, one of the infante's esquires, got safe to the place where Vicente Dias had  
the



the struggle with the black; and finding himself short of provisions, arms, and other things, which were necessary for the discovery of that river, he did not dare undertake it, but returned. Gomes Pérez, the pilot of another of Lancerota's vessels, came to the Rio d'Ouro, or Gold River; and there he agreed with the Moors for a slave, who told him, if he would return the next year, they would be provided with gold and slaves sufficient to load his ship, for they began to like the commodities that were brought them in exchange for their's; and as long as Gomes Perez remained there, they came to the vessel without fear, more out of friendship than for exchange; and as a token of that friendship, gave him a large quantity of the skins of sea wolves, with which he returned to Portugal.

Lancerota, Alvará de Freitas, and Vicente Dias, kept together, as they had done during the storm they had experienced at Cape Verde; and they agreed, that in their way they would attack the island of Tider, where they took fifty-nine persons, and returned with much more property than the others. Denis Fernandez, captain of the caravella of D'Alvaro de Castro, and Palançano, captain of the galley, which kept company with the fourteen vessels that went from the kingdom this year; when they arrived at Arguim, and heard news of the success of the other caravellas that went to the island of Tider, and that these islands were depopulated, they determined to go forward as far as the river Canaga, and get into the river with the galley. As Denis Fernandez was acquainted with the coast, having been there before, and having passed the point called Santa Anna, which is within fifty leagues of it, and being calm weather, they were desirous of sending a man out to discover whether there were any inhabitants near the shore; but the swell being so great, none of the sailors would venture to leap into the sea: Palançano, however, began to expostulate with a dozen young fellows that knew how to swim, who were only to carry offensive weapons, which had the desired effect, and they took to the water. Going along the shore, they came up with a dozen Moors, seized nine, and brought them to the ship. They were no sooner on board but it changed to a storm, so that the galley or vessel of Palançano was lost: providentially all the people were saved, and got on board Denis Fernandez's vessel. The storm drove them to Cape Verde, where they only got sight of some negroes, who defended their shore with their bows and arrows; but the weather changing, they returned to the place where they lost the galley: they still saw her hull, which the Moors would not destroy, because they kept it as a kind of triumph, to vex the Portuguese whenever they should come that way. However, they felt severely for the loss of the galley; for behind some hillocks were discovered about seventy Moors, who had been too inattentive to their own safety, and they received so much damage from the Portuguese, that most of them certainly perished; even those that escaped must have received wounds. This feat, in some degree made up for the loss of the galley, and recovered the honour of Denis Fernandez and Palançano. Having done so little on that coast, they set sail, and passing by the Ponta de Lyra, they only took two Moors by out-running them; for they had now adopted that method, as they dreaded encountering with the Portuguese, having felt the effects of their swords. From hence they made the best of their way to Portugal, where they arrived safe; all the other caravellas which had gone that year upon these expeditions were safe also, except captain Palançano's galley.

Nuno Tristan returning, by the order of Prince Henry, sailed in a caravella to Cape de Mastelli, which had been the extremity of the navigation of Alvaro Fernandez, a



former navigator. The ardor with which he undertook this commission, soon carried him one hundred and eighty miles beyond Cape Verde, and he was not long before he arrived at the river called Rio Grande. Having cast anchor at the mouth of this river, he entered a boat with two-and-twenty men, in order to discover some population. The river was very large near the mouth. He took advantage of the flood, which run strong, and he was soon carried to a great distance from the sea, and fell in unexpectedly with thirteen almadias, in which there were eighty resolute negroes, who had been chosen for the purpose of repelling those strangers whom they had seen arrive in the caravella, and afterwards go up the river in a boat.

Nuno Tristan perceiving that the negroes seemed to give way (by separating) at his approach, imagined they were alarmed at the sight of the Europeans, never before seen by them, and rowed towards the land, whither they feigned to take refuge; but as soon as they saw themselves in a capacity of intercepting the boat, by the stations which they had taken both above and below, on the river, they suddenly rushed upon him with frightful clamours, and discharged a shower of arrows. An escape was now impracticable, considering the position of the enemy. Whenever those in the sloop attempted to seek revenge on one side, they were attacked in the flank from the other; and the Portuguese were compleatly defeated, on account of the poison in which the negroes had dipped their arrows, which, joined to the heat maintained in the combat, precipitated their destruction. Nuno Tristan thought it safe to retreat by means of the ebb tide; this, however, proved of little advantage to him, as almost all his men died before he joined the vessel, and himself fell a victim to the poison and disappointment. Among the dead were John Correa, Duarte Dolanda, Stefano D'Almeida, and Maicado, all of good families, and brought up from their earlier years at the court of the infante, with many other mariners, amounting in all to nineteen. Of the seven that escaped, two were killed by a hurt received from an anchor, at the moment they were getting on board the caravella. It is reported by some, that this catastrophe happened in the river Nuno, lying sixty miles beyond Rio Grande; from which, and the death of Nuno, it has derived its name. What affords matter of surprise is, how, on account of the want of hands, four young men, with a servant of the infante's chamber, named Arias Tinous, a native of Olivenza, who had been taken as the ship's clerk, arrived, as they did, in safety, at Lagos, there being not one among them who understood the conducting of a vessel.

The report of this loss lay the heavier on the infante, as he had a strong sense of the abilities of the sufferers, and the services which they had rendered him. He exerted towards their remains, a beneficence which he had ardently wished to confer on their persons.

The voyage which Alvaro Fernandez, the nephew of Juan Gonzalez, one of the governors of Madeira, made the same year, seemed to make good, in some measure, by its success, the former disaster, for he returned to Africa, and passed three hundred miles beyond Cape Verde. His first exploit was the assault of a village, the chief of which he slew with his own hand, having observed him foremost in the attack. They betook themselves to flight as soon as their chief disappeared. It was impossible for the Portuguese to prevent their escape, as their nakedness made them exceeding swift. It was not thought proper to attack them in the situation in which they had taken refuge; but upon return to the vessel, two negro women were met with, who were carried



carried off. Alvaro Fernandez being desirous to make some farther attempts along the coast than had heretofore been done, sailed forward, until he arrived at the mouth of a river, which is now called Tabite, lying one hundred miles beyond Rio di Nuno, where he was received by five almadias. Nuno Trifan's accident made him circumspect upon entering the river, and he carefully avoided putting himself in narrow places, when he could prevent it. One of the almadias, the lightest of the number, attacked the boat, and discharged its arrows against Alvaro Fernandez. He would have lost his life, had it not been for theriaca and other antidotes against the poisonous vegetable, made use of by the negroes. In contempt of his wounds, and sensible only of the impression of his courage, he set out for farther discoveries, till he arrived at a sandy point, where he had an inclination to land, as from its openness there was no inference of any concealed danger. But before he quitted the caravella, one hundred and twenty negroes came forward to dispute his landing, should he attempt it, and saluted him with a discharge of venomous arrows. It had been expressly recommended by the infante, to all the captains employed in discoveries, not to recur to the sword, as long as there should exist any glimmer of hope to bring those people to conversion, by good treatment and accommodation; but Alvaro Fernandez seeing how useless every conciliatory and friendly step might prove, from the disposition which they witnessed, he would willingly have taken stronger measures, had he not, from experience, learned to know the danger there was in attacking those barbarians. Contented, therefore, with the addition he had made to the preceding discoveries, he returned home. Don Henry, and the infante don Pedro, then regent, equally bestowed much honour and distinction upon him; and they each made him a gift of an hundred gold ducats.

These well-timed favours were calculated to keep up a spirit of discovery among the people who had suffered a great check by the late accident to Nuno Trifan. They were so effectual, that twelve caravellas were fitted out the same year, to which were appointed captains, Gillianes, a knight and inhabitant of Lagos; Ferante Valarino, an expert man in arms, and known for his achievements before Ceuta; Refano Alfonso, Lorenzo Diaz, and John Bernardo, all men of reputed abilities, and servants about the infante's person: to those caravellas were joined one belonging to the bishop of Algarves, and three others belonging to the community of Lagos. They set off in conjunction for Madeira, where they were to take in some provisions, and to join two more caravellas, the one belonging to Trifan Vaz, governor of Machico, and the other the property of Garcia, the son-in-law to John Gonzalez, governor of Funchal. From this island they went to Gomera, to conduct the above-mentioned Canarians, which John of Castile, with other captains, had made prisoners, and who had made this expedition by order of the infante, with great alacrity, as he had bestowed great favours on them. With the assistance of those prisoners, the Portuguese wanted to make an incursion upon the island of Palma, but they were frustrated in the event by the attention which the inhabitants paid to their motions. Upon this, the caravella of Madeira sailed to Portugal, having come only with a design upon Palma, and the remaining made their way to Cape Verde. Whenever they happened to engage with the negroes, it was generally to disadvantage, on account of the inconvenience of the toil, and of the trees. They lost in one encounter five men, who fell by the poisoned arrows of the enemy; they also lost upon a sand bank, the caravella of the bishop of Algarves. As they had found by experience to succeed better with the Moors



than with these savages, they returned to Arguim, and took from a village near Cape Riscate, forty-six people. On their return home, Steffano Alfonso took the course to Palma, where they made a prize of two women, which had like to have cost the lives of all the people on the expedition, had it not been for the valour of Diogo Gonzalez, who, upon seeing a man with a cross-bow which he had, wrenched it from his hand, and used it with such dexterity, as to kill seven Canarians; among which was the king himself, who wore, as a badge of his sovereignty, a palm twig in one hand, instead of a scepter. To this incident may be attributed the whole success of our adventurers, as the enemy took to their heels as soon as they had seen their king fall. The ships arrived safe at Portugal.

This year it happened that there came a Portuguese ship through A. D. 1447. the straits of Gibraltar; and being taken by a great tempest, was forced to run westward, more than willingly the men would; and at last they fell upon an island that had seven cities, and the people spake the Portuguese: they demanded, if the Moors did not trouble Spain, whence they fled for the loss which they had received by the death of the king of Spain, don Roderigo. The boatswain of the ship brought home a little sand, and sold it to the goldsmiths of Lisbon, out of which they had a good quantity of gold. Don Pedro understanding this, being the governor of the realm, caused all the things thus brought home and made known, to be recorded in the house of Spain. There are many who think that the islands whereunto the Portuguese went, were the Antilles, or New Spain.—This extract is taken from Galvam's discoveries, and rests solely on his credit, as it is not to be found in any other of the Portuguese authors we have consulted. It may here be proper to observe, that the reason why we have not mentioned Galvam among the authors from which we draw our information, is, that almost the whole of his book is composed of extracts from other writers, and those very short and unsatisfactory.

It has been before observed, that the Moors on the Rio d'Ouro had A. D. 1448. given sea wolves skins to Gomez Perez, promising to exchange with him in gold and slaves, if he should return. As the time fixed for the accomplishment of this negotiation was now arriving, the infante ordered two caravellas to be equipped, which, when they arrived at the river, found that the engagements of those barbarians were kept with little faith; for instead of offering peace and the agreed exchange, they prepared only snares and traps. When Gomez Perez perceived these treacherous designs, he resented it highly, and in revenge, made eighty of them prisoners, with whom he returned to Portugal the same year in which he had left it.

The next year the infante sent Diogo Gill, a man of great knowledge, to treat with the Moors of Mezza, lying thirty-six miles beyond Cape Gue, and eighteen leagues on this side Cape Non, which not long ago had been the terror of the most experienced navigators. This expedition was resolved upon, on account of the warlike character of the Moors of Rio d'Ouro, and the indubitable information they got of the inclination the Moors of Mezza had for pacification and commerce with the Europeans. In order the better to facilitate this desirable intercourse, some Moors of Mezza were on board, who promised large ransoms of negroes for their persons. With this captain went Juan Fernandez, the same who had remained on shore among the Moors of Arguim, on a former voyage. Diogo afterwards having by his means exchanged fifty negroes for eighteen Moors, was driven by a storm from the coast, and constrained



strained to go away, leaving Juan Fernandez on shore. He brought back with him a lion, which the infante gave as a present to an Englishman, who was one of his servants, and his bosom friend, then living in Galvée. The fame of these expeditions and discoveries having spread itself all over Europe, a gentleman, named Ballarte, then at the court of the king of Denmark, grew desirous likewise to see new regions, and for this purpose went, with his king's permission, to make an offer of his services to the infante, don Henry, who seconded his wishes in arming a vessel; to him was associated Ferante d'Alfonso, a knight of the order of Christ, a step which was continued to reflect honour upon them. The infante vested him with the dignity of ambassador to the king of Cape Verde, and sent two negroes with him, who were to serve as interpreters, and as a medium to convert those infidels to the true faith. Ballarte having been anxious to see the coast already discovered, and inhabited by Moors and negroes, asked Ferante d'Alfonso to make their voyage along the shore; for this reason, and also in part for the contrary winds which they had to combat from the day of their sailing, six months were spent before they arrived only at Cape Verde. The negroes, who had now grown somewhat familiar with the sight of our vessels, assiduously watched them; and as soon as they had a sight of this caravella, they embarked in their almadias with intent to destroy it. But when they understood of the interpreters the real cause for the expedition, and that they conveyed an ambassador with presents to their king, they stood quiet for a certain time in compliance with the proposal; from thence they went to make report to the governor, as the king was then taken up with an inland war, about eight days journey from the shore. Upon this notice, the governor, who was named Farrin, went without delay in person to the sea, accompanied with a considerable retinue. Ferante d'Alfonso, and Ballarte, gave and received hostages till such time as the king might be informed of the arrival of the caravella. The governor put into our hands a nobleman of the first rank in the country; our chiefs gave them one of the interpreters, and they immediately began to barter. Among the articles which the Portuguese received, were elephants teeth, which so much surprised Ballarte, that he was inflamed with the desire of having an elephant alive; or at least, if that was impossible, to bring him the skin or bones of one, and he was ready to give any price for it. Upon this, the negroes pledged themselves to let him have sight of one in a convenient place. Three days passed, when they returned to Ballarte with the notice, that they could now gratify his curiosity. Ballarte intrusted himself in the boat with some mariners, and was going on shore, when a negro, in handing a flagon of palm wine to one of our sailors, put his foot with such pressure upon the side of the boat, that the sailor was overset in the water. He sunk, and could not be found, being concealed under the mud; and in the effort which every one made to save him, the conduct of the boat was fatally neglected. Here the negroes perceiving that no assistance could be expected from the caravella, rushed upon them with their arms, and killed them all, except a single one, who was indebted for his escape to his skill in swimming, and who was the reporter of the event. He related, that having looked back in swimming, he could see Ballarte fighting in the prow with the intrepidity of a warrior, who too early lost a life which might have been distinguished with glorious actions, upon a remote coast, whither a strong hope of exploits had allured him from almost an opposite extremity of the globe. His loss, and that of his companions, made a deep impression upon the remaining crew, by whom he was held in general esteem; and Ferante d'Alfonso made his way again to Portugal, leaving the negroes upon the



the same footing as they stood before, that is, without having closed any bond of amity or intercourse with them; for the loss of the boat rendered any descent impossible, and this perfidious action did not permit the barbarians to approach any more with their almadias—the Portuguese therefore returned.

This year king Alfonso came to his majority, being sixteen years old; he sent out ships for discoveries, and the infante also continued to fit out vessels. Alfonso, on the second of September, passed a grant to don Henry, that no other person should make discoveries beyond Cape Bojador; and that he should receive a fifth of the benefits arising therefrom, which should continue to him during life.

The next year he granted liberty to the infante to settle the islands  
A. D. 1449. of the Azores, which had been discovered, and to which he had before sent some cattle.

## CHAPTER VI.

*First voyage of Alvise da Cada Mosto. Introductory discourse of Ramusio. Cada Mosto's preface. Sails to Madeira and the Canaries; thence to Cape Blanco, to Senegal, and to Cape Verde. These countries described.*

**T**HERE are two voyages of Cada Mosto, both to be found in the collections of Ramusio and Grynœus: one to the river Senega, or Sanaga-Gambia and Rio Grande; the other to the coast of Africa and the Cape de Verde islands. They were written originally in Italian, from which the following translation is taken; and are preceded by a discourse, written by Ramusio; from which, as it contains much information, we shall give extracts.

The voyages of Cada Mosto are remarkable for being the oldest extant (except Alcaforado's) relating to the voyages of the Portuguese. The accounts we have of the prior voyages being only extracts from historians, and not written by the navigators themselves. These voyages are penned with spirit; the author was a judicious person, and, excepting some few particulars, in which he was imposed on by the merchants of Africa, they are as entertaining and curious as most that have been written since. With respect to the kingdom of Tombuto, and its branches, his account is far superior to any later voyages.

### DISCOURSE *on the Book of* ALVISE *or* LEWIS DA CADA MOSTO, *a Venetian Gentleman.*

These are the navigations of the noble Alvise da Cada Mosto, by  
A. D. 1455. order of don Juan, king of Portugal, made in 1455 along the coasts of Lower Ethiopia, on the Atlantic ocean. He was the first man who discovered the islands of Cape Verde\*, and penetrated as far as Rio Grande, eleven degrees and an half on this side the equinoctial line, and afterwards wrote a summary account of the navigation of captain Peter di Sintra, a Portuguese, who went as far as

\* The Portuguese historians ascribe this honour to Denis Fernandez, a countryman of their own, twelve years before. See page 21.



the sixth degree north of the line, where there is the wood of Santa Maria, which deservedly claims the attention of the learned, as they may be convinced from it, that in opposition to the conjectures of the ancients, who imagined that these countries were scorched by the sun, and inhospitable; they are, on the contrary, most verdant, delightful, and inhabited by innumerable people.

By the reading of these navigations, we may be sensible of the facility with which a new way might be opened to the said kingdoms of the negroes by sea, at once shorter, more expeditious, easy, convenient, and safe; and as at present all European nations are allowed to sail with their vessels to the island of St. Thomas, to take cargoes of sugar, provided they pay the established duties to the king of Portugal; and which voyage they perform along the said coast, as far as the line, under which the island of St. Thomas lies, so it should be permitted to every one to navigate to these negro kingdoms, equally paying the customs of their merchandises; observing, that when they arrive at the half way, namely, at the island of St. Jago, which lies fifteen degrees this side the line, they should stop short, and direct their new course towards the coast of Ethiopia to the river Senegal, or Rio Grande, both which are arms of the Niger, falling into the sea, and should send to contract with the kings of Tombut or Melli, for permission to come with their ships and merchandises in the said kingdoms; and there is no doubt but they would receive a most favourable and flattering reception, and that all their wishes would be complied with, it being undeniable that these people are extremely civil, and ambitious of European commodities, as appears by the book of Giovannis Leoni. Nor would even the merchants, attempting such a voyage, run the danger of falling into the hands of pirates, nor so much hazard, in their approach to the tropic of Cancer, as others incur in the Mediterranean. Not to mention the facility and conveniency of transporting all kinds of merchandise up the said river Niger, which is as vast as the Nile, and can be navigated five hundred miles and upwards, to its source, and which is bordered with towns and kingdoms: nor to reflect on the immense profit that might accrue to them from the traffic of salt, which is so scarce, and so valued among them. It would be easy to load vessels in one of the islands of Cape Verde, called Isle of Sal, or Salt Island, from its being so extremely productive of this commodity. We may infer from thence, the great number of merchants that would come together, attracted by the emoluments of this trade, which cannot be compared, either in time, expences, or risk, to that of the East Indies. Besides the mass of gold, what a number of negroes might they not draw in exchange for their merchandises, which they might carry to the island of St. Jago at Cape Verde, and immediately bring them to market there, to be sold for the West Indies. After all, we should be tempted to believe, that the kings of Portugal, too well acquainted with the possibility of those plans, have opposed them from motives of interest, which, as it would not become us to investigate, so it might also be deemed ill advised to enlarge on the many other advantages and commodities which we might draw from that part of Ethiopia, which is situated between the tropic of Cancer and the equinoctial line, running in the same parallels of latitude with the East Indies.

#### INTRODUCTION *of the noble* MESSIRE ALVISE DA CADA MOSTO.

I Alvise da Cada Mosto, having been the first of the illustrious city of Venice that attempted to navigate the ocean, without the freight of Gibraltar, towards the  
southern



southern parts of Negroland, of Lower Ethiopia: and as I have seen, in this voyage, many novelties and interesting things, I thought them worthy the trouble of recording; and I am going to relate them, that posterity may see the motives by which I have been actuated in the search of new regions, which might truly be called another world, if compared with ours: and if I should fail relating them in the requisite style, at least, I shall make it my business to present them in their true light, and to relate them simply, rather than hyperbolically, to swell the narrative. I must then notice, that the man who has first explored the southern ocean, to Lower Ethiopia, was the infante don Henry of Portugal, son of don Juan, the first of his name, king of Portugal and Algarves: he obtained the highest applause for his proficiency in astronomy and astrology, but these I shall pass over in silence. I must only mention, that being of an elevated and noble mind, and endowed with a vast ingenuity, he addicted himself to the military profession, under Christ's standard, in the war with the barbarians, and to fight in defence of the faith. He would never marry, and has carefully preserved the innocence of his youth. He greatly signalized himself in different engagements with the Moors, and achieved actions that deserve the highest commendation. When his father was near his death, which happened in 1433, he called his said son Henry, in whose virtue he placed the strongest confidence; affectionately recommended to him all the Portuguese cavaliers, entreating and exhorting him to persist in his pious and laudable resolution, to prosecute with all his power the enemies of the faith of Christ. The infante promised to fulfil his desire.

After the death of his father, he, with the approbation and assistance of his elder brother, king Duarte, effectually carried war into the kingdom of Fez, which, during several years, having been crowned with the happiest success, he continued by all imaginary means to distress the said kingdom; he also sent his caravellas to cruise along the coast of Azafi, and Messa, which are also a part of the kingdom of Fez, and which lie along the ocean without the freights of Gibraltar. He used to send them out every year, and it proved very destructive to the barbarians. By this means, making them every year advance farther, he brought them as far as the promontary called Cape Non, which name it has retained to this day; and this cape was looked upon as the limits, beyond which, if any one happened to pass, he was no more heard of. This opinion was so prevalent, that these caravellas went only to this part, without venturing to attempt passing it. The prince, desirous that attempts should be made, ordered the ensuing year that they should pursue a farther course beyond the cape, under the protection, and with the assistance of God. The reputation in which the Portuguese navigators stood at that time, and the abundance of every kind of provisions he furnished his caravellas with, made him believe that they would find no obstacles. Desirous as he was to make new discoveries, and to find out nations that might assist him in his design against the Moors, he equipped three caravellas, and ordered them to be supplied with necessaries, and having stored them with skilful and expert men, they arrived at, and passed Cape Non, navigating along the coast by day, and landing by night. Having advanced about an hundred miles beyond Cape Non, and not meeting with any nation or inhabitants, but merely with a sandy and unfruitful soil, they returned back. Henry hearing that they had not succeeded in their pursuits, sent them the next year with fresh orders to pass one hundred and fifty miles farther than they had done the preceding year, and still farther if practicable; and promised that he would make the fortunes of them all. They failed, but having proved  
equally



equally unfortunate in this pursuit, they returned. Henry was well acquainted with geography, and by that knowledge he was convinced, that by repeating the attempts, they must at last make discoveries. The attempts were repeated so often by his orders, that they at last came to some parts inhabited by the Arabians, who live in those wildernesses, and in a part still more interior of the continent, of a generation which is called Azanaghi, who are tawny men, of whom we shall speak with some detail afterwards. In this manner were the lands of the first negroes discovered, where they from time to time obtained information of other generations, of different languages, manners, and faith, as in the progress of this book may be seen.

## FIRST VOYAGE.

I Alvise da Cada Mosto, being in our city of Venice, in the year of our Lord 1454, about twenty-two years of age, and having already navigated different parts of the Mediterranean, resolved to return to Flanders, where I had formerly been with a view of profit; for my whole attention was taken up to acquire wealth first, and afterwards fame. Having then deliberated about my departure, as I have hinted, taking along with me what I could get in money, I went on board one of our galleys for Flanders, and departed on the eighth of August. We had a prosperous voyage, putting in at the usual places, till we came to the coast of Spain. Having been detained by contrary winds at Cape St. Vincent, as it is called, we were accidentally informed, that at a small distance from thence, the said infante don Henry was then residing, which he had selected for his abode, as it was a retired place, and therefore well fitted for study and contemplation. Having heard of our arrival, he dispatched a secretary, named Antonio Gonzalez, and along with him a patrician of Conti, who was said to be a Venetian, and the consul for Venice, in the kingdom of Portugal, as he indeed convinced us, by a letter he produced, with the seal of the republic on it; which patrician was also charged on the part of the said don Henry with some commissions for us. They visited us in our vessels, exhibiting some patterns of sugar from the island of Madeira; besides dragon's blood, and other curiosities, that had been brought from these new-discovered countries, which having been laid before several persons in my presence, and they having inquired of the people of our galley of many things, at last gave us to understand, that the above-mentioned prince had sent colonies to those islands, which had never before been inhabited; as a proof of which, they shewed us the above-mentioned rarities, and several useful articles; and that this could not be compared with other greater things, prince Henry was every day bringing about. They added, he had declared to them, that a certain time since, he had sent out vessels to cross seas which had never been navigated before: that new lands and generations had been discovered, with marvellous productions among them, and that those who had set foot into them had amassed rapid gains among these nations, often bringing one penny to produce seven, or even ten. In one word, they so much extolled to us those things, that I was quite amazed, and instantly inflamed with the desire of seeking the like adventure; asking, whether the above lord set it free to every one to make such voyages. They answered in the affirmative, observing however, under one of these two conditions, that either the adventurer should equip the caravella at his own expence, and store it with merchandizes, and then he

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would pay the fourth part of his acquisition, as a custom to the prince; or, that the prince should equip the vessel himself, and on return he would share the half of the goods brought from these countries; and in case of ill success, the whole loss to fall on the adventurer. But that it was unexampled that a person had returned without profit; and that if there was any one among us, of our nation, who should be disposed to present himself, he would meet with a particular regard and patronage on the part of the prince; that he would be highly gratified, as he presumed those countries were fertile in spices, of which he knew the Venetians were the best judges of all nations. When I heard this, I resolved to go with the above-mentioned gentleman, to present myself to the prince, and I was soon admitted to his presence. He shortly confirmed all they had related, with still more panegyrics on those countries: he promised that he would not be wanting in bestowing on me marks of distinction and attention to my interest, if I should make the trial.

Fully encouraged by this, considering my age and capacity to support fatigue, and stimulated moreover with the curiosity to see countries, to which no one of our nation had ever reached; and still allured by the flattering promises of honour and advantage, I determined to hasten my departure. I took information of the different merchandizes and articles that could best turn to account. I returned to the galley, and having intrusted, to a relation of mine, all the things I had been commissioned with, I purchased on board the same galleys all I could think necessary for my voyage, returned ashore, and the galleys continued their voyage to Flanders.

Having remained at Cape St. Vincent, prince Henry testified a peculiar satisfaction at my resolution, and loaded me with unabated caresses. After some time, he ordered a vessel of about ninety tons to be equipped for me; the proprietor of which was one Vincent, a native of Lagos, about sixteen miles distant from Cape St. Vincent. Having supplied it with all necessaries, we sailed under the auspices of the Almighty, and left the said Cape St. Vincent, full of hopes, on the 22d of March, 1456, with wind N. E. and by N. directing our course towards Madeira; and on the fourth of March stood to W. S. W. The twenty-fifth of the same month we touched at the island Porto Santo, about noon, which lies at a distance of about one hundred and fifty miles from Cape St. Vincent.

The island of Porto Santo is very small, about fifteen miles in circumference, and had been discovered about twenty-seven years before by the caravellas of prince Henry. As it was not inhabited before he sent some of his nation thither. The governor was a Portuguese, named Bartholomew Perestello, one of the prince's dependants. This island produces corn and barley enough for its own consumption, and abounds in oxen, wild boars, hogs, and an infinity of rabbits. Dragon's blood is also one of the productions of this island; it flows from certain trees, and is a kind of gum, which is extracted in the following manner: They make incisions in the tree with an axe, and at a certain season the following year, the gum runs through these openings: they boil and cleanse it, by which process it is converted into blood. The same tree yields also a kind of fruit, like to our cherries, but yellow, which grows ripe in March, and is of a most exquisite taste. There are also, round this island, copious fisheries of gurnets, and other kinds of good fish. There is no port in this island, but it has an excellent road, sheltered from all winds, except the S. W. and S. E. with these the safety must be very precarious. Be it as it may, the anchorage  
is









*View of the Town and Road of FONCHAL, the Capital of MADERA.*



is very good. This island derives its name from its having been discovered by the Portuguese on the day of All Saints. The honey and wax of this country are the best in the world, but not in large quantities.

The same day, March 28, we left Porto Santo, and arrived at Machico, one of the ports of the island of Madeira; it lies only forty miles distance from the former, and they may be seen from each other on a clear day. The island of Madeira has been planted by the said prince; it was found totally uninhabited at its discovery. He appointed two of his cavaliers for governors; the one, Trifan Texeira, who governed that half of the island where Machico lies; the other, whose name was Juan Gonzalez Zarco, held the other half, about Funchal. The word Madeira signifies Isle of Woods, as its whole surface has been found covered with the loftiest trees. Those who first settled there were obliged to set them on fire, which communicated from one to another, and lasted for a considerable time, (as before-mentioned). It raged with such fury, that, if I should credit report, the above-mentioned Juan Gonzalez, who dwelled there, was obliged, with his whole family, to plunge into the sea, where they remained, for two days and two nights, without any sustenance, up to their necks in water. This was the only means for their safety, as they would otherwise have fallen a prey to the flames. A great part of those woods having been thereby consumed, the soil became fit for cultivation. This island is chiefly inhabited on four sides; the first is called Machico, the second Santa Cruz, the third Funchal, the fourth the Camera de Lobos. There are still some other inhabited parts in this country, but those are the principal ones, and they may contain about eight hundred men, of which one hundred are horsemen. The island is one hundred and forty miles in circumference; it boasts of no port, but its roads are safe, and the country is extremely fruitful and rich; and notwithstanding its being mountainous, like Alicia, it produces every thing, and yields annually, on an average, thirty thousand Venetian staras\* of corn. The lands rendered at first sixty for one, but they have fallen to forty, or a moiety of that product, because they are now worked by day labourers. This country has plenty of water from the best springs; it is intersected with eight rivers, of various sizes, along which are dispersed a number of joiners, who are continually working on wood, and preparing tables of every description, with which they supply all Portugal and other countries. They chiefly employ two species of wood for their manufacture; the one is the cedar wood, which emits a sweet smell, is not unlike cypress, and of which they make fine large tables, chests, and other pieces of work. The other kind is called Nasso, which also looks beautiful, and is somewhat like red roses. As this country is supplied with water, the above-mentioned prince also transplanted sugar canes to the island, which have prospered; and, as I hear, they are in great hopes of increasing the quantity, as the soil is quite adapted to this produce, by its warm and temperate climate, and as it is never exposed to cold breezes, like Cyprus and Cilicia. The white sweet meats that are prepared in this country are the most delicious. Honey and wax are also found here, but in small quantities. The wine of this country, especially that which grows about the latter plantation, is excellent. This article is abundant enough to permit of exportation. Among these vines the prince also ordered some malvoisian plants, or twigs, which he had brought from Candia, to be cultivated; they prospered to perfection. The luxuriant quality of the ground also is the cause that

\* A Venetian measure.



the leaves are hardly discovered among the multitude of grapes; the bunches are stupendous, of two and three spans in length; nay, without exaggerating, frequently of four; an aspect exceedingly delightful. There exists also a kind of grape, without stones, in full perfection, which are likewise very dainty. The finest and best bows of Nasão are made in this island and exported, and also the finest cross bows. Peacocks are to be found in this island, (among which there are some white ones) and partridges also. I do not believe there is any other species of game, except quails, and plenty of wild boars in the mountains. I have been told by creditable persons, that in the beginning this island had been overstocked with pigeons, and they have not yet totally disappeared. When they went out to catch them, they took springes with them, with which they caught the pigeon round the neck, and drew it down without the least resistance; undoubtedly, because of their being unacquainted with man, and unused to the emotion of fear. This seems the more probable, as I have heard that the like has happened in an island but lately discovered. There is a great abundance of beasts for food in this island, and the inhabitants may be called opulent, as the whole island is but a continuation of gardens, and the productions are the best of their kind. There are two convents of Minorites of Observantia in this island, which are inhabited by men of great sanctity. Respectable persons have assured me, that in consequence of the extreme mildness of the climate, they have seen raisins perfectly ripe in the Holy, or in the Easter week.

We departed from Madeira, directing our course towards the south, and landed at the Canaries, which are about three hundred and twenty miles distant from Madeira. These islands are seven in number; four of them are inhabited by Christians, viz. Lanzarota, Fortaventura, Gomera, and Ferro; the other three, Gran Canaria, Teneriffe, and Palma, profess idolatry. The governor of those which are inhabited by Christians, is a gentleman and a knight, native of the city of Seville, named Ferrera, a subject of the king of Spain. The principal food of these Christians is barley bread; they have also plenty of meat and milk, particularly of goats, of which they possess a great number. They have no wine or wheat of their own growth, only a small portion of fruits, and but few other useful productions. This country is overrun with wild asses, but the island of Ferro above all others. These islands are between forty and fifty miles distant from one another; they lie all in a cluster, and the most distant of them may be seen at the same time. There is a certain herb called Orchella exported from these islands, which has the property of dying cloth, of which large quantities are shipped for Cadiz and the river of Seville, and from thence is exported both eastward and westward. Goat skins are one of the chief articles of their exportation; they are very thick, but of the best kind. They also deal in tallow, and make good cheese. The inhabitants of the four islands, subject to the Christians, are native Canarians, and differ in language so much, that they can hardly understand one another. There are no fortified towns in these islands; some villages are surrounded with walls; but in the mountains, (the most elevated,) they have strong redoubts and passes, which, except by blockades, it would be very difficult to reduce. So much for the four islands belonging to the Christians. The other three, inhabited by idolaters, are larger and more populous, particularly Great Canaria, which includes a population of near fifteen thousand souls; and Teneriffe, which is the first of them in point of extent, is reputed to contain from fourteen to fifteen thousand souls. Palma falls infinitely short of both, but has the finest appearance. Neither of these three has  
ever



ever been subdued by the Christians, as the fortifications in the inaccessible mountains, and dangerous well-intrenched posts have always baffled their efforts. Teneriffe is the most populous, and one of the most lofty islands in the universe; it is to be seen at an immense distance in fine weather. Creditable mariners have assured me, they had seen it, in an open sea, at the distance of between sixty and seventy Spanish miles, or near two hundred and fifty Italian\*; undoubtedly, because of the height of the mountain, rising on the middle of the island, reflects a light like a diamond, and whose top is continually involved in fire. Christians who have been prisoners there aver, that this mountain is fifteen Portuguese miles high, which is equal to sixty Italian. There are nine lords, called dukes, in this island: they are not lords by natural succession, but by the law of the stronger. They are frequently at variance with each other, and their wars are always bloody and barbarous. They have no arms, but stones, and a kind of club resembling darts, the point of which is armed with a sharp horn instead of iron. Those points that are not provided with such a horn are hardened by the fire, and they will do the same execution as iron. The people are generally uncovered, if we except a few, who put two goat skins about them; the one before, and the other behind their bodies. They anoint themselves with goat's grease, mixed with the juice of a certain herb, which serves to harden their skin, and protect them from the cold; though little intemperance reigns in these parts, as they are far south. They have no houses, either of wood or straw; dwell in caves in the mountains; live upon barley, and the flesh and milk of goats, of which there is a great quantity in those islands; gather some fruits, particularly figs; and as the climate is mild, bring in their harvests as early as in March and April. They have no fixed religion; some of them worship the sun, some the moon, and others prostrate themselves before the stars. Their idolatry is rather fantastical. Their women are not in common, but every one is allowed as many as he takes a fancy to. They think it a particular honour to present them for the first night to their lords, and they will never take them virgins, or without previous observance of this ceremony.—These details we have from the Christians of the four islands adjacent, who often send in the night time to these islands, whence they carry off all they can make themselves masters of, men and women, without distinction, whom they send to Spain to be sold as slaves. But if, by accident, any of the invaders fall into the enemy's hands, they do not put them to death, but condemn them to the killing and skinning of goats, and to the preparing their flesh, which they look upon as the vilest hardship.

Another custom prevails in these Canaries, by which, at the access of a lord to his government, some subject offers to devote himself a sacrifice in honour of the feast. They all assemble in a certain valley, where, after some ceremonies and forms, the spontaneous victim, after having uttered some words, precipitates himself from an eminence into the valley, where he is dashed to pieces. By this devotement the lord becomes obligated to bestow the greatest honours and benefits on the relations of the victim. This horrid and unnatural custom has since been severally confirmed by the testimony of all the Christians who have been prisoners in those islands. These Canarians are dexterous swift runners; and by means of the inequality of the soil of their island, and the many excavations, they become great jumpers from their earliest years: they leap from stone to stone like bucks, and with a skill and power that staggers belief. They cast a stone with an accuracy that never misses its aim, and with

\* This height is greatly exaggerated.



such a vigour and sinew as to demolish, in a few throws, a shield into a thousand pieces. I recollect that I saw myself, in Madeira, a Canarian Christian, who offered to give to three men twelve oranges each, and only to take twelve for himself, pledging a bet not to miss a single throw of his oranges against them, and that not one of his adversaries should hit him, except on his hand, in repelling, provided they would consent to keep a distance of nine or ten steps. Neither was there found any one who would venture to put a pledge at stake, as they were generally convinced that his execution would still be superior to his engagement; so that I am inclined to conclude, the inhabitants of those islands are at the same time the swiftest and most dexterous race of any in the known world. Besides the above ointment, they make use of the juice of certain herbs, of green, red, or yellow colours, to paint themselves with, both men and females; and they take them to be as ornamental, as we do our cloathing. I have seen two of these Canarian islands, that of Gomera, and that of Ferro, in which the inhabitants are Christians. We also anchored at Palmas, of which I should have wished to take a view, had not the urgent prosecution of our voyage hindered me from landing.

We departed from this island, steering always in a southern direction towards Ethiopia; we arrived in a few days at Cape Blanco, distant about eight hundred and seventy miles from the island Canaria. It should be observed, that in leaving those islands to arrive at this cape, the coast of Africa must be faithfully kept to, which projects on the left into the sea, in proportion as we advance southwards to Cape Blanco; which coast, however, cannot be discovered immediately, as the Canaries lie in the open sea, and remarkably westwards, and one more distant than the other from the continent. For this reason a vessel will be necessitated to steer without any sight of land for about two-thirds of its voyage from the islands to Cape Blanco, when it must be careful to steer to the left, in order to approach the coast, as it might otherwise pass the said cape without noticing it. Beyond this cape there is no land for a great way, as it is narrowly contracted, and an arm forming on one side a vast gulph, called the bay of Arguim, which name it derives from a small island that is situated in the middle of the gulph, and to which this appellation has been given by the inhabitants. This gulph enters fifty miles within the continent, and contains three other islands besides, which have been named by the Portuguese. The one is Blanco, from its being covered with whitish sand; and the island of the Garcas, by reason of the Portuguese having found in them so many eggs of that species of birds, that they loaded two boats belonging to their caravellas with them: the third is the island of Cuori. They are all small, sandy, and uninhabited; that of Arguim has some springs of peculiarly sweet water, but the others are destitute of this advantage.

We must observe, that from the streight of Gibraltar, coasting to the left hand the western part of Barbary towards Ethiopia, we find it no farther inhabited by the people of the former of these countries, than to the cape of Cantin. From this spot, down to Cape Blanco, the whole coast is but a continuation of a sandy and arid soil, which forms the desert that lies westward to the mountains, separating the eastern parts of Barbary, in which Tunis lies, from the coast. It goes among the Barbarians by the name of Sara, and borders south on Ethiopia. It is an immense desert, and no less than fifty or sixty days journey for a man on horse-back to cross it; the breadth, however, is not every where the same. At the west it is washed by the ocean; and the whole





*Gomeru .12 Leagues off  
appearing like a thin cloud*

*Teneriffe*

*The Pike*

*Part of the Great Annamita*

*View of the Pike of Teneriffe, 34 Leagues distant to the North West.*



*The Pike*

*Gomeru*







whole coast is white, arid, unfruitful, low, and an uninterrupted plain unto Cape Blanco, which itself has been so called by its discoverers, the Portuguese, for the white and sandy prospect it affords; as no vestige of any herb or tree could be met with there. It is a noble promontory, consisting of a triangle, whose points are each distant one mile from the other.

From one end of this coast to the other, a great variety of fish may be found, both as to size and exquisiteness of taste; mostly of the same species as we see in Venice. The gulph of Arguim has but little draught of water, and there is a multiplicity of banks, either of sand or stones. It is subject to tides, and may not safely be navigated but in day time, nor without the lead in hand, and the strictest attention to the tides. Two vessels have already been wrecked on those banks: this Cape Cantin lies N.E. of Cape Blanco.

Beyond Cape Blanco is a place called Hoden, which lies at about a six-day's journey on a camel, in the interior parts of the continent. This place is not walled, it is the rendezvous of the caravans, that come from Tombut, and various districts of the negroes, and traffic to Barbary. The chief food of its inhabitants are dates and barley, of which they have plenty, though the growth of these fruits extends but to a few districts. They have no wine, but drink the milk of their camels and other beasts. They keep some cows and goats, but the aridity of the soil makes them rare, and adulterates the species. They profess Mahometanism, and bear a mortal hatred to the Christians. They have no permanent place, and are continually wandering in those wildernesses; they are very numerous. They keep up a strong intercourse both with negroes and the inhabitants of Barbary: they maintain a multitude of camels, which serve them to transport silver and copper from Barbary to Tombut and Negroland; and *vice versa*, to bring gold and honey in return. The people, as to their colour, are tawny, and throw a white cloak over their bodies, with a red bandage on their heads. They subject their women to the same dress, who make no use of shifts, but cover their head with a handkerchief, after the Moorish custom, and walk always barefoot. In these wildernesses are many insects, with lions, leopards, and ostriches. I have eaten many eggs of the latter, and have found them very palatable.

Don Henry has given an exclusive grant for ten years to a company, by which all others are forbidden to traffic with those Arabians who are not included in the same grant, and who alone are entitled to keep their houses and factors in this island, whose province it is to transact with the Arabians, that resort to the coast, for selling and purchasing, with whom they are to deal in woollen cloths, linen cloth, silver, archizeli, or frocks, and in other goods, and especially in corn, as they are particularly in want of this article; for which they are to take in exchange slaves, (which the Arabians collect in different parts of Negroland), and gold dust. To establish this commerce on a firm basis, the said infantie constructed a castle in the above island, to which the Portuguese caravellas resort regularly every year. The Arabians purchase a quantity of horses in Barbary, which they conduct to Negroland, where they frequently exchange them with the lords, ten and fifteen heads of negroes for each horse, according to its quality. They also supply them with Moorish silks, which are manufactured at Grenada, and at Tunis in Barbary, and with many other commodities. In return, they carry away many negroes, and what they can get in gold. Hoden is generally their market with respect to the slaves. There they separate and conduct them, partly over mount Barca to Sicily, and partly by way of Tunis, along



along the coast of Barbary; others are brought to Arguim, where they sell them to the privileged company, whence they are annually transported to Portugal, to the number of seven or eight hundred; whereas, before the regulation of this branch of commerce, the Portuguese caravellas came (four or more in number) landed by night, surprised and attacked the villages of fishers within their reach, and penetrated sometimes in the inland, carrying off all that fell in their way, without discrimination of sex, and conducted them to Portugal for sale; as they did also on the rest of the coast as far as Cape Blanco on one side, and Senegal on the other, which is a great river, and divides a tribe called Azanaghi from the first empire of the negroes. These Azanaghi are of a deep brown colour, and are in possession of several places along that coast which lies beyond Cape Blanco. They have also some settlements in the more interior parts of the continent, and are bordered on that side by the above-mentioned Arabians of Hoden. They live likewise upon dates, wheat, and milk of camels; but as they have the advantage of a vicinity to the first empire of the negroes, they draw millet and some vegetables from them, such as beans, which are their staff of life. They are not voracious men; they easily support hunger, and a basin of barley-meal, made into a hasty pudding, will maintain them for the whole day in vigour. This might perhaps be ascribed to their usual penury, and their being trained up in want and scarcity. These people were among the numbers of those who were carried off and sold by the Portuguese; and they were reputed the best slaves of any other class of negroes: but now this violence has been put a stop to by order of don Henry; and it is his earnest desire that they should be treated with becoming humanity, as he hopes mild proceedings might induce them to embrace our faith, as they were still infants in Mahometanism, and had no established ministers of that worship among them. These Azanaghi have the strange custom of wearing a handkerchief round their heads, one end of which serves to cover their mouths and a part of their nose, alledging, that the mouth was a filthy part, and a channel for belching, and as such, ought to be covered and kept at a distance, comparing it to the opposite part, with which it was to share the same obscurity. It is a fact that they never uncover it, nor do I recollect ever having observed the contrary, except when they were eating. They are not dependent on any lords among them, except that they pay a more distinguished respect and homage to the opulent among them, than to the vulgar. They are generally very poor; liars; the greatest thieves by profession, and very treacherous. They are of the common size, but lean, and wear their hair curled, flowing about their shoulders, in the same manner nearly as the Germans: it is all black, and they take care to anoint it every day with fish grease, which renders them most offensive to the smell. This, however, they repute one of their elegancies.

The Portuguese were the first Christians who gained a footing among this nation, and subdued them after several attacks, which they repeated during thirteen or fourteen years. When the negroes first saw the sails of vessels on the sea, they were of opinion, that they were large birds with white wings, and had flown thither from some foreign country; but when their sails were furled, from the distance they saw them at, they believed them to be fishes. Others supposed they were spectres, and expressed great fear of them; probably, because they made their excursions in the night time, and were seen from the coast the next day an hundred miles distant, sometimes sailing forward, at others backward, according to the orders of the commanders



manders of the caravellas, and as the wind permitted. And they said among themselves, if they were human creatures, how could they make way in one night, which we cannot in three days? As they had no notion of navigation, they unanimously determined to take them for spectres. I have been assured of the reality of this their panic, from Azanaghian slaves in Portugal, as well as from the Portuguese themselves, who first visited these regions with their caravellas; hence we may conclude how they considered all our things, when they were so surprised at our bare appearance.

More inwards still, six day's journey on the continent from the factory of Hoden, there is a place called Tegazza, which signifies a chest of gold, where a vast quantity of rock salt is got. The strongest caravans of the Arabians and Azanaghis resort annually thither from various parts. They first bring it to Tombut, thence it is transported to Melli, an empire of the negroes, where in less than eight days after its arrival, the whole is sold at the rate of from two to three hundred mitigals the load, according to its burden [a mitigal is valued at about one ducat]; and then rich with gold, they return to their homes. This empire is subjected to excessive heat, and affords no nourishment for cattle; for of one hundred beasts in a caravan, there will scarcely escape one-fourth part of them, so uncommon and insupportable is the sultriness of that climate. It is reported that Tombut lies at the distance of one hundred and forty days journey on horseback from Tegazza; and that it requires thirty days to pass from Tombut to Melli. I enquired of them what the merchants of Melli did with the above-mentioned quantity of salt; and was informed that they consumed but a small part in their country, which, as it lies under the equinoctial line, where day and night are upon a continual parity, the heat was, at certain periods, so intense, that they ran the risk of having the blood stagnated, was it not for this salt, of which they dissolve a small portion in a dose of water, which they must take the precaution to drink every day, as the only means of preserving them from destruction. As for the rest of the salt, which is so ingeniously cut out from the mines as to be easily carried in one piece during a long journey, it is at first brought to Melli on camels in two pieces, hanging one on each side of the beast; those negroes of Melli break it in more pieces for the better conveniency of carriage. This done, every one takes a piece himself, and in this manner they by troops transport it to a considerable distance. They usually provide themselves with two forks each, on which, when they want repose, they rest their load, fixing them into the ground. In this manner they carry it to a certain water, which they could not tell me whether it was sweet or salt, whether a river or a sea. I should prefer the former opinion, as I do not believe they would stand in any need of that commodity, if this water should prove a sea, as salt must necessarily be made of it under the immediate influence of the sun. They are obliged to perform this laborious office themselves, as they have no camels or any other beasts of burden to load, it being impossible to maintain any on these travels. Hence we may infer, how great the number of these unhappy sufferers may be, and how great, on the other side, the annual demand which employs so many individuals. When they are arrived at the water-side, they make heaps, each of his own property, which he marks, and disposes them in a successive row, whereupon the whole caravan retires back for about half a day's journey. Upon that another tribe of negroes make their appearance, who are never seen or spoken to by strangers; they approach in large boats, which seem to row from some islands, and disembark to take a view of the salt, putting to each heap a certain quantity of gold, whereupon they retire, leaving

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ing both the gold and the salt behind them. When they have disappeared, the negroes of the salt return to take the consideration, and if the quantity of the gold suffices them, they take it and leave the salt; if not, they withdraw a second time, leaving the salt and the gold upon the spot: on which the others re-appear, carrying off with them such salt as had been left without the gold, and augment their former quantity of gold, or abandon the salt, according to their pleasure. In this manner they have carried on their trade for time immemorial, without seeing or speaking to each other, in the greatest harmony. I would not have hazarded this account, were it supported by less authority than the information of a variety of Arabian merchants, as well as of Azanaghi, and other persons of the first credibility.

Filled with the desire of having some farther notice of this unaccountable set of men, I one day told the said merchants that I could not conceive how the emperor of Melli, who was so powerful, had not taken some mild or forcible measures to bring over some of those men to acquaint himself what kind of people they were who would never let themselves be seen, or speak one word. They informed me, that there had been, not many years ago, an emperor, who determined by all means to have some one of them in his hands. Having deliberated upon this project, it was resolved, that on the first retiring of the caravan, some persons should hide themselves in holes they had dug for the purpose, and unawares rush upon them when they should have landed for the exchange, make three or four of them captives, and bring them under safe guard to Melli. This stratagem had its effect; they took four, the others ran away; yet thinking that a single one would as well answer the wish of their master, they dismissed three of them, to diminish the consternation of their fellow countrymen. His capture, however, did not prove satisfactory to any of the emperor's intentions. He was spoken to in different languages, without even uttering the least syllable in answer. He abstained from all nourishment, and died at the end of four days. This circumstance has induced those negroes to believe that this race was a mute one: others suggested, that having a human frame, they must be endowed with the organs of speech, and that he refused it out of mere obstinacy, seeing that he alone of the four had been the victim. His death alarmed all the negroes of Melli, as by that accident the emperor would be frustrated in his expectations. When they were returned, they laid the whole account of their adventure before him, and their recital afflicted him considerably: then asking them about their stature, they related to him that they were of the deepest black, well framed, and above one hand's breadth higher than they themselves were; and that they had their under lip of an enormous size, which hanging down toward their breast, was red, and something like blood dropped from it; whilst the upper lip was no more distinguished than their own; through which they discovered their gums and their teeth, which they attested to be larger than theirs; that they had particularly two large ones in their jaws: that their eyes are large and black, their lip actually stained with blood, and the whole figure calculated to frighten at the first view. After this attack and carrying away of the negroes, no one of the successive emperors have ever repeated a similar attempt, as by the capture and death of this negro they had, during three whole years, carried their salt to no purpose, as they never found any gold in return. It is to the putrefaction of their lips, and a mortality among that race under a climate still more torrid, that they were indebted for the re-establishment of their former intercourse: for as salt was the only medicament they knew



knew of for their preservation against the dreary effects of the inclemency of their climate, they were compelled at last to conquer that distrust with which their supposed enemies had inspired them. Therefore it is the common opinion, that this is the only reason for their great demand in salt, and from their own situation, those of Melli draw their conclusion of this nation\*. The present emperor gave himself little trouble to gain information of their character; gold was his only aim and desire. This is what I can advance with some certainty, if such a multiplicity of testimonies afford any, on this subject. By the incredible things I have been ocular witness to in my different adventures on the globe, I am apt to believe the possibility of this and many others. As for the gold which is brought from that market to Melli, it passes again through three channels abroad. By the first it is transported, by a caravan, to a place called Cochia, whence it is carried to Cairo, and into Syria. The other two parts are conveyed by a caravan to Tombut. There one part is brought to Toct, and distributed to Tunis, and on the coast round it; and the last passes to Hoden, a place mentioned above, and thence to Oran and One; also places of Barbary within the streight of Gibraltar, and to Fez, Morocco, Arzila, Azaffi, Mez, and other places of Barbary without that streight. It is from the latter of these places the Italians purchase it, in exchange for merchandize. It should be observed that this is the best, if not the only article, we draw from the country of the Azanaghi. As for that part of the gold which comes to Hoden, a quantity of it is carried to the rivers, where it falls to the share of the Portuguese, who continually reside in the island of Arguim for the conducting of this traffic, which they also carry on by way of exchanging.

In this country of the negroes they coin no money, nor do they make any use of it, neither is there any specie to be found in the country; but their whole trade consists in exchange, and by that they maintain themselves. I have heard, however, that there are some Arabians in a few places, who make use of white shells, of the smaller kind, which we at Venice import from the Levant, and they pay a number in proportion to the value of the goods in purchase. They re-vend their gold, after the custom of Barbary, by the weight of the mitigal, which, as I have hinted, comes up to the value of a ducat, or thereabout. The inhabitants of this desert have no religion, nor constitutional sovereigns or lords, except those whose wealth and attendance conciliates extraordinary respect, as in other places. The women of this country are of the same colour as the men; and the most part of them wear some cottons, which they have from the country of the negroes: others deck themselves with the above-mentioned, by the name of alchezeli, without carrying any shift; and that woman among them which has the largest breasts, has the glory of being considered the most handsome. For this purpose, each female, ambitious of this prerogative, when they attain their seventeenth or eighteenth year, and their breasts begin to swell, submit themselves to the operation of having their breasts tied round with strings, and so closely drawn, that they almost sever them from the body, and by means of daily efforts of stretching and dilation, give them at length such an extension as to hang down to the naval. No greater bliss can arrive to their sex than success in this attempt.

\* This account, though deserving of little credit, appears by the testimony of other travellers to have been believed in this country.



The inhabitants maintain some horses, which they ride after the Moorish custom. As the country is so hot, their number is very small, and for the most part they live but a very short time. The greatest part of this wilderness is the more insufferable, as there is a great scarcity of water, which is also the cause of its sterility. Except in the months of August, September, and October, it never rains in this country. To these calamities we must add that of the flying locusts, which sometimes overwhelm this country by swarms, and are one finger in length, as I have myself seen. They are like the grasshoppers of our meadows, with this difference, that they are red and yellow, and appear in such legions in the air, at certain times, as to cover the atmosphere, and eclipse the sun, as far as the eye can reach: for an extent from twelve to sixteen miles, nothing can be seen in both regions for these insects; which it must be as disagreeable to see crawling, as their coming is calamitous; for wherever they settle, their devastation is complete: they never dislodge from one place until the whole face be altered, and rendered totally undistinguishable. This the inhabitants justly look upon as a scourge, and should its return be annual, that country must have been yielded to them a long time ago. It is an alleviation that they come only every three or four years. When I passed along the coast, I saw them in so prodigious a throng and number, as cannot be conceived or scarcely credited.

When we had doubled Cape Blanco we steered to the river Senegal, which is the first of Negroland on that coast. It forms the line of separation of the land of the negroes from that inhabited by the tawny Azanaghis, and of the country mentioned, from a most fertile part, which is the property of the negroes of the desert. This river had been discovered by three caravellas of don Henry, but five years before my arrival: they went up it, and secured to themselves the confidence of the negroes so far, that they immediately came to a treaty of commerce with them, which has continued to this day. The mouth of this river measures one mile in breadth, it is very deep, and is only a branch of the Senegal. The other is a little farther off, and embraces with the former an island. Both these arms are covered with sand banks and shoals, reaching one mile into the sea. They are subject to the tides, which fall in regularly every six hours, when they ebb and flow, as I have been informed by the Portuguese, who have been with their caravellas up that river, as far as sixty miles into the heart of the country. It is necessary therefore that the course of the tide should be strictly attended to, by all those who intend to make their way up that river, as the sand banks and shoals might otherwise prove fatal to their ships. This river lies three hundred miles off Cape Blanco; and if we except a space of about twenty miles bordering on that river, which is called the coast of Anterota, a part of the Azanaghis territory, all the rest of that whole coast presents only an aspect of barrenness, even a malediction on the soil. It might be matter of surprise, that the other side of that river should be covered with trees, vegetation, and every way plentiful; that its inhabitants should be deeply black, tall, corpulent, and well framed, whilst this shore exhibits nothing but sand, and inhabitants, by their leanness, and other corporeal defects, the very reverse of the former. Some learned historians have presumed this river to be only a branch of the Gihon, which takes its origin in the terrestrial paradise: the ancients called it Niger: it washes Ethiopia in its whole length, and rolling near the sea, loses itself in many other branches beside the Senegal. The Nile, which crosses Egypt, and mingles with the Mediterranean, is another



ther branch of that Gihon, at least in the opinion of those who have made practical geography their study\*.

That part of the Negroland which lies on this river, is the first kingdom of the negroes of Lower Ethiopia, and the nations that inhabit the shores thereof are called Jalofs. This coast, as well as that hitherto treated of, is remarkably low. The same must be said of the intermediate coast between Senegal and Cape Verde, which, together with a tract of four hundred miles beyond it, is the most elevated part of the whole coast. If the information I have received is right, the kingdom of Senegal borders on the country of Tucher on its east side, on the kingdom of Gambia to the south, and on the ocean on the west: on the north it is limited by the river it receives its name from, which divides the Moors from these first negroes.

The name of the king, at the time I happened to be in those parts, was Zucholin; he was a young man, of two and twenty years of age. The throne is not hereditary, but there are several lords in this country, who frequently, upon the occasion of an election, to secure their estate, join three and four together, and create, by their interest, a king of their liking, provided he be of a noble extraction. This scepter is very precarious, as it frequently happens that the kings are dethroned, when they seem no longer inclined to flatter their promoters. However, they often strengthen themselves, and baffle these efforts by resistance. The state is nearly as unsettled as that of Cairo under the sultan, whence the king stands in perpetual danger of being dethroned, or put to death. His subjects are at the same time extremely poor, and he seems to have nothing but the title of a king, if we should compare him with the kings of Europe. No walled town is to be met with in this country, nor are their houses erected upon walls. They are in want of lime and stones, and all their dwellings are thatched. This kingdom is not the most extensive, as its bounds on the coast is only two hundred miles, and as many within land. The king has no fixed income arising from duties or taxes; but the wealthier part of his subjects, to ingratiate themselves with him, annually make him presents of horses, which, as the number in that country is extremely small, are the more valuable; accompanying them with harness: they also offer him beasts, as cows and goats; vegetables, millet, and the like. Beside this, he has some other branches of revenue, such as the exactions he exercises on slaves both of his country as well as foreign, which he employs at the same time in the cultivation of the lands allotted to him, and sells them to the Azanaghi, or Arabians, who resort thither with horses, and various other articles of commerce. Since the Christians have found the way to that country, they are also admitted to deal with him. No restraints are laid neither on him, nor the lords, or any other of his subjects, as to the number of their wives; they take as many as they choose: hence the king commonly maintains thirty or upwards. They do not cohabit in any seraglio. The king distributes them in several villages or places of his domains, sometimes eight or ten together, assigning them a certain number of maidens to serve them, and slaves to work the lands and possessions bestowed on them by him, and upon which they are to subsist. He also allots them cows, goats, and other beasts and commodities, to put them beyond the reach of all want or dissatisfaction. When the king happens to visit any of those places, he never carries provisions with him; the whole expence for him and his retinue falls entirely upon the wives he goes to visit. Every morning at sun rise, during his residence, each of those females prepares him a service of three

\* Later discoveries have shewn these notions to be erroneous.



or four dishes of meat, fish, and other dainties, after the Moorish fashion and custom; they send them by their slaves to be presented at the king's refectory; so that in less than an hour's time forty or fifty different dishes are prepared, and the whole in readiness at the shortest notice from the king; who, after having made his choice, sends the rest to his attendants, but with such parsimony, that they generally suffer in his service. In this manner he travels from one place to the other, begetting an amazing posterity, as he passes from one wife to another; and as soon as one conceives, he goes no more near her. His example is the standard to all the lords of that kingdom.

The religion of these first negroes is the Mahometan; in which, however, they are not firm, like the Moors, especially the lower class of the people, who are extremely ignorant and uninstructed. They have some Azanaghis among them, to whom they are indebted for that faith, and some itinerant Arabians, who administer instruction to them, pretending that it would be ignominious to call themselves lords, whilst, in the mean time, they did not acknowledge any law of God; by which blindness only the obscurest of the vulgar, in their nation, were characterised. It is not known that they have been initiated in that faith by any other than the above-mentioned two nations. Since the time of their intercourse with Christians, they have been sensibly weakened in their former persuasion.

The general custom of these nations is to go naked; they only cover their private parts with a kind of drawers, which are made out of goat skins. Their lords, however, and the best circumstanced among them, put a kind of cotton shirt about them, as these countries in some parts yield cotton, which are spun by their wives, and converted into cloths of about one span in breadth. Not acquainted with the use of combs, they cannot weave them broader, but remove this defect by sewing as many together, as the wideness of their work demands. Their shirts do not reach lower than the middle of their thighs; they are large in the arms, and close about the elbow. They are used to another kind of drawers, made of the same material which they gird about their loins, and which falls down to their feet; they are so wide that they are sometimes thirty or forty palms in breadth. This breadth throws them into innumerable folds, and produces, as it were, two sacks, hanging the one before and the other behind them, with that addition to the hinder part, that it sweeps the ground, and forms a kind of tail. As ridiculous and misconceived as this fashion is to every eye, they will strut in it, and with a superiority ask a stranger, whether he had ever seen any dress coming up to this? imagining, that there cannot be any thing that could be compared with it. Their females, married or not, are all uncovered from the waist upwards. About their loins they wear a kind of small sheet, with perfect carelessness, which hangs down to the middle of their legs. Both sexes go barefooted; they dress their hair with some grace and much fancy, men as well as women, although the generality have it only one palm long.

It is not uncommon to see men, in this country, perform effeminate functions, such as spinning, washing, &c. The heat here is very intense, and augmenting progressively as we advance southwards; we are more subject to cold in April, in Italy, than they are in January. Both sexes are distinguished for their cleanliness; they wash themselves four or five times a day, from head to feet, yet their repasts are generally contaminated and loathsome, as they observe neither manners nor neatness. Their character in things they are not conversant with, is as simple and unsuspecting as they are silly in common practice. They have this peculiarity, that to the greatest propen-

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sity to lying and deceiving, they join a warm charity, as they never suffer any stranger to pass by, without treating him with the greatest hospitality for one day or night, without accepting the least fee in return.

The negro monarchs are almost in a continual warfare with one another, and often engaged in quarrels with foreign powers in their vicinity. Their wars are generally on foot, as they have all a scarcity of horses. Their arms are but few, nor would the heat of that climate permit them a great number; their defensive are a large round target, they make from the leather of an animal called danta, which is almost impenetrable to any weapon: their offensive are a zagaye, a kind of long dart, which they cast with an inimitable velocity; these are armed at the point with an iron, which is barbed, and can never be extracted from wounds, without lacerating the flesh: on their side they wear a Moorish scymetar, which is curved in form of a bow, and is made of iron, without any steel, which they draw from the negro kingdom of Gambia, lying to the south. If they have any iron in their own country, they know nothing of it, or want industry to work it: their last weapon is a kind of spear, similar to our javelin, besides which they have no other arms.

Their wars border on savage ferocity, in proportion, it seems, to their being disarmed. Their strokes never fall in vain; their slaughter is universal and unsparing; they are bold and obstinate, preferring to fall by the enemy's hand, rather than to yield one inch of ground. Death is indifferent to them, and they will handle a breathless companion with the same unconcern as when alive. Before their commerce with the Portuguese, they had no notion of ships: those who live along the shore of the rivers, and on the coast, keep some canoes, cut out of one piece, which three or four of them can carry from one place to another; in these they set out to fish, or to pass from one place to another. They are the most expert swimmers in the universe; I saw some proofs to my no small admiration.

I passed the river Senegal with my caravella, and navigating farther on, I arrived at the country of Budomel, distant from the said river about eight hundred miles along the coast, which is an uninterrupted plain, without any mountain. This word Budomel, is at once the name both of the prince and country; as if we should say, the land of such a lord, or count. I stopped here with my caravella, to treat with this prince, who, according to the description of some Portuguese, that have dealt with him, was an affable and upright man, of the greatest trust, and who never failed strictly to discharge his obligations. And as I had some Spanish horses, which were eagerly sought for in that country, as also a large provision of woollen cloth, Moorish silk, ware, and other merchandizes, I resolved to anchor at a certain place on his coast, which formed a kind of haven. I sent him notice, by a negro interpreter I had with me, that I was arrived, with horses and other wares, to serve him, if acceptable. The prince, on hearing this, immediately set off, with about fifteen horse, and fifty men on foot, towards the coast, sending me word, that if I should please to land, and pay him a visit, he would do me honour: being beforehand acquainted with his reputation, I went to him, and he loaded me with caresses. After some interchange of words, I gave him my horses, and all he desired of me. I trusted him, and he bid me follow him to his residence, which was only twenty-five miles inland, where he would pay me, with many obligations; begging, at the same time, I would wait but a few days, as he would pay, in the exchange for my goods, a certain number of slaves. He had seven horses from me with their harness, which had cost me about three hundred



hundred ducats, therefore I resolved to follow him. Previous to his departure, he offered me a young girl, turned of thirteen years, of a beautiful black, and a fine shape. He said to me, that he gave her to me for the service of my room, which I accepted of, and sent to my vessel. The inherent eagerness of seeing the country and hearing of new things, no less than the expectation of my payment, rendered the journey in this land doubly desirable.

Having thus signified my resolution of attending him, he gave me horses, and all I could wish, for the greater conveniency of my journey. When we were within four miles distance from his residence, he committed me to a nephew of his, named Bifboror, the lord of the little village we had just entered, who gave me so entertaining and distinguished a reception, that I continued twenty-eight days at his house: thence I frequently went to pay my visits to the sovereign, always in company with the young prince. It was November when I happened to be in that country; and I have observed some characteristics as to the living of that nation, during my stay there, which I shall not hesitate to relate. I had the better opportunity of acquainting myself with this country, as I was compelled to travel back as far as the Senegal, on account of the tempestuous weather that arose on the coast, which hindered me from going on board, and occasioned my journey by land to the coast, whence I was to send orders for the vessels to proceed to the Senegal. But now the difficulty started how to transmit to the ship, instructions to attend me. The vessel lay three miles off at sea, and I asked the negroes whether there was not some able swimmer among them who would undertake to convey a letter to the vessel. The greater part answered in the affirmative. When I reflect on the impetuosity of the wind, the height of the sea, the banks that lay dispersed up and down the whole way, with the current between them, rushing into contrary directions, which seemed to render an escape almost impossible, I am still surprised at the unexampled resolution and assurance with which this enterprise was contended for. Two were the most forward, and undertook the hazardous task for two *mavulgis* of tin, the value of two *grosson*, or about three farthings English coin. They launched with an intrepidity calculated to baffle the combined efforts of the two fiercest elements: they disappeared sometimes for a considerable while, and I often pronounced them drowned. At last, one of them, no longer able to resist the unsurmountable obstructions of the waves breaking over his head, returned. The other, inflamed with an emulation still superior to his perils, after struggling for a full hour on a bank, passed it at last, delivered the letter at the vessel, and returned with the answer. The conclusion I drew from this surprising scene was, that those people can hardly be paralleled in swimming by any other in the universe.

I have already observed, that those who are called lords, have no castles nor cities; the king himself has nothing but villages, with thatched houses; and Budomel has command only over a part of this kingdom, which is not extensive. Pre-eminence in this country does not consist in treasures, or money of any sort, (which they despise) but in the multiplicity of ceremonies, and in the splendor and greatness of the train they are attended with. This retinue is entirely at their devotion, and the respect they thereby imprint on the subject is more profound than that which is usually manifested to the sovereigns or lords of our country by their subjects. The dwelling of this monarch must not be conceived a palace with walls, or built of stone; besides, he has no permanent residence. The many villages allotted to him, and by him assigned to his wives and family, are the causes of his government being ambulatory and unsettled.

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The village where I resided was one of that description ; it contains about forty or fifty thatched houses, built near one another, in a circular form, the whole surrounded with thorn hedges, and inclosed by large trees, with only one or two openings. Each house had a court, encompassed with hedges, so disposed, however, as to facilitate the way from court to court, and from one house into another. I heard that Budomel had nine wives in this place, more or less in the others, according to his pleasure. Each of them is allowed five or six young maids for their service ; and the king often makes choice of them, without giving the least offence to the lawful wife, it being the universal custom. In this manner he passes from one place to another. Both sexes are very lustful ; and one of the first things Budomel asked of me was, with an air of eagerness, whether, as the Christians were so inventive, I could not tell him some means to please many women, and he would reward me in the most liberal manner. I easily concluded that this vice stood in honour among them, and I remarked their jealousy carried to the highest pitch. No man is suffered in the habitations of their wives, and the sons themselves are mistrusted and excluded. Budomel has two hundred negroes about him, and he never issues forth without their attendance. One set leaves him, and another comes in their room ; besides, there is never any want of people repairing from the adjacent places to meet him. At the entrance of his house, before his apartment, there are seven large enclosed courts, communicating with each other in a successive order, each provided with a spreading tree in its middle, for the conveniency of shadow for those who wait upon him. His family is distributed in them according to their rank, the least considerable farthest off, the most considerable nearest his apartment, whither few are suffered to approach, except the Christians and Azanaghi, who have free access, and more privileges than the negroes themselves.

Budomel affects a great pride and gravity, for he will never be seen, except an hour in the morning, and a short time towards the evening, when he appears in the first court near the door of his dwelling, to which none but persons of consequence are admitted. The pride of these sovereigns does not extend only to the lower classes of subjects ; the lords also, though ever so considerable, or even related to them, submit to the same cringing behaviour. They are obliged first to strip themselves naked, excepting the skins which cover the private parts ; as soon as they enter the court, they throw themselves on both knees, bowing with their heads down to the ground, and with both hands covering their heads with sand, and throwing it behind their shoulders. They remain for a considerable while in this posture, and it would be criminal to oppose or neglect these formalities ; then approaching the lord upon their knees and feet, they stop at a distance of about two steps and relate their business, not forgetting, at the same time, to continue strewing sand in the aforesaid manner, the head bent, in sign of the deepest humiliation. The despot seems to take little or no notice of it, being all the while in discourse with other persons. When the subject has done speaking, with an arrogant air he answers him in a few words. I have often thought that the worship paid to the Divinity itself, comes no where up to that degree of humiliation in which the people of this country fall before that man. This cringing cannot be attributed, in my opinion, to any other motive, than the natural timorousness of those nations, and from the apprehension they lie under, that on the least omission they shall be punished with the loss of their wives or children, who are reduced to slavery, and put to sale. Thus a numerous retinue, the eminence of their elevation, and the unbounded respect offered to them, are the chief marks that distinguish sovereignty among those nations.



Notwithstanding this, Budomel's compliance towards me was so extreme as to make me think it the affection of another person. He condescended even to shew me the mosques or houses of prayer. Towards the evening he assembled all the Azanaghi or priests, which he maintains at his house, and who instructed him in the Mahometan religion; then entering, together with some chief negroes, into the court where the mosque stood, he performed prayers in the following manner: He first stood with his eyes lifted to heaven; then he made two steps, softly pronouncing some ejaculation; then threw himself on the ground, and kissed it. The same was imitated by the Azanaghi and all the rest. Then rising, he repeated the same acts over again ten or twelve times, which took up about half an hour. When he had done, he asked me my opinion of what I had seen; and as he was much pleased with hearing about our religion, he desired me to indulge him with some account of it. I seized this opportunity of acquainting him, that his religion was false, and that those who administered instruction to him, were, unquestionably, ignorant of the truth. I reprobated the law of Mahomet in the presence of his Arabian doctors, and endeavoured to demonstrate its falsity by proofs. They all took fire against me, but Budomel was only laughing the whole time; he said, however, that though the Mahometan religion was very good, yet he thought the Christian religion the better of the two; alledging, that as the Christians were the richest, wisest, and, in every respect the happiest people, he thought God must be particularly pleased with their worship; that yet he thought the negroes more sure of their salvation than the Christians. He believed that God was just, and as such, would infallibly recompence the negroes for their wants in this world; that permitting the Christians to enjoy their Paradise in this world, he will let the negroes have their's in the next. In all his discourses he shewed a good understanding, and listened, with much concern, to matters of the Christian religion. I have no doubt but he would have been converted to our religion, if the fear of losing his state had not prevailed upon him; as well as his nephew, (with whom I lodged) who frequently told me he was a cool partisan; and would often desire me to relate him something about it, saying, that it was a good thing to hear the word of God.

Budomel's table, like that of the king of Senegal, is supplied by his wives, each of whom send every day a certain number of messes. The same custom predominates among those of the negroes, whose circumstances will admit of it, which is likewise at the expence of their women. They eat on the ground, without any appearance of regularity or manners; they suffer no other company but that of their instructors, the Moors; or, at most, two of their principal negroes. The lower people eat by ten or twelve over a mess; a basket of victuals being set between them, they put their hands in all together. They eat not much at a time, but return four or five times to it in a day.

No corn, rye, oats, or vine, grow in the kingdom of Senegal, or in any other beyond it, on account of the great heats, and the dryness of the soil, no rain falling during an interval of nine months, that is, from October to June. They have tried to grow corn which they had from the Christians, but to no purpose, as it demands a temperate air, and frequent rains; yet the millet, of which they have a larger and a smaller sort, and their beans thrive well; their kidney beans are the finest to be seen; they are as big as our long hazel nuts, and offer a beautiful shew, by their being speckled with variegated colours, so artfully, as to appear painted; the bean is broad, low, and of a lively red; some of them are white and beautiful. They are sown



sown in July, and gathered in September. This interval, which is the time of their rains, and the consequent swelling of their rivers, is also that of their labours. They sow and gather in these months, but with so much indolence, that the whole year they suffer its effects, and are hardly ever able to bring any production to market. They go four or five together out upon a field; their tools are a kind of small instruments like spades. Their tilling consists in working the ground with them in such a manner, that instead of turning the ground towards them, they project it in the opposite way before them. Although they do not dig deeper than two or three inches, the natural exuberance and kindness of that soil does all the rest. Their drinks are water, milk, and palm-wine: the latter of these liquors is extracted from a tree not unlike our date trees, which is called mighol by the negroes. There is a great number dispersed over the country; and they have the property of yielding almost the whole year their product. They tap the trunk in two or more places, and out flows a brownish liquor, as thin as skimmed milk, which they receive in calabashes. They usually draw it in the dusk of the evening. The quantity a tree yields at once, is not very considerable, but the quality is so much the better; it has the property of intoxicating, unless reduced by water. The first running will bear comparison with any of the European wines in point of sweetness; by little and little, that sweetness vanishes, and is replaced by acidity. Hence it will be more flattering to the taste the third or the fourth day, than the first. I have used it several times during my stay in that country, and it is but justice to say, that the flavour is, in my idea, more exquisite than even our wines. This liquor is not so very common among the vulgar, as the abundance of the trees should afford, though they are not destitute of it; but the wealthier are plentifully provided with it. These trees are not the property of individuals; encompassed with fences like our fruit gardens and vines, they lie open, and belong to the whole community, where every one is entitled to make his provision. They have fruits of our growth and others which are peculiar to the climate; they are all palatable, and constitute a chief article of the food of the inhabitants. No care is bestowed for bringing them to perfection; they lie wild and uncultivated, in the same manner as in our forests. It may easily be conceived what a flavour those fruits might be carried to in a ground and temperature like this, if the least art was employed in their cultivation. The whole country is variegated with rich pastures, and lofty and beautiful trees bespeaking the most liberal fertility, though I found myself a stranger to them. Several lakes occur, which are not extensive but unmeasurably deep, and full of strange fishes, and certain water-snakes, called calcatrice. They make use of a certain oil in the preparation of their victuals, though I could not learn whence they drew it, which possesses a threefold property, that of smelling like violets, of tasting like oil of olives, and of tinging victuals like saffron, with a colour still finer. A different kind of beans is to be met with here, which are red with a black spot, small, but in great abundance.

There are divers kinds of animals in this country. Among the reptile species, is a troublesome quantity of snakes, some of them poisonous. It is untrue that they have wings or feet, as it has been given out; the most part are two feet in length, but some others are of a monstrous size. It is reported that they meet sometimes in clusters, at places where there is the greatest quantity of pismires, who, by instinct, work deep holes into the ground, almost like ovens, which, when they have done, often an hundred and fifty together, they recede, and leave those serpents in undisputed possession of them. The negroes of this country are professed forcerers, making charms



charms of every thing in nature, and in particular on those serpents. A Genoese, upon whose testimony I have good reason to rely, informed me, that when he was in the same country, sleeping one night in the house of Budomel's nephew, where I lodged, he was awaked towards midnight by a confused whistling round the house. He observed the said Bisboror rise, and depart on a camel with two of his slaves. The Genoese, not able to refrain, asked him where he intended to go at so untimely an hour? He answered, to a service of his, and that he would not tarry, but come back. A long while passed before he returned home. The Genoese once more asking him about his excursion, he demanded in answer, whether he had not heard a whistling about his house? Being answered in the affirmative, he told him, that they were serpents, which, if I had not bewitched by a magic used in this country, and by which I have repulsed them, they would have made a great havock among my animals. The Genoese expressing his surprise at such a power, Bisboror told him, that there was nothing wonderful in it, that his uncle Budomel knew other charms; that whenever he wanted a certain composition for poisoning his arms, making a large circle, with one call he forced all the serpents of the neighbourhood in it; that killing with his own hand the most poisonous among them, he dismissed the rest; then taking the blood, and mixing it with the seed of a tree, (of which I have had a specimen) he dipped his arms into it, which, wherever they struck, though never so superficially, they carried certain and almost instantaneous death. Bisboror offered to let him see that craft, but the Genoese was not willing. By these instances, I should believe that the negroes are in general given to forcery; and I do not know whether there might not be some foundation in that practised on the serpents; at least I have often heard of it in Italy, when speaking about the existence of persons endowed with such powers.

There are no other domestic animals in this country but oxen, cows, and goats. The sheep, which loves a temperate air, and rather cold than heat, is not to be found there. Providence has acted admirably in this respect, to reconcile to our climate an animal, without which, our defence against cold would be insufficient; and to withhold it from another, where its best part would have proved superfluous, supplying its defect at the same time by a production (cotton) more congenial to its nature. The cows and the goats of this division in particular, as well as of Negroland in general, are much weaker than ours. I do not find any other cause than heat of the sun. Their hair is either white or black, or of a mixture of both colours: I saw one red, which was looked upon as a rarity. Wild rapacious animals, as lions and leopards, are here in great numbers; also wolves, bucks, and hares. The elephants in this country are not domesticated as in many other parts; they are suffered to run wild, and are found together by herds in the forests. I omit describing this animal, it being universally known, that it is of a most stupendous body, with short legs, and that its size may easily be conjectured by the teeth of ivory, which are every where to be seen in our country, and of which they have only one on each side of the lower jaw, like our boars, with this difference, that those of the latter animal are erect, and those of the elephant retorted towards the ground. Their gait is the same as that of other quadrupeds; they have three joints, or springs on their feet, which play when they put themselves in motion. I thought proper to notice this particular, as I had always been erroneously told before I came in these parts, that they could not lie on their knees, and that they slept standing; but they lie and walk like other animals. Their teeth never fall except when they are dead. The elephant is perfectly innocent



nocent to man, unless provoked by ill treatment. When it intends to hurt, it approaches, and takes the offender by its trunk, which lengthens or contracts at pleasure, and launches him with such an impetuosity, as to throw him an arrow's cast distance. Their swiftness is not less observable, as in spite of their bulk, they will catch a man, though ever so good a runner, owing to the length of their steps. They are more dangerous when they have whelps than at other times, of which they never have above three or four. They live upon leaves, and fruits of trees, which they break down, together with the branches, with their trunk, which is of a large bore, and through which they receive the food. I cannot recollect any other animals of this kind existing in Senegal.

There are various kinds of birds in this country, but the parrots are the greater number, and they overspread the whole country. The negroes hate them because they commit great depredations on their feeds and vegetables. They are said to be of various species, but I remarked only two; one similar to those we receive from Alexandria, or rather smaller; the other bigger; and these have the head, neck, beak and feet brown; the body is yellow and green. I had brought a vast number with me to Spain; but some died on the passage, especially little ones from the nest. Yet I saved above one hundred and fifty, which I sold at half a ducat each. Their nests are constructed with a marvellous industry; they employ rushes for their materials, and combine them together so as to give it the form of a ball. This done, they make choice of a palm-tree, or such other whose branches are the thinnest and weakest possible; then twisting a rush at the extremity of the branch, they suffer it to hang down for about two spans; on that they artfully fix their nest, which hangs in the air like a ball, with only one opening. This is a precaution by which they insure the lives of their little ones from the rapacity of snakes, to which the debility and thinness of the branch precludes all access. I have seen another kind of birds in this country, called Pharaoh's hen, which we get from the Levant. There is no scarcity of these hens, nor of geese, which only differ from ours in their feathers; not to mention many other small and large birds, no other way remarkable, but by their being extraneous to us.

As I was for a considerable time in this country, I determined one day to see a market or fair of theirs, within a small distance from the place of my residence, which was held in a kind of meadow regularly twice a week, on Monday and Friday; and I went two or three times. The people that resorted thither, came not farther distant than four or five miles; for at the same time those beyond that space had other markets, more within their reach and convenience. Their poverty may best be known on such an occasion, by the trifling value of the goods they convey for sale; besides cottons, and even that in small quantities, cotton, yarn, vegetables, oil, millet, kettles of earth, mats of palm-tree, and some other articles of the first necessity, were very nearly all they had to boast of. Men and women are concerned in it; the men bring chiefly arms, and a little gold, as they can afford. No money is to be seen here; all contracts are made by bartering, one article for another, according to estimation. I was surrounded by those negroes of both sexes, and gazed at like a phenomenon. They were wonderfully gratified in seeing what they so ardently desired, a Christian. They were not less enchanted with my dress than the whiteness of my face. I was then in the Spanish habit, with a waistcoat of black damask, and a woollen cloak over it. They were surprised when they considered the woollen cloth, and had no conception of it.



They handled my arms and hands, and rubbed me with spittle, to see whether that whiteness was artificial or real; and when they were convinced of the latter, their admiration was still greater. I went to those markets through curiosity, and to see whether I could not procure some gold. I generally returned unprovided, on account of the scarcity of that commodity.

The value of the horses is enhanced in this country by their scarcity. The Arabians and Azenhagi transport them by land from Barbary, but very sparingly; and the excessive heat of the climate kills even those few in a short time. They prosper very much in fatness, but this is usually attended with a distemper, which stops their urine, and kills the greatest part of them. The food they give them is the leaves of the kidney-beans, which they gather after their crop, cut and dry them like hay, and lay them before their horses, instead of barley: they also give them millet, by which they grow very fat. I have often seen a horse of a good breed sold for twelve and fourteen slaves. Whenever a lord buys a horse, he takes some of his horse magicians with him, who, lighting a large fire of the branches of certain trees, according to their fancy, make a thick smoke; they then hold the horse by the bridle over it, uttering a few words; and anointing it with a certain subtle ointment, they keep it eighteen or twenty days shut up from every person, and hang about its neck some Moorish charm, which they fold up like a letter, in a square form, and cover it with red leather, superstitiously believing, that by means of this fantastical practice, they put their lives in greater security in time of battle.

The women of this country are very gay and airy; they are much inclined to singing and dancing, especially the younger; but they never dance except by moon-light. Their dances differ infinitely from ours.

Among the many European things those negroes shewed themselves admirers of, are the cross bows: but the effect of our cannon, which some of them had occasion to see at the ship, astonished them above all. I ordered one to be discharged in their presence, and they were all struck with terror. When I told them that a single one might kill above an hundred men in a group, they gave me to understand, with an air of deep surprise, that none but the devil could do such things. They were also not a little astonished, when, desiring one of my mariners to play on the bagpipes, they saw it, admired the different parts, and asked me whether it was not some living animal that sung in such a variety of modulations, which gave them exquisite pleasure. When I put it into their hands, unfilled, upon seeing their error, they told me with great simplicity, that it was a celestial instrument, and a work of God's own hands; that otherwise it could not produce such manifold inflections, and those so sweet. They were not less astonished in seeing the construction of our vessel, its equipment, the masts, sails, anchors, &c. They thought that the openings in the prow of the vessel were real eyes, by which it had perception, and could survey the state of the sea and its own. They told us that we must be forcerers, and rivals to the devil; not comprehending how we should arbitrarily rule the sea without sight of land, unless guided by the devil, since even those who travel on land often could not find out their places—an error the less surprising, as they had no idea of the art of navigation, of the compass, and maps. The burning candle was one of those phenomena that made them all attention and admiration, as they are absolutely strangers to any other kind of light but that of their fire. Having perceived that they picked the honey (of which there is some produced in their country) from the comb, they threw the wax away, and having purchased



purchased a few combs from one of them, I shewed him the method of extracting the honey from wax, and, in their presence, caused some candles to be made and lighted from that apparent drops. Upon this new spectacle, they declared, with marks of undescribable astonishment, that we Christians knew all things.

I know of no particular musical instruments among this nation, except a Moorish tabaski, like our drums, and a gross fiddle, with only two strings, which they touch without art, or the least harmony.

Having now, for a considerable time, remained in this country, and surveyed, purchased, and learned as much as I thought useful, as soon as I received the number of negroes for which Budomel had agreed with me, I resolved to set sail, in order to double Cape Verde, in search of new countries and adventures. Farther stimulated by the former information I had obtained from the infante, of the probability of new discoveries, and the certainty of another kingdom beyond Senegal, called Gambia, where the negroes I had seen in Spain assured me there was an abundance of gold, and that all Christians who had ever put a footing in it returned opulent, I took early leave of Budomel, and sailed, big with expectations, for those desirable countries. One morning our crew exclaimed, that two vessels were in sight, and coming up with us; we mutually distinguished the religion and the nation, and came to a parley. When I heard that one of the two vessels belonged to Antonio, a Genoese gentleman, much famed for his experience in navigation; that the other was conducted by a number of the armourers of the infante Henry; and that they were jointly steering for Cape Verde, thence to separate upon new discoveries, I offered the company of my vessel, as I was going the same direction. My proposal was readily accepted. We coasted the land in a strait southern direction till next day. Carried by a prosperous wind, we landed at Cape Verde, which is only thirty Italian miles distant from the place I had set out.

The island of Cape Verde has its name from the quantity of green trees which the Portuguese (who discovered it only one year before my own landing\*) had found in it, and which are in a continual state of verdure during the whole year, as Cape Blanco, before spoken of, derived its appellation from the sandy and whitish prospect it afforded. Cape Verde has, besides its elevated situation, and its prominence into the sea, two hills, which embellish it, and render it highly attractive. The negroes that people it are subjects of Senegal, and they live dispersed upon it, and around it, along the coast, in thatched habitations. Opposite to this cape, there are a few banks, reaching about half a mile into the sea. Beyond them, to the west, three islands offer, which are uninhabited, and overgrown with green and lofty trees. As we stood in need of water, searched two of those islands to trace some springs, and found in the largest of them a small provision, in a spot somewhat eminent, which could be of little service to the cravings of our crew. Birds and fishes are equally common here; we found a number of nests, with eggs of divers birds, exotic to us; and we fished with lines and hooks. We took shoals of fishes; among others, gurnets and gold fish, at a medium of thirteen pounds apiece. It was then June; the next day resuming our voyage, we kept still the same course, and always in sight of land. A little beyond the aforesaid cape, we perceived a gulph that was encompassed by a low ground, stored with the most beautiful and lofty trees, that never lose their greenness, or wither like ours;

\* This must be an error. Cape Verde was discovered in 1446.



but before a leaf falls, another takes place. This chain of trees, however, extends not far; they are almost washed by the sea, and continue to render that coast extremely pleasant; and if I should add my suffrage, I would say, that in all my voyages, either to the west or east, I never beheld a prospect so enchanting as that of this coast, which is intersected by many rivers of every description.

The whole coast beyond the gulph is inhabited by two tribes of negroes, the one called the Barbacini, the other the Serreri: neither of them are subjects to the king of Senegal. They are free and independent. There is no other distinction among them but that natural one which affluence, qualities, and other excellencies, procure to one individual over another. They abhor the name of lord or master, owing perhaps to the impression which the conduct of the neighbouring princes has made on them, who snatch women and children from their subjects whenever they can find matter of offence or disgust. They are professed idolaters, and live without any law: they are cruel as to their character. Their chief weapon is the bow, on which they launch poisoned arrows, which carry infallible and immediate death on the object of their aim. They are strong-bodied, and of the deepest black. Their country is overspread with lakes and woods, behind which they intrench themselves, and baffle the combined efforts of all their neighbours. The kings of Senegal have often attempted to subjugate this country, but they have generally been compelled to give up their enterprise with disgrace, either by the dreadful effects of those poisoned arrows, or by the natural impregnability of the country.

Continuing thus our voyage with a favourable wind to the south, we at last arrived at the mouth of a river which was about an arrow's cast in breadth, but not deep: we gave this river the name of Barbacini, and it is by the same name it will also be marked on the map of navigation drawn of that country, at a distance of sixty miles beyond Cape Verde. We only sailed by day, and anchored every night at some place of one or two fathoms of water, not above four or five miles from the coast. At day break we hoisted sail, stationing a man at the main mast, and two others on the deck, watching the motions of the sea, and noticing the shoals or banks, if there fell any in our way. By this course we were soon surprised by another river, which fell little short of the Senegal. At the sight of this river, and the beauty of the country it washed, which was decked by innumerable trees, we cast anchor, and determined to send one of our interpreters on shore. Each caravella had one brought from Portugal, where they had been purchased of merchants, to which they had been sold in Senegal, and which were to be subservient to our respective views. They had been converted to Christianity, and instructed in the Spanish language, which they spoke fluently: we had them from their masters upon engagement of his being permitted the choice in those of our procuring: and these negroes may purchase their liberty, if they replace themselves by four other slaves. Having cast the lot which ship was to send its interpreter, it fell upon the Genoese. Manning the boat, the interpreter was sent on shore, with instructions not to approach with the boat within an easy reach of inimical attempts. He was ordered to inform himself of the state of the country; of its sovereign; and whether there was any gold, or such other goods worth trading. He was scarcely put on shore, and the boat withdrawn, when a crowd of negroes advanced, who having perceived the vessels approaching their coast, had put themselves into an ambuscade, armed with bows and arrows, to overtake whatever should offer from the vessel. Having now come up to the interpreter,



preter, they spoke some words to him, of which he did not know the purport. They were not long before they fell upon him with their *goines*, a kind of Moorish sword, and he was slain in an instant, without those in the boats having it in their power to fly to his assistance. This news astonished us, and we concluded that by their savageness toward one of their blood, they must be of a ferocious and cruel disposition, and still more unsparing towards our people. We left these savages, still continuing to the south at a small distance from the coast, which was low, and progressively augmenting in beauty and verdure. Having at last met with a third river, which was in the narrowest part of its mouth above three or four miles wide, and very convenient for harbouring ships, we cast anchor in it, resolving the next morning to inform ourselves whether or no it was the country of Gambia.

Having then reached this river, which is above seven miles broad in its mouth, we concluded that we were now in the much desired Gambia, and that ascending this river, we should find some land where we might make some successful adventures in gold or other valuables. The next day having a favourable wind, we permitted the smallest and lightest of our caravellas, with some of our boats, to proceed a considerable way, with instructions to discover the banks, and studiously to sound the water, giving exact signals of the danger or security. This order was punctually executed. Having then gone up the river, for some distance, the caravella sent one of our boats, and its own, which was somewhat less, to examine and explore, forbidding them to fight, in case they should be assailed by the negroes in their canoes, but instantly to withdraw, as it was not our intention to subdue those nations by violence, but to attach ourselves to them by the bands of benevolence and kind treatment. They fathomed the water, and finding no where less than sixteen feet deep, they advanced two miles higher, and seeing the shore on both sides of the river delightful, and bordered with lofty and numerous green trees, and the river flow in circles, they resolved to return and report. Descending the stream, they unexpectedly saw three almadias coming down the mouth of a small river, which mixed with the water of this river. I have observed that those almadias are small boats, made of a single trunk, which they hollow, and give it the form of our burchielle. Suspecting whether that people had any hostile designs, and being previously acquainted with their skill on the bow, and in the infernal poison of their arrows, ours, though superior to them, took to their oars, and went to give notice of their excursion and adventure to the above vessel. However, the negroes went on with such velocity, that they were soon within an arrow's throw of them. Our adventurers having got into the vessel, beckoned them to approach. They stopped short, and remained immovable: they might be thirty in number; who after having leisurely and sufficiently contemplated the prodigy of a vessel never before seen in that country, retreated, without any devices or endeavours of ours having been able to prevail upon them to come nearer. The expedition of that day ended by this strange adventure.

The next morning our other two caravellas, with a favourable wind and the current, put out to join their companion, hoping to meet with more humanized people than those we had seen the preceding day; and having joined, we entered the river in conjunction, observing only a small distance from the smaller to the heavier vessel; and so we passed the bank. Having made about four miles in this route, suddenly we saw ourselves



ourselves hotly pursued by some almadias, but did not know from whence they came. We prepared to meet them: the knowledge we had beforehand of their arrows, made us somewhat cautious. We covered and disposed our vessels the best way we could, and in order to defend us from their insults, the people were at their posts, and we made every thing ready to fight them, though not well supplied with arms. The almadias came under the prow of my ship, which was foremost, and making two divisions, they took us in their center.

We took this opportunity to tell the number of their vessels, found that they were fifteen, and pretty large. They ceased to row, and gazed at us with wonder, and they appeared not to be more than an hundred and fifty. They were all well made, and of a shining black: they had white cotton shirts on them, with some white caps on their heads, somewhat after the German custom, except that they were on each side garnished with a kind of white wing, and with a feather in the middle of the same, to distinguish them, as being men of war. In the prow of each of those almadias there stood a negro with a target on his arm, which seemed to be made of leather. As they did not offer any offence, we abstained from provoking them. Upon their seeing the two other vessels bear down, they rowed towards them: when they had reached them they rested their oars, and, without ceremony, immediately discharged a shower of arrows against our ships. The guns were immediately fired at them, and they were so amazed by the noise of the report, that dropping their arrows, they stared thunderstruck upon one another. Seeing, however, the stones from the cannon ineffectually fall into the water about them, and have no other virtue but that of stunning; casting away their panic, after many discharges against them, they laid hold of their weapons, and advancing near the vessels within a stone's cast, assailed them with much fury. At this exigence our mariners seized their cross-bows: the first who discharged his was a young man, the natural son of a Genoese gentleman; he shot a negro in the breast, and laid him breathless at the feet of his companions, who took the arrow in hand and contemplated it with wonder. But this accident, far from disheartening them, inflamed their rage still more, and they vigorously attacked the vessels. But those of our caravellas, not less expert in their art, than incensed at the flagrant barbarity and perfidiousness of the negroes, spread at last terror and death over those almadias. Among the Christians there was not one hurt: yet the negroes still called up what fury could suggest to annoy their enemies. They saw that the smallest of our vessels was the least defended, and deficient in point of arms: they drew their forces together, and gave it a general assault. However, we joined the caravella with the other two vessels, and stationing it in the middle, I ordered the guns to fire, and the cross-bows to discharge; on which the negroes at last retreated. We then brought the three vessels together, and cast anchor, endeavouring to come to an understanding with them. Our interpreter used his best exertions, and cried so loud, that at last one of the almadias approached within an arrow's throw. We signified to them, that we could not conceive how they could offend us, as we had never betrayed the least hostile intention against them; that we were peaceful men, that came to trade with them on the best terms, as we did with their neighbours of Senegal, who bore no ill-will against us. That we came from distant countries, and were charged with presents for their king and master, on the part of our sovereign, the king of Portugal, who wished to close a firm and good friendship with him: that they might acquaint us in what country we were, who was the lord that reigned over them, and what the name of that river: that all our intention was peacefully and friendly to barter our merchandises against



against goods of theirs, perfectly satisfied with whatever they might present us in exchange. They answered, that they had some notice of our intercourse with the negroes of Senegal, and that they could not help looking upon them as cruel; or, at least, ill-advised, to sell their countrymen, which they could not find of any other use to the Christians than for eating them: that, therefore, they despised our friendship, and that they would massacre us wherever they should meet us; and carry those things now offered, forcibly to their sovereign, who was not three days journey off: that we were to know we had now to deal with the people of Gambia: they also spoke the name of that great river, which I could not recollect. The wind rising in this moment, and seeing their ill-will towards us, we bore down upon them. They took flight and refuge on the land, and by this escape hostilities ceased. We then resolved to penetrate into the land, with our vessels, at least one hundred miles, if practicable, still hoping to meet with some more tractable people; but our crew being tired by such adventures, and impatient to return to their own home, exclaimed against it, and unanimously declared, that what they had hitherto seen and achieved was quite sufficient. We yielded, for the fear of some worse consequences, which in all probability might have ensued; knowing the obstinacy of their character. We departed the next day, to return by the way of Cape Verde to Spain.

During the time we remained in the mouth of this river, we had once occasion to see the north star, which was almost on a level with the sea, for when we observed it in clear weather, it did not appear to rise a lance height out of the sea. We also observed some other low constellations, which were very clear, luminous, and of the first classes. By the compass, they were found to lie to the south, in the following succession,

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We concluded them to be the southern chariot, but could not expect to see the principal star, as we had not yet lost sight of the southern star. We found the night to be eleven hours and a half, and the day in proportion. It was in June; and, if I am right, it was the second of that month. This country is hot in all seasons of the year: it is true, they have some variation in the climate, and this they call winter. It consists in a copious rain, which falls partly regularly every day, at noon, from a sudden coagulation of clouds, brought on by N. E. by E. or E. S. E. point winds, and which is accompanied with thunder and lightning. This winter, or rains, begin in July, and continue the whole of October. At that time the negroes sow, as do those of Senegal: like that people, they subsist upon millet, pulse, flesh, and milk.

The extraordinary heat of the air makes the very rains on the continent warm. I was struck at not seeing any dawn at the sun-rise, as in our quarter; the sun rises almost precipitately; and between the dropping of the night's veil and the full day, there is no longer space than that of half an hour, during which space, the horizon seems somewhat gloomy, and, as it were, wrapped in smoke. I could hardly attribute this phenomenon to any other cause than the flatness of the soil, which is no where interrupted by any mountain. My opinion coincided with those of my companions.



## SECOND VOYAGE OF CADA MOSTO.

The asperity and savage disposition of the nations we met with in Gambia, was the reason why I could not effect my intentions, nor set down any observations from my first voyage, on a country which had so much raised our expectations. To this I must add, that unconquerable impatience, by which our crew forced us to abstain from any farther attempts, which might, perhaps, have been successful in the event. I resolved, therefore, next year, in conjunction with the above-mentioned Genoese gentleman, to arm two caravellas, and to persist in our discoveries on the said river.

Prince Henry, having been informed of this resolution, expressed his particular satisfaction, and immediately issued out his orders for equipping one of his caravellas to accompany us.

We put to sea from Lagos the beginning of May, with a fair wind, steering for the Canaries, and reached them in a few days. The wind continuing favourable, we did not touch there, but prosecuted our former direction. The current running to the south-west, and the wind blowing the same way, the rapidity of our course was doubled. When we got sight of Cape Blanco we kept out to sea, but being overtaken the ensuing night by a storm from S. W. we were compelled to run westward for two nights and three days, rather than to return north. The third day we got sight of land, to our great joy, uncertain whereabouts we were cast. I ordered two men to the main-top, who soon announced to us, that we had two great islands before us. We fell on our knees to thank the Almighty for having rescued us. Our transport increased when we perceived that those islands could not yet be known to the Spaniards; hoping moreover, that they might be inhabited, and the sphere of our information thereby enlarged, we stood, without loss of time, towards one of them; and coasted it till we found a convenient road, where we cast anchor. The weather having at last turned calm, we sent a boat well-manned, to see what state the island was in; and whether any inhabitants, or vestiges of habitations could be traced. Upon their returning with the account that, after a diligent examination, they had found no other marks than those of uncultivation and solitude, I sent ten other men completely armed, to land on the most elevated part of the island, there to make new observations; and to see whether some other islands might not be descried from the summit of the mountains. Their relation was like the former; that they did not believe the island to be inhabited; that they saw nothing on it but a prodigious quantity of pigeons, which were so tame and familiar, that they suffered themselves to be taken with the hand, without the least struggle: they brought some to the ship. But that they had descried three large islands; that one of them lay to leeward, towards the north, and that the other two were to the south, towards our course; all three within sight of each other: they saw also a resemblance of other islands, but at so great a distance they could not exactly distinguish them. I neglected visiting them, suspecting them to be as desert as the former, and being moreover in great haste to pursue our main purpose.

From the latter report of this discovery, others set out in quest of these islands, which they found ten in number, all waste, and with no other inhabitants than pigeons, some other curious birds, and some rich fisheries round the shore.

Having thus quitted those islands, we came in sight of two others. When we were searching for an anchoring place, near one of them, which had a great shew of trees,



trees, we were sensibly comforted in discovering the mouth of a river streaming through that island. Having sent part of the crew of my ship to the river, they found some lakes filled with salt; whereupon they returned with a quantity, the finest imaginable. We made a large provision of it; and having found the water excellent, we shipped a sufficient quantity of that also. We took some tortoises, which we found in great numbers, but whose shells were larger than a target. Our sailors killed them, and prepared them in various dishes, saying, that they had eaten many times of this amphibious animal in the bay of Arguim, though they were not so large. Out of curiosity I tasted some, and found them perfectly good, with flesh as white as veal, and of an excellent taste and smell. They salted a great number of them, and they were found a most welcome provision in the progress of our voyage. We caught also such a large number of fishes, in and about the mouth of this river, as is scarcely credible; among which, there were some species unknown to us: they were all large and very good tasted. The breadth of the river was about an arrow's cast, and its depth proportionate; a vessel of an hundred and fifty tons might navigate it for some way up. We staid two days here to refresh ourselves, killing and taking (besides the above provisions) as many pigeons as we could foresee we should stand in need of. We gave to the first of these islands the name of Bona Vista, as it had been the first land we saw in those parts, and called the other St. Jago, from our having anchored there the day of St. Philippe and Jago.

We left these four islands, and steered to the southward. In a few days we arrived at a place called the Two Palms, which lies between Cape Verde and the river Senegal. After a slight inspection of the cape, we passed it, and sailed so prosperously, that in a short time we found ourselves at the mouth of the river Gambia, which we entered, without any opposition on the part of the negroes, founding with great attention. We met with some almadias, but so circumspect, that they kept close to the shores of the river, without venturing to approach us; and about ten miles up the river we came to an island, where we cast anchor. It was on a Sunday, and we lost one of our sailors, who had lingered for some days under a fever: he was buried in this island, which we called (from his name) St. Andrew. Continuing our voyage on this river, we were followed by some almadias at a distance: we steered towards them, and our interpreter spoke to them, held out some trinkets to their view, and told them, if they would approach, all those things should be theirs; that there was no occasion for fear, since we were men like themselves, inoffensive, and in every respect civilized.

Having by little and little calmed their apprehension, they made towards us, and came close to my caravella. One among them, who understood our interpreter, came on board: he lost himself in admiration, when he saw that we had no oars in our ship, but that the whole was put in motion by means of the sails. He stared at our dress, as well as the whiteness of our skin, expressing his being a total stranger to them both. It is unnecessary to notice, that the most part of them are naked, and have no other idea of vestment than that of their cotton shirts, and that is peculiar to the few affluent among them. We endeavoured to engage him by caresses, and gave him some tinsel, of which he seemed extremely satisfied. Having asked him several questions, he told us, at last, that the country we were in was Gambia, and that their principal lord was Forosangoli, who had his residence towards the south-



west, at a distance of nine or ten days journey: that this Forofangoli was a vassal to the emperor of Melli, who was the emperor of the negroes, but that there were many inferior lords who inhabited the shores of that river: he offered to conduct us to one of them (if we had any inclination for it) whose name was Baltimansa, whom he hoped to persuade to be friendly with us, since it appeared to him that we were a good-natured kind of men. We accepted his offers with many testimonies of satisfaction, and kept him in our vessel until we arrived at the place of Baltimansa's residence, which lay higher up, and about sixty miles from the mouth of the river.

From the description I have given of this country, it appears that our steering on this river must needs have been eastward. The river was much more contracted where we cast anchor, than about the mouth; from whence, to this place, we had seen many other rivers mingling their waters with this. We sent our interpreter with the negro to Baltimansa, accompanying the message with a present, consisting of a garment of silk, in the Moorish fashion, called a zembra, made like a shirt; and to announce to him that we arrived, on the part of the Christian king of Portugal, to make a friendship with him; to learn whether he might not want some of our merchandises, and that we would annually supply him with the requisite quantity. They acquitted themselves of their commission so well, that the lord immediately sent some of his negroes to our caravella, with whom we entered into a treaty. They brought us gold and slaves for our merchandises, though not in such abundance as the negroes of Senegal had informed us. Our hopes sunk, when we saw them advance with trifling quantities of gold; and even the value of that magnified; for they esteem this metal as highly as we ourselves, being more scarce among them than it is in our country: however, as their inclination was chiefly turned on wares of little worth and moment, we made some profit by them. We staid eleven days here, during which time, all the negroes of the neighbourhood flocked about our caravellas; some to see new things, others to exchange some of their property, or a gold ring. The chief articles they brought us were cottons, and cotton yarn; some of them white, others striped white and blue, others red, blue and white, well manufactured. They also offered us civet and civet-cat skins, monkies and baboons, of various kinds, great and small, as there is a great quantity in these parts: they bartered them for things of little value, for about ten marquets a head. There were others who brought civet, which they sold and estimated by ounces (forty or fifty marquets an ounce); some brought fruits of different kinds; among others, little and wild dates, not very good, but which were eaten by the sailors, who affirmed, that they had a different flavour from ours; and, in their opinion, they were not bad. I abstained from them, as I was apprehensive of a flux, or some other ill effects, from an exotic plant I had not been accustomed to. By this means we had every day fresh scenes of new people, and new languages, about our caravella. They went up and down the river, with their whole families, uninterrupted. In their almadias they have only oars, which do not rest against any nail, or support by any aperture in the side of the boats, but they hold it by main force, and tug upright, in two rows, one on each side. The oar is a pole, like a half-lance: at the end they fix a round trencher, by which they cut the water with great swiftness, and go into the sea along the coast. As there are numerous little rivers discharging into it, they have always some ready, as an asylum. They are very careful, however,



however, not to go at a distance from their country, as they would otherwise endanger their safety, and perhaps be sold for slaves. At the end of eleven days, we found some of our crew beginning to sicken with an acute and continual fever, therefore thought it high time to abandon that station, and make a precipitate retreat to the mouth of the river. I should, however, not leave this nation without mentioning a few particulars about their customs and soil. They are idolaters as to their faith, and put great confidence in charms and other diabolical practices; yet they all acknowledge one God, and some of them profess Mahometanism; the zeal of whose professors impels them to propagate their religion among those classes of people who are the least able to instruct themselves. Their way of living seems to be the same as that in Senegal, and their food the same, excepting some kinds of rice, in which the former have the advantage. They also eat dogs, a food I had never seen or heard any where else in fashion. They do not go naked, like the negroes of Senegal, but cover themselves with cotton cloth; and by reason of the abundance of this production, the women are equally adorned. When they are young, they take pleasure in performing certain operations on their flesh, by pricking themselves with a needle, making figures on the breast, arms, and neck, in such fancies as those works of silk we see on some of our handkerchiefs: they hold the part to the fire, which fixes the impression so as never to be defaced. This is one of the hottest regions, yet I am apt to believe must still be more habitable than those that lie to the south. I found the degree of heat much greater on the river than in the sea; perhaps, because it is surrounded by the trees, with which the whole land is overgrown. When we laid in some water from a spring near the river, we saw, among others, a tree, whose height, though very considerable, fell infinitely short in proportion to its trunk, which we found to be seventeen fathoms in compass, whilst its height was only twenty paces. The trunk was hollow in several parts, but the branches were thick and vigorous. There were others so high and thick, as to bespeak the greatest fertility of soil, which is beside watered by a great number of rivers.

Elephants are very common here, and I have seen a small group of wild ones: they have not the art of taming them, as in other countries. We were in the middle of the river, when we perceived three issue from the wood, and walk on the shore. We took a boat to approach them, as they were at some distance; but they returned to the wood when they saw us. I saw another little one afterwards that had been killed by a negro, called Gaumi Menfa, who dwelt near the mouth of the river, after having, in complaisance to me, chased him, with some of his negroes, during two days. They hunt on foot, and use no other arms than their zagaye and the bow. Their weapons are all dipped in poison. When they chase elephants, they post themselves behind, or upon the trees, and assail them with poisoned arms. As they leap from one tree to another with facility, they run no danger, but kill the huge animal with much ease, as its bulk hinders it from escaping the numerous darts with which it is overwhelmed from all sides. It is otherwise in open plains, where the least oversight of a hunter may make him a prey to his game, which is by far more swift-footed than even a good runner. This I have heard from the negroes themselves.

I believe I have hinted that the elephant is not a ferocious animal; they will respect a man, if they are not provoked. The teeth of that little elephant I saw were not longer than three spans, one of which was rooted in the jaw. This was a proof of its youth, as the grown ones generally project teeth of ten or twelve spans in length.



Though it was reckoned a small one, I can avow that its mass of flesh was equal to five or six of our bulls. Part of this elephant was offered me as a present by that lord; the rest was left to the hunters for their banquet. When I heard that they made such a use of it, I ordered pieces to be roasted and boiled, which I tasted out of mere curiosity, and a desire of confirming reports by experience, whenever I should return to my country; but in fact I found it tough and tasteless. I took a leg, and a part of its trunk, into my ship, together with some handfuls of his hairs, which were black, rough, and above a span and an half in length. The flesh I salted, and made a present of the whole to prince Henry on my return to Spain, which he received with marks of great satisfaction, as they were the first fruits of that country, whose discovery had been owing to his sagacity and resolution alone. The elephants feet have no great resemblance to those of the horse; it has, among other differences, no hoofs, but five nails round the extremity of its foot, which touch the ground, and are round, of about a groffon's size\*. The foot of this little elephant was heavy, and measured a span and an half on its sole, which is nearly circular. The above lord had presented me another foot of an elephant, whose sole was three palms and an inch both ways. I offered it, together with a tooth of twelve palms in length, to prince Henry, which he immediately sent to the duchess of Burgundy as a present.

We found, in the river Gambra, and the other rivers, divers animals; one called the river horse, which is amphibious, and not widely different from our sea calves. It has a body like a cow, with short legs; its feet are flat, and the head is like that of a horse, with a large tooth in each jaw, as our boars; nearly of the same size, but rather longer. This beast lives promiscuously in water, or on land; is peculiar to this country, and some other on the Nile. We saw bats of three spans and more, with some other of the feathered tribe, (differing from ours) particularly whole swarms of parrots.

The sickness of our crew having forced us to fly that unhealthy spot, we left the port of Manfa, which is the land of Baltimanfa, and found ourselves in a few days at the entrance of the sea. As our ship was in the best condition, I thought it incumbent, since we had now advanced so far, to venture farther south. This resolution was applauded, and, the first favourable wind, put in execution; the more willingly, as that shore about Gambra began to appear tiresome and unprofitable. We now advanced more and more into the sea: the land was low, and exhibited one of the most delightful wild prospects, consisting of lofty and innumerable trees; we were therefore obliged to steer west, and when in open sea, discovered that this projection of land was not a cape, the shore continuing strait for a considerable way. However, we kept at a distance, and could see the waves break for about four miles. I ordered a look-out to be kept from the main-top-mast-head and the prow, for banks and shoals. We navigated only by day, and even then with circumspection: we cast anchor for the night, one caravella succeeding the other, according to the lot of the day, as no one of the ships sued for the first place, taking it by rotation. The third day we discovered a river; it might be about half a mile wide; and farther on, a small gulph, which might have been taken for the mouth of a river. As the night came on, we anchored there. The next morning, as we had made some way in our former direction, we were surprised by another river, little inferior to that of Gambra. Both shores were decked with high and green trees. We entered it, and anchored. We determined to dispatch

\* A piece of silver about the size of a penny.



two armed boats, with our interpreters, to explore and enquire into the name of the river, and who was the lord that governed there. They returned with an answer, that the river was Cafamanfa, after the name of the negro lord, called Cafamanfa, who lived about thirty miles higher up the river; but he was absent, and engaged in a war. Upon this news we hoisted sail the next day and departed. This river lies at the distance of twenty-five leagues, or one hundred miles from that of Gambia.

Having resumed our first direction along the coast, we arrived at a cape, which lies about twenty miles off the river Cafamanfa. This cape seems to rise a little above the surface of the adjacent coast; its front carried a red appearance, from which we called it Cape Rosso. Shortly after we came to another river, whose mouth was about a bow-shot wide, but made no attempt on it, contenting ourselves with giving it the name of Santa Anna. We saw another river a little beyond the latter, which was nearly of the same size as the river Santa Anna: we gave it the name of St. Dominico, and reckoned it to be fifty-five or sixty miles distant from Cape Rosso. After another day's sailing, we discovered the mouth of a stream so majestic and capacious, as to pass for some time, in our opinion, as a gulph. Its southern shore was bordered with green trees, and the passage from one to the other was at least twenty miles, by our estimation on crossing it. From the other shore we could see some islands in the sea, and resolving to inform ourselves of that country, cast anchor: the next morning we saw two almadias near us, of which the largest was as long as our caravella, and contained about thirty negroes; the lesser might have carried sixteen. When we saw them pressing with great velocity towards us, we lay on our oars, determined to give them a warm reception in case they should offer any hostilities; but when they were within hearing, they held out a white handkerchief tied to an oar, as if to demand a parley. This we answered by doing the same; whereupon they drew to our side, and were followed by other almadias, who crowded about my caravella, to see and admire the white men, the vessel, the masts, &c. which were all unknown, and stupendous things to them. I sent the interpreter, but neither he, nor those of the other caravella, could ever comprehend a word of theirs, or learn who they were. Here we rested, despairing now to find any people we could have commerce with beyond these limits; and as, by going further, the difference of languages would only increase the difficulties, our return home was agreed upon. We bartered some trifles for a few small gold rings, of the two almadias, by signs. We remained only two days at the mouth of the river, where we observed the Polar star to be extremely low. I have remarked in that place, that the tide, instead of increasing six hours, and decreasing as many, as in our parts, increases four hours, and takes up eight in flowing. The impetuosity of the current is beyond that of any other in my memory. Three anchors were barely sufficient to hold one of our ships for some time, and we were at last torn away, with imminent danger, in spite of the wind, which favoured us.

When we left this river, on our return to Spain, we sailed towards those islands we had lately descried from the shore of the great river: we found them thirty miles from the shore; two of them were of some extent, the others small and inconsiderable. The two greater ones were inhabited by negroes, though almost on a level with the sea: they were both enriched with fine and lofty green trees. We could not communicate with them, as their language was as unintelligible to our interpreters as the former; so we steered homewards without delay, where, not long after, we arrived in perfect safety.



## CHAPTER VII.

*Grant of King Alfonso to his Brother Don Ferdinand. Cape de Verde Islands discovered.  
Grant of them by the same King. Death and Character of Prince Henry.*

A. D. 1457. **K**ING ALFONSO this year passed a grant to don Ferdinand, his brother, of all the islands which had been hitherto discovered, with jurisdiction both civil and criminal, under some limitations; and  
A. D. 1460. three years after, the infante don Henry made over to the said don Ferdinand, his nephew and adopted son, the islands of Jesus and Gratiofa, reserving only the spiritual jurisdiction, which belonged to the order of Christ. This donation was confirmed by the king on the  
A. D. 1461. second of September in the same year. The next year, as many people repaired to the island of Arguim, to trade for gold and negroes, the king ordered a castle or fort to be built on that island, which still remains. This was done by Soero Mendez, a gentleman of his household, on whom the king bestowed the government thereof, with remainder to his sons.

“ We find (says De Barros) that about this time the islands now called Cape de Verde, were discovered by one Antonio de Noli, a Genoese of noble blood, who, from some offence he had received in his own country, went to Portugal, in company with his brother Bartholomew, and his nephew Raphael de Noli. To these the infante gave permission to proceed on discovery. Sixteen days after their departure from Lisbon, they discovered the island which they called May, because they arrived there on the first day of that month. The next day, being the festival of St. Philip and St. James, they discovered two islands, to which they gave the names of those saints. At the same time some other servants of the infante don Ferdinand, being out on the discovery, saw the other Cape de Verde islands, (making in the whole ten) so called from their situation, about one hundred leagues west of the said cape.”—Of these islands the king made a grant to his brother don Ferdinand, on the 19th of September in the same year.

It may be necessary here to make some remark concerning the discovery of these islands, the honour of which, we have already seen, has been claimed by Cada Mosto, and the Portuguese writers give it to De Noli. It is therefore not unlikely, but Cada Mosto actually discovered two of these islands; but his voyage being undertaken on a private account, the journal or record of it might not be preserved by the Portuguese.

This is the last expedition we find during the life of prince Henry: that great man seems, ever since the accession of his nephew, don Alfonso, to have resigned the active part to his other nephew, don Ferdinand. He lived, however, many years after, attained the age of sixty-seven, and quitted this world in the year 1463. His character is drawn by his countryman, De Barros, who may be supposed to have heightened the colouring rather too much; however, we insert it as a just tribute to the memory of so great a man.

This excellent prince, third son to king John I. of glorious memory, and of queen donna Phillippa, his wife, daughter of John duke of Alem Castro, or Lancaster, and sister to Henry IV. of England; and, as in general, from the nobleness of blood, all personal qualities are derived, we may believe, that upon this foundation  
God



God Almighty inspired his soul with equal greatness, as his actions proved, in the whole course of his life. His person was of a middling stature, broad, strong limbed, and fleshy, of a good red and white, denoting a good assemblage of humours. His hair was somewhat raised, and from the gravity of his countenance, he appeared severe to those that were not acquainted with him; and when provoked to anger, looked fierce; but this very seldom happened; for even in the height of his displeasure, he never made use of any other words to those that displeased him, than to say, "I give you up to God, lucky may you be." His demeanour was serene, of mild speech, and constant to what he said, which was ever chaste and honest; and this he most religiously observed in all his dealings: his household and dress kept pace with them. All this proceeded from the uprightness of his soul; and it was said he never was unchaste. In his labours and passions he was very patient, and master of himself; humble, and so ready in pardoning errors, that he did it to a fault. He had a great memory, and much weight and authority in his councils among the learned: was magnificent in his expences for improvement, and very desirous to try experiments for the general good, at his own private cost. He was very fond of bringing up young noblemen, and having them taught good habits; so bent was he on these things, that his palace was beheld as a school of virtuous nobility, where the greatest part of the chief persons of the kingdom were brought up, whom he maintained and rewarded for their services. He had such confidence and esteem for them, that in his will, he recommended them to king don Alfonso, and the infante don Ferdinand, whom he had adopted for his son; that they, as well as all his servants, should have their stipends continued to them: and that they would receive them in their household as their own servants; because, he thanked God, they were deserving of every favour conferred on them. Notwithstanding his plain appearance, words, fastings, and prayers, and his whole life mostly devoted to religion, yet he had an exalted mind for great enterprises, equal to any of royal blood, which shewed itself conspicuously, when he was in Africa at the taking of Ceuta, as we have related in our African narration; in which, he not only managed and laid a proper plan to go upon, but sent to the island of Majorca for one Iacome, a learned man in the art of navigation; a drawer of charts and maps, and a maker of instruments, to teach the Portuguese officers that science, which cost him a great deal of money: he also sent sugar canes from Cicilia, and Sicily, to the island of Madeira, that they might be there planted, as also people to cultivate them; shewing by these things how much he had at heart the common good, and desire of answering to his motto, *talent de bien faire*. In regard to letters, he mostly loved sacred writings, and as to other literature, he principally studied cosmography, from which the kingdom now possesses the lordship of Guinea, with the other titles annexed to the crown. He not only left these pledges of the love he bore to letters in general, but gave up his houses and other things, for the benefit of studies then pursued at Lisbon; which, on the return of every year, the celebration was kept up. In his life time, the discoveries from Cape Bajador, which was in thirty-seven degrees north as far as Sierra Leona; which is seven degrees and two-thirds, and contains a coast of three hundred and seventy leagues; Sierra Leona being discovered by Pedro di Sintra, one of the knights of his household. In the beginning of these discoveries, though attended with great difficulties and murmurs, he never desisted nor despaired, with the help of God, to accomplish them, during the space of forty years, commencing in 1420 (not mentioning some years before without success in the discovery of the island of Madeira); and on the  
thirteenth



thirteenth of November, 1463, he died at Sagres, and was buried at Lagos, and afterwards sent to the monastery of Santa Maria da Victoria, called a Batalha, in the king his father's chapel.

One remark we think necessary to make in justice to his memory: the encouragement given by the prince to the purchase of the human species, can in no respect be justified; yet if we view his other actions, we may with justice conclude, that the bigotted tenets of his religion are more to be blamed than he. The supposition that the person and properties of unbelievers could lawfully be assigned, by virtue of the pope's power, to those of the true faith, is so big with absurdity, that it is astonishing any human being could assent to it: however, this good man certainly did. We can only therefore lament the blindness of human nature, when clouded with superstition; and it is but justice to conclude, that had this excellent prince lived in more enlightened times, he would have rejected such principles with horror.

## CHAPTER VIII.

*Voyage of Captain Pedro di Sintra, a Portuguese. Written by Alvise da Cada Mosto.*

### INTRODUCTION OF CADA MOSTO.

A. D. 1462. **H**ITHERTO I have related adventures and discoveries of which I have been myself a witness; and I am now going to give an account of discoveries that have been made by others after me. Don Henry having died, the king of Portugal seemed to adopt his schemes, and sent soon after his death two armed caravellas. The captain to whom he entrusted the command of them was Pedro de Sintra, one of his equerries, whom he commissioned to extend the sphere of the discoveries already made, by penetrating along the coast of the negroes farther into the ocean than any ship had done. Among the company of the captain, there was a young Portuguese, who had been with me in my voyage in those parts, in the capacity of clerk. At the return of these caravellas, I happened to be in Lagos, where he came to pay me a visit, and related their adventures, and the countries they had seen (which were exactly the same I had discovered before); the names they had given them, and the successive order of the places from Rio Grande, forwards. He told me they had landed on the above-mentioned inhabited great islands; that they descended on one of them, and endeavoured to make themselves understood by the negroes, but in vain; that they went to their houses, and found them small, covered with straw, and in a wretched condition; that they found some wooden idols in them, and conjectured the people to be idolaters. Fatigued with that scene, they quickly resumed their voyage to the south, along the coast, until they came to a large river, about three or four miles wide, and which might have been distant from Rio Grande about forty miles: its name was Bisequis, from a lord of the same name, who reigned on its shores. After that, they arrived at a cape to which they gave the name



name of Verga. All the land from the river Bisequis to this cape, is mountainous, though of no considerable elevation. He computed the distance from the said river to this cape, one hundred and forty miles. They were all delighted with the picturesque appearance of those mountains, covered with a number of lofty and green trees, which could be seen from a great distance.

About eighty miles beyond Cape Verga, they discovered another cape, which, in the opinion of the sailors, was the highest they had hitherto seen. In the middle, it rises in a high point; and the whole is also embellished by green and lofty trees. They named it Sagres, in memory of a fortress which don Henry had constructed on one of the points of Cape St. Vincent of the same name, and the Portuguese call it, at present, Cape Sagres of Guinea. From the information they could procure, they learned that the inhabitants were idolaters, and prostrated themselves before wooden statues, in the form of men; that they never eat or drink without offering a part of their repast to those idols. Their complexion inclines more to the tawny than black colour. They had marks made with an instrument on different parts of their face and body. They go about naked, and only cover their privities with the rinds of trees. As they have no iron in their country, they have scarce any arms. They subsist upon rice, millet, pulse, beans, and kidney-beans, which differ from ours by their beauty and size: and they have cow and goat flesh, though not plentiful. Opposite this cape are three islands, distant about four miles from one another, and eight from the cape; they are not inhabited, as they are very small, but are all covered with fine trees. They met with some almadias on that river, which are somewhat like our zoppoli, and generally carry thirty or forty men: they are also conducted with oars, and without the help of sails, as I observed above. The ears of this people are all perforated, and they carry many different sorts of rings in them. The gristle of their nose has also a hole, through which they pass a gold ring, as with our buffaloes: when they eat they take it off: it is worn both by men and women. They say, that the women of the kings and lords, or any other man of note, have the labiæ of their private parts pierced with some holes, as their ears, on which they wear, from an affectation of finery, dignity, and high life, gold rings, which they take off or put on at pleasure.

Forty miles beyond Cape Sagres there is another river named St. Vincent, which is about four miles wide at the mouth. Five miles further there is another river, called Rio Verde, which appeared larger than that of St. Vincent. Both these names have been imposed on them by the new adventurers. This country is all over mountainous, and the coast has every where good sailing and a good anchoring ground. Liedo is the next place they discovered; it is a cape to which they gave this name, on account of the gay appearance which that and the country afforded them. At this cape a mountain begins, which extends fifty miles along the coast; it is high, and perpetually covered with the loftiest green trees. Towards its extremity they found three islands, about eight miles from the shore; the largest of which was ten or twelve miles in circumference. They called these islands Salvezze, and the mountain Sierra Leona, on account of the tremendous roaring of the thunder about the summit of it, which is continually wrapped up in cloud and mist.

After they had left the mountain Leona behind them, they found the whole coast full of sand banks, reaching into the sea. Not thirty miles off the cape of the said mountain, a river, about three miles wide occurs; from the red appearance of which, the



waters of this river carried, owing to the sand on the bottom, it was named Rio Rosso, the red river. A little off this river we saw a cape, which was likewise of the same colour, and we called it Cape Rosso; and the island which lay near this cape in the sea, we also gave the appellation of Red Island, from the vicinity to the red cape. From that island we could see the north star about the height of a man above the sea: we found the distance from the red river to this island to be ten miles. Behind Cape Rosso, there is a gulph in which a river discharges: as it was discovered on the day of Santa Maria of the Snow, they gave it this name. On the other side of the river, a point rises, opposite to which there lies a small island in the sea. This gulph or basin is interspersed with banks of sand, which extend along the sea coast, for about ten miles, on which the sea breaks. The current of water is very impetuous, both on the ebb and flood tide. This island was called by them the island Scamid a Barso, on account of the aforesaid shoals. Beyond this island to the south, there is a considerable cape, which having been discovered on the day of Santa Anna, was called by the name of that saint. They reckon from that island to this cape, four-and-twenty miles: the coast is low and shallow.

After a new progress of seventy miles, the caravella arrived at a river, which, as it was bordered with palms, received the name of Palm river. The entrance of this river is impeded by innumerable banks, highly dangerous. They found the whole coast from Santa Anna to this river full of shoals, as also for the space of seventy miles beyond it, as far as the river of Smoke, which derived its name from the clouds of smoke that flew from the land. This river is but inconsiderable for its size. Four-and-twenty miles beyond it, also on a low coast, a cape projected far into the sea, on which a high mountain rose, and occasioned its being called the Cape of the Mountain. Another cape occurred on this shore about sixty miles off, which, as it was small, and distinguished by a mountain of a moderate appearance, they called it Cape Court, or Misundo. Here they saw high flames that had been lighted by the negroes, when they saw the vessels for the first time. Sixteen miles from hence, they found a large wood of green trees on the coast, which was watered in some parts by the sea, and received the name of the wood of Santa Maria. The caravella was plying for a short time near it, when they perceived some almadias of negroes, with two or three men in each, who were all naked, and carried some sharp-pointed weapons, resembling darts. Some of them had small knives about them; they had two targets of skin, and three bows among them: they made towards our caravella: they had also many rings about their ears, one in the nose, and were distinguished by the teeth they carried about their necks, which seemed to be human teeth. The interpreters spoke to them, but were totally ignorant of their language. Three came on board one of the caravellas; the Portuguese kept one, and dismissed the two others, in compliance with the orders they had received from the king of Portugal, that from the remotest country they would land at, they should bring, if practicable, some negroes with them, in order to obtain from them, by means of other negroes in Portugal, (once possessed of the language,) some useful information about their country. For this reason, as they were now resolved upon their return, they had made this capture, which they presented to the king, who had divers negroes before him, and also a negro girl, the slave of a citizen of Lisbon, who was also from a remote country, and was the only one that could understand him, not by her native language, but by the medium of another, in which they were both conversant. His whole relation was however very enigmatic and abstruse; all that could



could be learned of him was, that there were unicorns in his country. The king, after having kept him for several months, and caused him to be shewn the greatest curiosities of the kingdom, gave him some gowns, and sent him back to his country in a caravella, with good treatment, and marks of benevolence. However, that country has always been the limits of navigators, until my departure from Spain, the first of February, 1463.

## CHAPTER IX.

*Trade to Africa farmed. Further Discoveries. Commerce opened with Mina. Island of Fernando de Po discovered. Cape St. Catherine's, the Islands of St. Thomas, Annobom, and Principe, or Prince's Island discovered. Another Island discovered. Voyage of D'Azambuja. Fort and Church built in Africa.*

A. D. 1474. **A**T this time the trade to Africa was well understood between the Portuguese and the inhabitants of that coast. The commercial intercourse between the two countries was carried on with peace and friendship; not as at first, by making descents on their coasts and plundering them, "which (says Barros) was unavoidable, when you consider those people in the barbarous state they were in. But when they began to receive benefits, as well in their understanding as to their souls, and many things for their use, they became more civilized;" so that whenever the Portuguese arrived at their ports, multitudes came to traffic with them. But the king being too much taken up with the affairs of his kingdom to attend to this commerce, farmed the same to a citizen of Lisbon, Fernandes Gomez, for five years, at two hundred millreis per annum, [about 55*l.* sterling] on condition that he should every year discover one hundred leagues beyond Sierra Leona, the extent of discovery then made by Pedro di Sintra and Soeiro da Costa. Afterwards Soeiro da Costa discovered the river which is now called Soeiro, which is between Cape Palmas, and the Three Bridges, near to the house of Axim, where the factory for the traffic of gold is established. Among other conditions of this contract, all the ivory was to belong to the king, for which he was to allow at the rate of one thousand five hundred reis per quintal, [about eight shillings and three-pence sterling] and which the king disposed of at a higher price to one Martimannes Boavige, agreeable to a prior contract, that he, the said Boavige, should have all the ivory that was brought from the coast of Africa; and also as a thing that was much in estimation at that time, Fernandes Gomez had liberty to traffic for each of those five years for a civit cat.

This contract with Gomez was made in 1469, with restriction that he should not carry on any traffic to the part of the continent opposite the Cape de Verde islands, that being reserved for the inhabitants of those islands; nor to the island of Arguim, as the king had granted it to prince John, his son. Fernandes Gomez afterwards farmed it of the prince for a certain number of years, at one hundred millreis per annum, [about twenty-five pounds sterling]. He was so successful and diligent, that in the year 1471, he opened a commerce for gold at the place we now call Mina or



Mine, by means of Joam de Santarem and Pedro Escovar, both knights, and their two pilots, Martin Fernandes, of Lisbon, and Alvaro Esteves, of Lagos; which last was reckoned the most expert in his profession in all Spain. The first exchange of gold in this country was made at a small village called Sammá, containing about five hundred inhabitants; and afterwards more was made lower down, where a fortification is now standing, built by king John, which is called the village of Aldea, or of two parts. Fernandes Gomez not only discovered this exchange of gold here, but also further on in his discoveries, which by his contract carried him as far as Cape Santa Catherina, thirty-seven leagues beyond Cape Lopo Gonzalez, in two degrees and an half south latitude, from which he gained great riches. In 1474, which was the last year of his contract, the king created him a noble, and gave him a new coat of arms, with the appellation *Da Mina*, in memory of this discovery, and appointed him of his council, in reward for having brought the commerce of Guinea to be of such consequence.

At this time the island Formosa was discovered by one Fernando de Po, which now goes by his name. The last discovery in the time of king Alfonso was by don de Sequiera, a knight of his household, who discovered Cape St. Catherine's, and called it so, because first seen on that saint's day.

These voyages were by order of this king, and don Henry also pursued his; so that there were discoveries going on always, even from the coast, from whence came the first Malagueta, which was brought to the infante don Henry. Though some of it had found its way to Italy, by means of the Moors of Mandinga, and the deserts of Lybia, which they call Cahará, these bringing it to a port in the Mediterranean, called Mundi Barca, and corruptly Monte da Barca; and as the Italians did not know from whence this precious spice came, and being so exquisitely fine, they called it grains of paradise.

The islands of St. Thomas, Annobom, and Principe, or Prince's, were also discovered under king Alfonso, and other islands and places of traffic, which we cannot relate in particular, because we know not the real time, nor who were the captains that discovered them. There was also an island discovered, of which we have not even the name, though we could bring many testimonies to prove it. This island was discovered in the year 1438; and from a journal of the voyage of a Spanish expedition from the coast of Africa to the coast of Brazil, in the year 1525, and thence to the islands of Malucca, under the command of Francis Garcia de Loais, captain-general. The journalist says, that one don Roderigo da Campa, an Andaluzian nobleman, captain of a vessel called St. Jago in that expedition; and St. Jago Guevara, a Biscainer, in another vessel, likewise called St. Jago, had a dispute with each other about the taking a Portuguese ship, with negroes, from the island of St. Thomas, and they even came to blows: however, the Portuguese vessel was carried before the captain-general, who was desirous of taking the pilot out of her, that he might carry him away with him; but as there was no person that could navigate her, except this pilot, he gave up his intention. He interrogated the pilot on many things concerning sea affairs, and then suffered him to depart. According to this journal, we find he received information that the Portuguese were then at Malucca, where they had built a fort.

Proceeding on their voyage, being in two degrees south, they found an island called St. Matthew's, in which were two watering places; one a very good one, and the other not so; and they found inscribed on two trees, that eighty-seven years before, some Portuguese had been there, and benefited by the fruits of the island, which produced



produced plenty of sweet oranges, palm-trees, and fowls, like those of Spain, of which they killed many with their cross bows. He also relates many other articles found on the island; but I only mention these to prove, that we had made more discoveries at that time than what Gomezeanes de Zurara, the historiographer, had written of. It was no uncommon thing to find inscriptions on trees, as the Portuguese made a practice of doing so wherever they came, and generally affixed don Henry's motto, *Talent de bien faire*; which written on the bark of trees, and some wooden crosses, were esteemed a sufficient claim to the discovery. King John II. afterwards ordered stone marks to be erected, which explained the time, and by whom the places were discovered, and was then thought sufficient to assert possession; but now (says De Barros) even fortifications in these very places will hardly give them a right, from the jealousies that have arisen in the world.

On the death of Alfonso, king John succeeded. He had in the life time of his father the business of Africa consigned to him as part of his revenue; from experience he knew, that gold, ivory, slaves, and other things, enriched his kingdom; that every year new discoveries were making, and he had great hopes that India would be discovered through these seas. Being a prince of great prudence and judgment, he ordered a castle to be built, and a church in honour of God, to assert his right to the possessions of the discoveries already made, or that might hereafter be made, which was also confirmed to him by the pope. He knew that the blacks, from whence the traffic for gold was carried on, were very fond of silk, cotton, linen cloths, and other things, as they were more enlightened than most of their neighbours, and also seemed to shew that no great difficulty would arise to their receiving Christian baptism. He built a fort accordingly at that place, although some were averse to its being on that part of the coast, because they alledged that the country was very unwholesome, and the navigation troublesome. The king's answer to this was, that if one soul was brought to the faith by means of this fortification, all the other inconveniencies might be provided against. Having determined on this fort, he ordered a fleet of ten caravellas, and two hulks, or large transports, to be got ready, with stones, wood, bricks, and every other necessary for such a purpose, with provisions for six hundred men, of which one hundred were labourers, and the others soldiers. Of this expedition Diogo d'Azambuja was captain-general, a person well versed in war. The other captains were Gonzalez da Fonseca, Ruy d'Oliveira, Juan Rodrigues Gante, Juan Afonso, Diogo Rodrigues Inglez, Bartholomew Dias, Pedro d'Evora, and Gomez Aires, an attendant of don Pedro king of Arragon. All the foregoing were of noble extraction, and of the king's household. The captains of the transports were Pero de Cintra and Fernam d'Afonso, who having all the materials for building this fort, sailed some days before the rest; and Pedro d'Evora went with them in a small vessel, with a view of fishing at the port of Bezeguiche, in case the large ships could not come near enough for that purpose: Pedro d'Evora was so active and diligent in this business,

that he made peace with the proprietor of that coast, whose name was  
A.D. 1481. Bezeguiche. Diogo d'Azambuja, on his arrival, confirmed this peace, being only twelve days after he left Lisbon; and continuing his voyage,

A.D. 1482. it was so prosperous, that on the 19th of January the next year, he arrived safe at the place where the fort was to be built, which was then called the village of Aldea, where he found Juan Bernardo, in a vessel belonging to the king, trafficking for gold with Caramançã, the proprietor of that village, whom he  
desired



desired to inform him that he was come there with a large fleet, belonging to his master the king of Portugal, in which were many people of rank and consequence, to shew him every respect, as he should learn from him in person the next day, if he approved of it, and that he would come on shore for that purpose. Caramançá was pleased with his arrival, and Diogo d'Azambuja went on shore, attended with all his people dressed, with their arms concealed, in case they should be wanted. The first thing he did was to take possession of a large tree, a little distant from the village, a very proper place to erect the fort, and ordered the royal arms to be displayed on it, and at the foot an altar to be erected, where the first mass was celebrated in that part of Africa, which was heard by all our people with great devotion, praising God, and imploring his assistance in bringing all those idolatrous people to the faith, and that the church which was to be there founded, might last to the end of the world. This mass being ended, which was on St. Sebastian's day, this name was given to the valley: it was the place where they first landed, and where Diogo d'Azambuja waited for Caramançá, who was now coming from his village. The general placed all his men in order, and seating himself on a high chair, in embroidered cloaths, with a collar of gold and precious stones, all his captains dressed, and the rest of his people arranged in length, made a long avenue, that when Caramançá should come, (who was likewise desirous of shewing his state) he might be received properly. Caramançá came with his people, arranged in a martial manner, with a number of odd attendants, and people playing on different kinds of instruments in their country fashion. They were almost all naked; their skins anointed and shining, which heightened their blackness. They had only a monkey's skin to cover their private parts, or a piece of cloth made from the palm tree; and some of the principal of them made use of our painted cloths, which they had bartered with the ships that came there for gold. In general they were armed with spears, shields, bows, and arrows; and many had on their heads what they called a head-piece, made of monkeys skins, and stuck full of fishes teeth, but all very much disfigured, which they meant should strike terror; but, on the contrary, made a very different impression, and excited laughter. Those among them that were superior in rank had two pages to attend them; one carrying a round wooden stool for his master to sit upon, and the other carrying his shield and arms. Some of these nobles had chains and other ornaments of gold on their heads and beards.

Their king Caramançá came in the middle of them, his legs and arms covered with bracelets and gold rings; round his neck a collar, from which hung some small bells, and from his beard hung wires of gold, twisted with the hair. He moved on very slow, putting one foot gently before the other, and never moving his head, as if to support his dignity. Diogo d'Azambuja remained seated till the king got within the ranks of the Portuguese; he then came forward to meet him. Caramançá took him by the hand; and on quitting it, made a motion with his fingers, saying, *bere, bere*, which means *peace, peace*, and which motion is also looked on as the greatest mark of civility that can be shewn. The rest of his nobles did the same to Diogo d'Azambuja, but with this difference, that they touched his fingers with their fingers, but first whetted their own, by putting theirs in their mouth, then wiping them on their breast, to shew that they were not infected by poison.

These ceremonies being ended, which lasted some time, from the number of people he brought with him, and silence being ordered, D'Azambuja, through means of an interpreter which he had with him, addressed himself to Caramançá, and acquainted him, that the king his master having seen how ready he was to shew civilities to his people  
and



and ships when they came to his ports, and doing it with such true affection that he could no longer delay shewing him, in return, a similar regard, which would be attended with greater advantages to him, and that was the salvation of his soul; a thing that all mankind held superior to every other consideration; that for those who were willing to know these things, it was necessary for them first to know the creator of them, which was God: that he made the heavens, the sun, moon, and earth, with every thing therein contained: which God, the king of Portugal his master, as well as all the other princes in Christendom, (who were the greatest part of the world) acknowledged as their Creator and Master; they adored him, and they believed in him; and that our souls after our death would appear before him, to give an account of their good and bad actions in this world; and his judgments were so just, that those who had done good, should be placed in heaven, where he was, and those that had done evil should be sent to a bottomless pit, called hell, where they were to be tormented by things called devils. But for his comprehending all these things, it would be necessary for him to be washed in an holy water, which the Christians called the baptism of faith; and as it was natural for every one that had his eyes full of dust, to have recourse to the water to wash them, the same stood good in regard to the baptismal washing, to clear the understanding for the comprehension of the mystery of the soul. The king his master sent him to beg of him that he would acknowledge this God as Creator; to assure him that he would live and die in this faith, and to receive baptism as a pledge to perform the same; which if he would do, he could, in the king his master's name, promise that he should receive him as a brother in faith, and bind himself to assist him in every thing that he was desirous of; and that was the great motive that brought him there with so many people, to shew him every civility and honour, for the good of his nation; and not only at that moment he would receive such assistance, but as long as he should continue in the faith of Christ, which he then proffered to him. He now had brought a number of rich merchandise, never before seen in those parts: that it would become necessary for him to build a strong house to put them in, and likewise some habitations for those honourable people he had brought with him, which he hoped he would not deny him. That it would be the means also of the king his master always sending there to carry on the traffic between them; that it would be a great guard to him, and prevent any other power from doing him an injury. That though Bayo, king of Sama, and other princes his neighbours, would think it a great honour to have this fort built on their territories, yet from the love and affection he had shewn the king his master, and his subjects, he was desirous of having the fort built on this ground.

Caramançã, though in a state of barbarism, had a strong understanding, was quick and clear in his judgment, ready to listen to any thing reasonable, and very desirous of considering the things proposed to him. He kept his eyes on D'Azambuja's countenance to observe his motions; during the whole of this speech a strict silence was observed. When the latter had finished, Caramançã fixt his eyes on the ground for a short time, and replied, that he was much obliged to the king his master, for his great attention to the salvation of his soul, and for every thing else that he designed to honour him with: that he (Caramançã) certainly had been very strict and just in the traffic between him and their subjects, and attentive in getting their ships that came to his ports quickly dispatched; that he had never observed  
such



such a difference in the people's dress as he then did; that those he had hitherto seen were generally ragged, and easily satisfied in the exchange of the commodities they brought, and never seemed desirous of staying to get habitations in his country; but, on the contrary, always wished to be gone as soon as their trade was over. Now he saw a wide difference; a great many people, better clad, having gold and jewels, came with a new desire, to build houses and stay on shore; from which he could draw two conclusions—that D'Azambuja could be no less than a very near relation of the king of Portugal, or that being so great a man, he could not come but on some great errand, such as he had explained to him, from the God that made the day, night, and every thing else. He judged that from so great a man as he was, accompanied by such a number of splendid gentlemen, they never could put up with the miseries of the coast of Africa, but required things suitable to such splendor; and as passions existed in every one, these might draw on disputes: he hoped he would look upon it right to continue on the same footing as they had hitherto done, their ships coming and going as usual; that it was likely peace would be always continued by that means, and the desire of seeing each other now and then would be more affectionate than to be always neighbours. To which he could draw a simile from the sea and land, which, though neighbours, were always contending with each other who should give way; the sea with great violence often attempting to get into the land, and the land unwilling to permit it. All this he did not say in any wise to object to the commands of the king of Portugal, but only as advice, to preserve peace, and to have the traffic continued upon its original plan. By this continuance of peace, he was sure his people would be more inclined to hear about the God he had mentioned, therefore he wished to see no alteration take place.

Diogo d'Azambuja judging from this speech that they were averse to having a fort built, told him that the king his master having sent him in such splendor, was only to desire a more strict union and peace, and as a pledge of his sincerity, was desirous of building an house there to secure his merchandise in; for no one would put their effects in a dangerous situation: that surely had they any such idea, they would not venture their lives and property in a strange country, and at such a distance from their own, from which they could get no assistance: that it was certainly in the nature of mankind to wish to be free, yet under such a just king as they served, they had much rather die than disobey his orders: that he was neither son or brother of his king, as he had thought, but one of the smallest of his vassals; and looked upon himself so much bound to compleat the work of peace, and build this house, as he was ordered, that he would rather lose his life than not accomplish it.

This answer alarmed Caramançá and his people; however, concluding they would build the house, he thought he might as well give them leave, on the condition of a solid peace; and that if they became troublesome, he could soon remove to some other place; their habitations being easily erected by means of a few boughs of trees and pieces of timber. This interview soon broke up, Caramançá retiring as he came, without taking the least notice of the baptism that was mentioned to him. Azambuja and his captains remained consulting on what spot they should build the fortification. The next day some of the masons having occasion for stones, began to work upon some that lay near the sea shore, where they intended to lay the foundation of the fort. It happened that these had been placed there for religious purposes, which as soon as the negroes perceived they meddled with, began to fall upon the workmen  
with



with great fury, and did them some harm. D'Azambuja being with his captains on board the vessels, taking out the stores which were to be landed, seeing his people running to the sea side, came to their assistance; and understanding also that the presents which the natives expected had not been yet given them, he pacified them as well as he could, and immediately sent for a double portion, which were delivered to the king and his nobles, and a good harmony established. However, as long as this fortification was building, they kept a good look out, for fear of any future attack. In the space of twenty days they got it pretty high: it was called St. George, and in the year 1486 the king endowed it with all the privileges of a city. Notwithstanding the care that was taken during the building of this fort, not to have any dispute with the blacks, yet they were constantly throwing one thing or other at the Portuguese, that it became necessary to burn their village, which left them perfectly at our ease. The work being compleated, peace established, and trade put on a good footing, D'Azambuja sent back the ships with the people that he had no occasion for, and a good quantity of gold that they had bartered for, and remained with only sixty men, agreeable to the king's orders. Those that died were buried under the tree, where the first mass was said. Here the first church was established in that part of the world, frequented both by the Portuguese and those Ethiopians which have entered amongst the faithful, and every year a mass is said there to the memory of the infante don Henry. D'Azambuja remained two years and seven months in that part of the world. There was not so much sickness amongst his people as was expected. He established the trade on such a footing, that to this day the same is carried on under his regulations. On his return, the king bestowed on him many honours\*.

King John being fully determined to prosecute the discovery of the spice trade by sea, but unwilling that other princes should afterwards intrude and share the profits, made known his intention to the several courts of A. D. 1484. Christendom, soliciting each to furnish men for making conquests on the infidels; offering them in return a part in proportion to the quotas furnished. But this undertaking being looked upon as hazardous and uncertain, if not chimerical, they all declined the proposal: whereupon the king of Portugal applied to the pope to confirm his donation, which he did; and not only granted him all the countries that the Portuguese should discover from east to west, but also decreed that no other prince should have the liberty of making discoveries that way but the king of Portugal; and that if any such were made, they should belong to him†. This grant afterwards caused great disputes between the crowns of Spain and Portugal.

\* De Barros.

† Thorne's declaration in Hackluit, Vol. I.



## CHAPTER X.

*King of Portugal takes the title of lord of Guinea. Congo discovered by Diogo Cam, who sails two hundred leagues beyond. The kingdom of Benin discovered. Bartholomew Dias doubles the Cape of Good Hope. Two gentlemen sent by land to India. An African prince flies to Portugal for refuge: A fleet sent out to build a fortress, and restore him. Returns without success. Goncalo de Souza sent to Congo. Transactions there. Columbus returns to Portugal. Further transactions and negotiations in Africa.*

AT the time the king directed this fort to be built at Mina, he determined it should remain as a standing mark of his claim to all the lands inhabited by the blacks, and that he would add a new title of "Lord of Guinea," to his crown; his ancestors having been the first discoverers, and the popes having granted to them the countries from Cape Bojador to the Indies inclusive: but he did not take upon him this title till three years after this fort of St. George was built. From that time also he would never suffer any of his captains that went on discoveries, to put up wooden crosses, but ordered that stones, about twelve feet high, should be erected instead, with the arms of the kingdom cut on them, and inscriptions on the other side in Latin and Portuguese, mentioning the time when, and by whom put up, with a cross also of stone on the top. The first who made use of A.D. 1484. them was Diogo Cam, who calling at Mina for refreshment, proceeded to Cape de Lobo Gonzalez, which is one degree to the southward, and passing that and Cape St. Catherine's, the last land discovered in the time of king Alfonso, he came to the mouth of a large river, on the south part of which he erected one of these stones, taking possession of all the land he had passed. He, from the great devotion the king had for St. George, gave it that name; though it went for a great while under the name of the river of Padram, or stone mark, but is now called Congo, from its course through a kingdom of that name, which Diogo Cam discovered on this voyage. It is called by the natives Zaire: its waters run with such rapidity into the sea, in winter time, that for twenty leagues from land you find fresh water.

Diogo Cam entered the river, to see if the shores were not peopled: he proceeded a little way up, and soon saw a number of people on the banks, the same as he had seen on the coast he passed, black, with woolly heads; and though he had some people on board of the different countries which had been discovered, yet none of these could understand the language; they had, therefore, no other means of communication but by signs. They understood that they were governed by a great king, who lived some days journey within land; and observing that they behaved very friendly, he sent a present to the said king by some of his own people; and having made also presents to those that were to be the conductors of this embassy, it was agreed that they should return to him in so many days.

Double the time elapsed, and no appearance of his people, or message from them; and seeing that a good understanding was kept up between the inhabitants that came on board for traffic of cloaths, &c. and that none of his people came back, he determined to return, and carry with him some of these blacks, to learn the Portuguese language, as the Portuguese, that must be left behind, would learn theirs; from which considerable



considerable knowledge might be acquired of the country. Having kept four of the blacks on board, he acquainted the rest by signs that he would take them with him, to shew them to his king, and return in fifteen moons; and that he would leave those men which were gone to their king, till he brought back their countrymen.

On his return to Portugal, the king was highly pleased to see men of such good understanding, who had already learned so much of the language on board the ship as to be able to give him a very good account; being men of consequence in their country, and for fear of any harm to our people, he very soon sent back Diogo Cam, according to what had been promised, with these people, and many presents for the king of Congo; and likewise recommended his being brought to the faith.

On his arrival off the bar of the river Padram, he was received by the inhabitants with much joy, seeing their countrymen return alive and well; and by orders he received from the king, he was to send one of these men, with others of the country that he had before seen, with a message to the king of Congo, acquainting him of his return with the men he had taken away, and that he had sent him one of them, who would inform him that the king of Portugal had given orders to proceed further on that coast, and begged he would send him his own men which he had left, when he would deliver up the others he had on board; and on his return, he would come himself and speak to him on matters which the king his master had intrusted him with, and would give him further presents. Accordingly they were sent, and having taken leave of these people, he proceeded on his voyage, and went beyond Congo above two hundred leagues, where he fixed two stones, one called St. Augustine, in the latitude of thirteen degrees south, and the other in twenty-two, near some large sands, and gave it the name of Cape Padram. He went on shore on this coast, and took some people away, to serve as interpreters for those discoveries he might make, having received orders so to do; and after having instructed them, brought them back.

Diogo Cam, having made these discoveries, returned to Congo, and paid a visit to the king, who by that time was well informed by his people that had been to Portugal, and by those Portuguese that remained with him, of the affairs of that kingdom. He was greatly pleased to see Diogo Cam, and very inquisitive concerning the faith. He sent one of his principal noblemen, called Caçuta, with other young men, on an embassy to the king of Portugal, with Diogo, when he returned, to pray the king to send some priests to baptize him and his subjects; and also that the ambassador and young men with him, might, on their arrival, be baptized. He sent likewise a present of ivory, and some cloth made from the palm-tree, being what his country afforded.

On their arrival the king was rejoiced to see so great an object accomplished, and made magnificent preparations for the baptizing of Caçuta and his followers. Accompanying them himself to the altar, the queen stood godmother, and he was named John, after the king; his other name was Silva, from the other godfather. All his followers took their names from their godfathers.

Although Christianity was thus received in Congo, it was not so with the king of Benin, (which kingdom lays between Congo and St. George da Mina) who also, by his desire, had priests sent to him the first voyage that Diogo Cam made to that place. The ambassador from the king of Benin was brought by Alfonso d'Aviero, (who also brought the first pepper to this kingdom from Guinea,) which we now call



long pepper, having part of the stem sticking to it, but it was not esteemed equal to that of India. Benin being near to the castle of St. George da Mina, the blacks that came then to traffic with gold were fond of buying slaves to carry home the goods they purchased. The king ordered a factory to be established at a port in Benin, called Gatò, where many slaves were bartered for, and Mina reaped great benefit from them, because the gold merchants gave double the price they would bring in Portugal. But this king being much addicted to idolatry, wished to have priests in his country only that he might gain assistance against his enemies; therefore very little progress was made in conversions; so that the king of Portugal ordered the priests, and those that had established a factory there, to leave it. The place was also very unhealthy, yet the traffic of slaves between Benin and Mina was carried on during the reigns of John and Emanuel, for ships used to go from Portugal to Benin, and thence to Mina, till this was altered from the great inconveniences that arose; for as all these vessels went to the island of St. Thomas on this traffic, slaves were brought from Congo and Benin, and then carried by the traders to Mina, to be resold to those pagans. King John III. thinking it very injurious to the faith, that so many souls should be lost by this means, gave up all idea of interest which his subjects reaped from it; and from this resolution, there were every year above one thousand souls preserved (says Barros) from eternal damnation. This was soon repaid, by opening another port for the traffic of gold, lower than St. George, from whence more benefit arose.

From the information that king John received from the ambassador of Benin, and from Joam Alfonso d'Aveiro, when he was there, it appeared that to the eastward of that country, about two hundred and fifty leagues, there lived a king, the most powerful in those parts, whom they called Ogané, and who was held by them in so high esteem, that when the king of Benin died, they sent an ambassador with a great present, to acquaint him with the death, and to pray that he would confirm the succeeding one; which he does by sending him a staff, and an head-piece of shining brass, to serve as a scepter and crown, and a cross of the same metal to wear about his neck, which is looked upon as holy, and without which insignia he would not be considered as king. This ambassador, when at the court of Ogané, never saw him, but only some silk curtains behind which he was; and during the audience, he put out his foot, to shew he was there, and that he accepted the presents, and agreed to the business; and to this foot they paid a religious reverence. The ambassador also had a small cross given him to wear round his neck, which gave him a superior rank in his own country; and at that time, whenever India was spoken of, there was always mention made of a king called Prester John, who, they said, was a Christian.

It occurred to the king of Portugal, that through his means he might gain some entrance into India. Besides, he had been informed by some religious Alexis which came from Spain, and from some friars that went to Jerusalem, that this king lived above Egypt, and that his country extended as far as the south seas; and consulting his cosmographers, comparing Ptolomeus's general chart of Africa, considering the discoveries that his people had made, and reckoning two hundred and fifty leagues to the east, according to what was told him by the people of Benin of king Ogané, he concluded it could be no other than Prester John; for by the accounts, they both were always hidden behind silk curtains, and venerated the cross; and he thought that proceeding in his discoveries along the coast, they could not but at last come to the



the extremity of that land; he therefore both fitted out ships, and  
A. D. 1486. sent men to go by land, being resolved to compleat the discovery.

Having fitted two ships of fifty tons each, with a tender to carry provisions, (for on these expeditions their provisions too often failed them,) in the latter end of August these vessels sailed, under the command of Bartholomew Dias, one of the knights of his household, who had made discoveries on this coast. The other vessel was commanded by Juan Infante, another knight; and in the tender was captain Pedro Dias, brother to the commander.

Bartholomew Dias, passing the river Congo, got as far as the cape, which he called Angra dos Saltos, or Bay of the Landing, because he there landed two blacks, which the king had ordered to be instructed, and sent back to be landed at this place. There were also four other blacks belonging to the coast; one he landed on the Angra dos Ilheos, where he first erected his stone mark; the second on the Angra dos Voltas, or the Bay of Winding; the third died; and the fourth he landed in the bay, or Angra dos Ilheos, or islands of Santa Cruz, with two others that were taken fishing. These people being set on shore, well dressed with gold, silver, and other ornaments, spread about in this manner, could not fail to give all the inhabitants information of the king of Portugal and his kingdom; and as his ships were so often on these coasts, he expected it would reach the ears of Prester John, and raise his curiosity to send some of his people to meet them. He had great confidence this scheme would succeed, and many women blacks were instructed also to go as far within land as possible, and give information of what they had seen, on a supposition that women would meet with less molestation than the men.

Besides the fixing of the stone marks, they gave those places other names; the first they called St. Jago, in latitude twenty-four, one hundred and twenty leagues beyond the last that Diogo Cam placed. They also gave names to such capes, bays, &c. as they discovered them, from some particular instance happening. As for example, the Bay of Voltas, or the Winding Bay, because of the many tacks the ships were obliged to make there, Bartholomew Dias being detained five days without being able to make any way. This bay lies in twenty-nine degrees south latitude.

Leaving this place the land trended to the east, and they were obliged by tempests to run thirteen days with little or no sail; and as their vessels were small, and the climate cold, it was very different from what they experienced on the coast of Guinea. The storms are here also irresistible, in comparison to those on the coast of Spain; but on the weather becoming more moderate, they steered east, concluding the coast lay north and south, as was generally the case; but finding nothing appear, they altered their course, and stood to the northward. At last they fell in with a bay, which they named Vaqueiros, or Cow-herds, as they saw many cows feeding, with men attending them; but as they had no interpreter, they could get no intelligence. The people also run from them, and drove their cattle to the interior parts of the country. All they observed was, that they were blacks, with woolly heads, like those of Guinea.

Proceeding along the coast, they came to a small island, which lies in thirty-three degrees and three quarters south latitude, where they placed a stone mark, and called it De la Cruz, or of the Cross, which gave name to an island about half a league from the main land, and on which they found two fountains, from whence many called it the Penedo dos Fontes, or the Rock of the Fountains.

As



As the people were much fatigued from the terrible weather they had gone through, they all began to complain, and begged they might not proceed, as their provisions would all be expended, and before they got back to the store ships, they should perish for want: that it was sufficient to have discovered so much coast in one voyage: and that they must have doubled some great cape, which on their return they might discover. Bartholomew Dias, to satisfy the murmurs of his people, went on shore with his officers, and required them solemnly to declare what they thought was best to be done for the honour of their king. All agreeing to sail back, he made them sign a paper; yet he begged they would indulge him with sailing a day or two more along the coast, and if they found nothing remarkable, he would immediately return; which they agreed to. In these two or three days, they discovered nothing but a river, about twenty-five leagues beyond the island of the Cross, in latitude thirty-two degrees and two-thirds: and as Juan Infante, captain of the vessel *St. Pantelam*, was the first that put foot on shore, it took its name from him, and continues the name of *Rio de Infante*. He then returned to the island of the Cross, and with great regret left it, remembering with pleasure the asylum it had afforded him after the great danger they had escaped.

Leaving this island, they got sight of that great and remarkable cape, undiscovered for so many centuries, which opened to view a new world, and which, from the storms they experienced, they called *Cape Tormentoso*; but king John, on their return, gave it the name of *Cape Boa Esperança*, or *Cape of Good Hope*, from the hope he now had of discovering the Indies, so long desired. This name will probably be preserved as long as the world lasts. Bartholomew Dias having made his observations on it, as to the nautical part, and left a stone mark called *St. Felipe*, had not time to go on shore, on account of the bad weather, but returned to seek for his vessel that had the provisions, which he found, after having been absent from her nine months; and though he left nine men in her, only three were living. One of these men, the secretary of the ship, on seeing the ships, being very weak, died with joy; the other two gave an account of their fate, which was, that they had trusted too much to the faith of the blacks, who had put some of them to death. Having taken out what provisions they wanted, they set fire to this vessel, as they had not men to navigate her.

They afterwards came to the island of *Principe*, where they found *Duarte Pacheco*, one of the knights of the king's household, very sick; and not being able to go on discoveries himself, he had sent his vessel to traffic on the coast, where she was lost: some of the men were saved; both he and them returned in Bartholomew Dias's ship.

As they had knowledge of a river called *Riscate*, and were unwilling to return empty, they called there, and the commanding officer at the castle of *St. George da*

*Mina*, delivered all the gold he had, with which they returned to Portugal, in December, having been absent sixteen months and seventeen days, and having discovered three hundred and fifty leagues of coast.

*Diogo Cam*, and *Dias*, had acquired the knowledge of seven hundred and fifty leagues, on which were placed six stone marks: the first, *St. George*, on the river *Zaire*, in the kingdom of *Congo*; the second, *St. Agostinho*, on the cape of that name; the third, which was the last of *Diogo Cam*, on the sands; the fourth, by Bartholomew Dias, in the *Brown Wilderness*; the fifth, on the great cape of *Boa Esperança*, called *St.*



St. Felipe; and the sixth, on the island of Santa Cruz, where Bartholomew Dias's discoveries ended. No further discoveries were made by sea in the reign of king don Juan.\*

A. D. 1487. Whilst these adventurers were pursuing their discoveries by sea, Peter de Covillam and Alfonso de Paya travelled by land. They proceeded first to Naples, thence to Rhodes, Alexandria, and Grand Cairo; and then, with a caravan of Moors, to Toro, in Arabia. Here they parted; Payva went towards India, and Cavillam to Ethiopia, having appointed a time to meet again at Cairo. Cavillam went to Cananor, Calicut, and Goa; thence to Zofala in Ethiopia; then to Aden, at the mouth of the Red Sea, on the side of Arabia; and at last back to Cairo, where he heard his companion had died.

After these went two Jews, Rabbi Abraham of Beja, and Joseph of Lamego. Cavillam sent the latter back to inform the king of his success, and with the other embarked for Ormus; where, having observed what was most remarkable, he left the Jew to follow the caravan of Aleppo, and returning to the Red Sea, came to the court of Prester John, where he was detained as a spy. Mean time, one Mark, an Ethiopian priest, was sent by Prester John to the king of Portugal. His information revived the king's hopes, and he was sent back.

A. D. 1489. Before his departure from Portugal, Bemoi, a prince of the Jalofs arrived there, and was received at court in state. This prince had been driven out of his dominions by a rival, and came to implore assistance, which was granted, on his receiving baptism, and doing homage for all the lands he should recover. He was then furnished with seventy caravellas, well manned and armed, with the double intent to restore him, and to build a fort on the river Senega. The king was induced to the latter, by the hopes of sharing in the gold trade of that coast.

The government of this fleet was given to Peter Vaz de Cunno, with whom went many people, both for the army and to build a fortress, and some religious men for the conversion of the infidels. Peter Vaz entered the river of Senega with this great armament, which alarmed the inhabitants of the country; he immediately laid the foundation of a fortress, which was said to be in a very unhealthy place. Here Vaz basely slew Bemoin on board his ship, with a poignard, saying, he was in a treaty to betray him. Others affirm, that Peter Vaz, fearing to die in that country, killed the king, endeavouring to hide by that foul crime another not so heinous, which was, returning to Portugal without completing his work; and in fine, he came back without any effects†.

A. D. 1490. Navigation now began to be attended with less danger. The king, who entertained at his court some able mathematicians, and who was ever in search of something or other to facilitate the success of his discoveries, had often stimulated them to the invention of something that might render the art of navigation more safe and easy. They answered his expectations; for the Portuguese authors do them the honour to attribute to them the method of taking an altitude by the astrobabe, and to have formed tables of delineation for the use of pilots. Had they done nothing else, this alone would have been sufficient to have immortalised them; for since that time they have no longer been compelled to keep along the

\* De Barros.

† Faria.



coast, but they can now venture into the open sea without fear of quitting the land, which has rendered voyages at sea much shorter, and attended with less danger\*.

It was now two years since the ambassador of the king of Congo, and  
A. D. 1493. the young men that accompanied him, had been made Christians.

They had learned the Portuguese language, to enable them to convert their king and countrymen; the king therefore ordered three vessels to be fitted out to carry them home, and with them two priests. The command was given to Gonçalo de Souza; and of the two other vessels, Fernam de Avellar and Alfonso de Moura were captains. They sailed from Lisbon, and it is supposed carried with them some infection of the plague, which had been in Portugal; for at Cape de Verde Gonçalo de Souza died, and don Juan de Souza, the ambassador, the secretary of the expedition, and several other persons, which caused much confusion. Disputes arose about the command, and the seamen of each ship joining therein, it was referred to the division of Fernam de Goes, governor of the island of St. Jago, who determined that Ruy de Souza should be captain-general, being nephew to Gonçalo de Souza, deceased, though he only went to accompany his uncle as a volunteer. On this all animosities ceased. Having proceeded on their voyage towards Congo, the first land they made was called Sono, governed by an uncle of the king, who having heard of the intention of their voyage, came with all his great men and vassals, with instruments, &c. to receive Ruy de Souza, and by an interpreter begged he might be baptized, saying, he was old, and might not be alive when they returned from the king his nephew. Ruy de Souza immediately ordered every thing to be prepared, and Mani Sono ordered branches of trees to be cut, and erected three altars, which were ornamented by the rich trappings that were brought by the Portuguese. After Mani Sono had made a speech, he said he would undertake to excuse himself to the king his nephew for receiving baptism before him. He, as well as his son, went through the necessary ceremony, which was performed  
A. D. 1494. on Easter-day, in the presence of five-and-twenty thousand of his countrymen, who all wished to receive baptism at the same time, but Mani Sono would not permit it till his nephew the king had received it, who being informed of what had passed, sent congratulations to his uncle, and conferred on him a further grant of territory. The priests persuaded Mani to burn all idolatrous images, and he went constantly to mass, whilst the Portuguese were waiting for a message from the king, and was so particularly attached to his new faith, that hearing a noise made by some people at the door of the place erected for this devotion, he gave orders for their being immediately put to death, but the priest interceded for them.

As soon as the Portuguese were informed that the king of Congo was ready to receive them, about fifty leagues distant, Ruy de Souza left a sufficient guard for the ships, and proceeded to the city. A captain with two hundred men were sent by Mani, to guard them from any insult, and to carry their baggage. These contended amongst themselves who should bear the sacred things. About the middle way to Ambasse-Congo, the city where the king was, he found a captain with a great many men, and as he approached, a greater number joined him. They all came armed, and accompanied by the musical instruments of their country, singing something

\* Laftau.



like psalms, answering each other, which seemed very pleasing, and at other times they shouted loudly in praise of the king of Portugal, for the things he had sent them. The Portuguese being conducted in the midst of these guards, it was with great difficulty they could make way for them to approach the king, from the multitude of the inhabitants who had got together. It was on a large plain: he was seated in an ivory chair, well carved, upon a scaffold built of wood, very high, to be seen by every one. From his waist upwards, he was naked, and his skin of a shining black: he had a damask cloth, which Diogo Cam had given him, that went round him: on his left arm he had a bracelet of brass, and on that shoulder hung a horse's tail, which was a royal insignia: on his head he had a cap, like a mitre, made of palm cloth, very fine, and much worked. Ruy de Souza having approached him, made a bow, and the king his salute, which was by touching the ground, as if he took up some dust; then putting his hand on Ruy de Souza's breast, and then on his own; the greatest compliment that could be paid in his country. These ceremonies being over, he expressed a desire to see the things that they had brought for his baptism, which the priests immediately, with great ceremony, began to take out of their packages; and on the cross being exposed, the Portuguese immediately fell upon their knees; the natives did the same. After all the things were exposed, the king was constantly asking questions. He received those that the king had sent him for his own use, and retiring to his house at the end of this plain, (built of wood, with much carving,) he would there have them brought again for his cool inspection, and of the queen his wife and children, and many of his nobles. He seemed to take much pains to explain their use to them, which he had retained very exactly from what was told him by the priests. The whole day and some part of the night were thus employed, and then Ruy de Souza, the priests, and his men, were conducted to the place appointed for their reception.

It being the command from the king of Portugal to have a church built of stone, and no stone being near that spot, the king of Congo gave orders to his people that they should bring whatever the workmen might be in need of. On the third of May the first stone of this church was laid, and finished on the first of June. It was called Santa Cruz, from the day of the invocation of the cross when the foundation was laid, and afterwards it became the episcopal church.

The king of Congo had just received intelligence that some of his people, called Mundequater, were in rebellion, which are inhabitants of some islands situated in a great lake, from whence the river Zaire, which runs through Congo, takes its rise; and that it was necessary that he should bring an army in person to quell them. It was impossible for him to wait the building of the church for the great solemnization of his baptism, therefore on the first stone being laid, he went through that ceremony, and, by desire of the king of Portugal, he was to be called Joanne. Many of his nobles were baptized at the same time, and about one hundred thousand persons. Ruy de Souza gave him a flag with the sign of the cross, which had been brought from the crusades, sanctified by the pope against the infidels; that carrying it in his army, he was certain to be victorious. The queen seeing the king going on this expedition, and as it had been determined she was to wait till the church should be built, before she was baptized, desired the king would not let so long a time elapse; that many of the priests were sick, and the principal had died. He accordingly consented, and she was immediately baptized, and the name of Eleanor given her, after the queen



of Portugal, so that this king and queen reigned afterwards under these names.—The king of Congo departed to quell the rebellion with as much haste as possible; and from what was reported by some of the Portuguese that went with him, there were above eighty thousand men in arms; but he soon reduced them. On his return, Ruy de Souza took his leave of him, and returned, leaving a priest and four friars for the consecration of the people, and some of his people to discover the interior parts of that great country beyond the great lake above mentioned\*.

Afterwards prince Alfonso, who had been absent in the wars, was baptized. Aquitimo, the king's second son, would not receive the faith. The father soon fell off from it, because, as a Christian, he could be allowed only one wife, and resolved to leave the crown to the heathen prince Aquitimo. Alfonso was in banishment when his father died, but returning, was received as king, and was attacked by Aquitimo when he had only thirty-seven Christians, Portuguese and blacks, with him; but defeated and slew him, although supported by a multitude. Alfonso established in peace, destroyed all idols, propagated the faith with great zeal, and sent his sons, grandsons, and nephews, to Portugal for study†.

The beginning of this year, Christopher Columbus, in returning A. D. 1493. from his discovery of the West Indies, came into the river of Lisbon, and brought some men, gold, and other tokens of riches, from an island then supposed to be Cipango. This great man had some time before offered his services to king John of Portugal, who slighted him, but now looked on his success with regret, and provoked him to use some angry words, in revenge for the slight put upon him. There were people in Portugal so abandoned as to offer the king to kill him, as well to punish his boldness, as to conceal his discoveries from Spain: but the king dismissed him with honour. His discoveries, and the consequences of them, will be the subject of the following book.

Though prince Bemoin was dead, the hopes of making further progress in the country about Senega did not die with him. The persons who went in the former fleet, had gained the good will of the natives. The trade was afterwards continued, and a good correspondence settled between the king of Portugal and the African princes. Some Portuguese were sent to the princes of Turucol and Tombuto; others to the prince of the Foulis, the most warlike of these people; to those of Moses, very famous in that age; and to the king of Sango. The king of Portugal laboured also to settle a factory at Huaden, seventy leagues to the eastward of Arguim: but death put a stop to his further progress.

\* Barros.

† Farin.



Engraved for the Portuguese Voyages,  
From a Map in the last edition of the  
*Asia of de Barros.*









## CHAPTER XI.

*Vasco de Gama's voyage from Castagneda: he sails with a squadron from Portugal: touches at the Bay of St. Helena: doubles the Cape of Good Hope: calls at San Blas: discovers Terra-de Natal: arrives at Mozambique: transactions there: touches at Mambassa and Melinda: arrives at Calicut: transactions there: returns to Portugal. Further particulars of this voyage from Oforio and De Barros.*

WE have hitherto pursued the Portuguese navigators in their voyages along the coast of Africa, in which they had spent sixty years before they could find a passage to the eastward, when Bartholomew Dias fortunately made that discovery by doubling the Cape of Good Hope. This must naturally inspire them with hope of accomplishing the much wished for passage to the East Indies, yet ten years elapsed between his return to Portugal and the departure of the first expedition for India.

King John II. having paid the debt to nature, without leaving any legitimate son, his cousin, don Emanuel, succeeded him by hereditary right from his A. D. 1495. ancestors: he also inherited their ardent desire of discovering the east by the western ocean. For this purpose, in the first year of his reign, he held a great council, the major part of which were against pursuing the discovery of the Indies; but the king being determined, directed a fleet to be fitted out; the command of which he gave to Vasco de Gama, a man equal to the enterprise, and who was the first that, in modern times, made the passage by sea from Europe to the East Indies.

This voyage, although of so much importance, like most of the preceding, has not been separately written, but for the particulars we must have recourse to the historians mentioned chap. i. John de Barros, Maffei, Castagneda, and Oforio, have all inserted it at some length. Remusio has a short account of it. We shall take our first extract from Castagneda, afterwards compare him with each of the others, and insert what he has omitted.

Don Emanuel succeeding to the crown, and having received much intelligence respecting this navigation from the late king John, commanded the treasurer of the house of La Mina to build two ships, one of one hundred and twenty tons, he called the Saint Gabriel, and the other of one hundred tons, the Saint Raphael. The king likewise purchased a caravella of fifty tons of a pilot, named the Berrio, which name he continued; and also a ship of two hundred tons of Arias Correa. These ships being ready and prepared, and the king then at Monte Meyer, he conferred upon Vasco de Gama, one of his household, and who had before served king John, the chief command in this voyage to India: a man experienced in navigation and nautical affairs, in which he had done the kingdom good service; of great courage, and therefore very likely to attain the end the king had in view. When king Emanuel bestowed the command on him, he did it in presence of many noble persons, earnestly requiring him to answer and satisfy the expectation he had formed, and the trust he had reposed in him; promising, if he did, that he would largely and liberally reward him; and he began to make performance of a part of his promise, by giving him the colours, with the cross of the military order of Christ thereon,



and money to equip himself for the voyage. The king appointed under him Paul de Gama, brother to Vasco, and Nicolas Coello, both of them his servants; men fit for any enterprise that required courage. Bartholomew Dias was also to proceed with them in a caravella to La Mina; and as the ships of war were unable to carry provision for their people further than to a place called Saint Blaze, where they were to take in fresh water, the king ordered that the ship of Avez Correa should proceed thither loaded with provisions, in company with the fleet, where she was to be unloaded and destroyed. Thus commissioned, De Gama and his captains departed for Lisbon: the ships being ready, he embarked his company, being one hundred and forty-eight persons, at Belem, one league from Lisbon, on Saturday, July 8, 1497. At the embarkation, all the religious of the church of our lady at Belem, went in procession bare-footed, and in their cowls, with wax tapers in their hands, praying; accompanied by most of the people of Lisbon, weeping and pitying those who were to embark. Being thus on board, they immediately sailed. The captain-general went in the Saint Gabriel, having Pedro de Alanquez for his pilot, the same who went pilot with Bartholomew Dias, when he was on the discovery of the Rio de Infante. The general's brother went in the ship Saint Raphael; Nicolas Coello in the caravella Berrio; and one Gonzalez Gomez, a servant of the general's, was appointed captain of the ship which carried the provisions. The general gave them all orders, if they should separate, that they should proceed to the islands of Cape Verde.

Pursuing their voyage, on the eighth day they made the island of the Canaries, and from thence standing from the Rio d'Oura, the night grew dark, and they lost sight of each other; therefore they stood back towards the islands of the Canaries for eight days, when Paul de Gama, Nicolas Coello, Bartholomew Dias, and Gonzalez Gomez, fell in with each other, and late on that day they joined their general, saluting him with many guns, and the sound of trumpets. The next day, the 28th of July, the whole fleet arrived at the island of St. Jago, and came to anchor in the bay of Santa Maria, where they remained seven days, taking in water, and repairing the damage the ships had received in the late storm. On Tuesday the third of August, the fleet departed from thence, first taking leave of Bartholomew Dias, who returned to Portugal: they steered for the Cape of Good Hope with all the ships of his company, through the main ocean, for the months of August, September, and October, in which they met with many tempests of wind and rain, so that they expected nothing but present death. However, on the fourth of November they saw land, to their great joy: all the people saluted their general, and displayed their colours on this occasion, as he had directed them.

As they knew not the land, the general directed them to tack, and they stood along shore until the third day, when they had a clear view, and perceived it to be low, and to form a large bay with good anchoring ground. Here they came too, in order to take in water, and named it the Bay of Saint Helena. The people which inhabited the inland country were of low stature, ill-favoured, and black, and when they spake they seemed to sigh. Their cloathing was the skins of beast, made after the manner of French cloaks: their private parts they hide in cases made of wood, very well wrought. Their arms were spears of oak, hardened in the fire, and at the end, instead of iron, they fix the horn of some animal, with which they wound terribly. They live on roots of herbs, sea wolves, whales, (of which there is plenty in this bay) sea crows, and sea mews: they eat also herons, doves, and other beasts and birds which  
they



they have in the land. They have dogs like those of Portugal, which bark in the same manner. While they lay here, the general ordered the bay to be searched to find fresh water, but without success: he then ordered Nicolas Coello to go along shore in his boat, who found a river four leagues distant, which he called Saint Jago, from whence the whole fleet supplied themselves.

The next day the general and captains, and some of the soldiers and sailors, went on shore to see what sort of people the inhabitants were, and to make some inquiries about the Cape of Good Hope; for not only he, but even the chief pilots were ignorant of it. The latter had been on the voyage with Bartholomew Dias, but they had, on their first passing, stood off from that cape early in the morning; and on their return they passed it in the night with a fair wind, therefore had not been near the shore. He did not, consequently, know it, but conjectured it to be about thirty leagues distant at the utmost. The general being on shore, and walking about, saw a man gathering honey at the foot of a bush, where the bees made it without a hive: with this man the general returned on board, highly contented, thinking he had got an interpreter; but there was not any of the company that understood him. The general directed them to give him meat, and he ate and drank of all that was given; and when they perceived that he did not understand them, nor they him, he was next day put on shore, well apparelled, from whence he went, as it appeared, among his countrymen; for on the day following, about fifteen of them came down towards the ships. The general going on shore, carried with him spices, gold, and pearls, to try if these people had any knowledge of them; but from the little estimation they held them in, it was apparent they had not. He then gave them some bells, little rings of tin, and such trifles; they were highly pleased with them; and from that time until the next Sunday evening, many of them came to the fleet. When they were returning to their towns, one of our people, named Fernando Veloso, had a great desire to see the same, and to view their manner of living: he asked leave of the general, who was very unwilling to permit him, but gave him leave, rather by importunity than good will. He departed with them: in their way they took a sea wolf, which they roasted at the foot of a hill, and supped upon it. As soon as supper was over, they compelled Veloso to leave them, and followed him by little and little, which he perceiving, and being alarmed, hastened to the water side, and hailed the ships. The general being then at supper, hearing the call, and looking towards the shore, saw the negroes following, and concluding they did it with a bad intention, leaped into his boat: the other captains did the same, and went towards the shore unarmed, supposing the negroes would not use force: but these, as soon as they saw our boats, ran away quickly with great clamour and outcry; there were many others hid behind some bushes, who then shewed themselves, and as soon as our people landed, assailed them with their hassagayes, and compelled our men to retire to their boats and embark, taking with them Fernando Veloso; on which the negroes returned to their town, having wounded the general and three others. The fleet remained there three days, but not seeing any people, had no opportunity to take revenge.

Having taken in water and flesh, they put to sea the sixteenth of November with a S. W. wind, and on the eighteenth made the Cape of Good Hope; the wind still continuing south-west, they were obliged to stand out to sea, and beat to windward until the twentieth, when they doubled the cape, and ran along the coast with a fair wind, sounding their trumpets, and shewing other signs of joy. They saw on the shore great  
store



store of cattle, some large and some small, but all fat; but saw no town, there not being any on the coast; though inland there are some, the houses of which are all of earth, covered with straw.

The people are blackish, apparelled, and speaking like those of Saint Helena Bay, using the same sort of dart and instruments of defence. The country is very pleasant with trees and waters; on the south side of the cape is an harbour that runs five miles within land, and is near twice that distance wide.

The cape being thus doubled, the captain steered to the watering-place of St. Blas, which is sixty leagues beyond the cape, being a good bay, and safe from all winds except the north: they reached it on the Sunday, being St. Catherine's day. The people here are black, cover themselves with skins; use darts of wood, hardened in the fire, horns and bones of beasts, and stones, to annoy their enemies. In this country are many large elephants, large oxen, many without horns, on the fattest and best of which the people ride, saddling them with pannels, stuffed with straw, as in Spain, and upon that a wooden frame to serve as a saddle. They thrust a piece of wood through the noses of those they intend to sell. In this harbour, on a rock about half a mile from the shore, are many sea wolves, as large as bears, with large and strong teeth: they are wild and fierce, and will assault men; their skins are so hard, that no spear can pierce them; they resemble lions, and their young ones cry like kids. They were in such numbers, that the Portuguese saw at one time near three thousand. On this rock are many birds like ducks, but they do not fly, having no feathers on their wings, and they bray like an ass. In this bay the ships with provisions were unloaded, their cargoes stowed on board the others, and the vessels burnt, as the king had commanded; in doing which, and other things necessary for the supply of the fleet in the voyage, took up ten days.

A few days after their arrival, there appeared on the tops of the hills and on the shore, about ninety of the inhabitants, which, when the general saw, he and the other captains, with some of their people armed, and with two pieces of ordnance, went towards the shore, carrying arms with them, being warned by what happened at St. Helena. When the boats drew near the shore, the general threw some little bells, and the people came so near as to take them from his hand, which much surprised him, as Bartholomew Dias had informed him that when he was there they ran away, and would not be allured to come near. Agreeably surprised at the gentleness of these people, he leaped on shore with his men, and exchanged some red night-caps with the negroes for bracelets of ivory, which they had.

The Saturday after they came down, to the number of two hundred, all blacks, bringing with them twelve oxen and four sheep. They began to play upon some instruments like flutes, accompanied with voices, and made agreeable music, on which the general ordered his trumpets to be sounded, and both they and the Portuguese danced. In this pastime, and in the buying their oxen and sheep, three days passed. The next day (Sunday) they came again, and many more with them, both men and women, bringing many cattle. Having bartered for one ox, the Portuguese perceived some little negroes hidden behind the bushes, who had with them the weapons belonging to the men. The general suspecting treachery, commanded his people to retire, and row to a more secure place; and the blacks went along the shore, keeping pace with the boats, until they came to the place where the Portuguese went on shore again: the latter were in armour. The negroes then joined in a body, as if they intended to fight; which the general perceiving, and unwilling to do them any harm, embarked again, and



and to frighten them, ordered two pieces of ordnance to be fired, which had the desired effect, and they ran away without any order, leaving their weapons behind them. After this, he sent on shore a stone pillar, with the king of Portugal's arms, and a cross on it; but this the negroes pulled down before the fleet sailed.

They departed from hence the eighth of November, and soon after met with so great a storm, that the fleet lay too under close-reefed courses. In this gale they parted company with Nicolas Coello, but the next night fell in with him again. The storm abating on the sixteenth of December, they discovered land, or rather certain rocks, distant almost sixty leagues from the harbour of Saint Blas, and five leagues from the rock called De la Cruz, where Bartholomew Dias had erected his last mark, fifteen leagues from the Rio de Infante. The country was pleasant to the sight, and had great store of cattle: the further the fleet sailed, the better and more lofty the trees appeared. This they could clearly see, as they sailed very near to the shore.

Next day they passed the rock of La Cruz, and coming off the Rio de Infante, they were unwilling to pass it; and to give time for determination, they stood a little towards the shore, with a fair wind, until the evening, when the wind coming round to the east, right against them, they stood off and on until the twelfth of September at sunset, when it veered again to the west, and they consulted all night whether they should run in with the land or not. Next day, at ten in the morning, they fell in with the rock aforesaid, having been driven back sixty leagues by the current. The next day, with a fair wind, the fleet ran the same distance against the current, contrary to their expectation. Having happily got out of this danger, they were greatly rejoiced, and the general was much elated, concluding now he should reach India.

Pursuing their voyage, on Christmas-day they had discovered the coast seventy leagues to the eastwards, which was the latitude where (according to his instructions and the charts) the Indies were. From hence the fleet would keep out to sea so long that they would be in want of water to drink, each man being now allowed only a pint a day; and they were obliged to dress their victuals with sea-water. On Friday

A. D. 1498. the eleventh of January they stood in for the land, and sent their boats along the shore to take a view of it: these saw many negro men, with a vast company of women, all of them of great stature, who kept along the shore; which, when the general perceived, and that they appeared to be a people of a civil and good disposition, he commanded one of his people, named Martin Alonzo, who could speak many of the negro languages, and another with him, to leap on the shore, and go up to them, which they immediately did, and were well received by them, particularly by the person who seemed to be their chief. The general perceiving this, sent him a jacket, a pair of stockings, and a cap, all red, and a bracelet of copper, which he was pleased with, and returned thanks for, saying, that the general should have, with a very good will, any thing in his country that he was in need of. Martin Alonzo explained this, as he understood their language: it pleased the general much, that his people and they could understand each other; and he immediately gave permission to Alonzo, and another of his men, to go with them to their town for that night, as the chief earnestly requested it. This person then dressed himself in the cloaths the general had given him, and with seeming pleasure commanded some of his people to go before and receive him when he came to the town. The people viewed this new dress with great admiration, clapping their hands for joy; and this they repeated



peated three or four times before they reached the town. After they entered it, he marched three or four times round it, to give the people an opportunity to behold his new attire. This done, the chief repaired to his house, where he ordered Alonzo and his companions to be well lodged, and gave them a hen, like those of Portugal, for their supper, and a kind of pap, made of millet, from which they also make bread. Many of the negroes came that night to see him, and the next day the chief sent them back, accompanied with some negroes, laden with hens for the general, who returned thanks for the same, and called the place the Land of Good People.

In the town where Alonzo was, the houses were made of straw, and well furnished within. The women are more numerous than the men; for in a company there were forty women to twenty men. They carry long bows, with arrows and darts of iron; and upon their arms and legs they wear many bracelets of copper, and some pieces of it in their hair. They also carry daggers, the handles of pewter, and the sheaths of ivory; so that it is manifest they have quantities of copper in the country: they have also plenty of salt, which they make by carrying the water in goads, and putting it into certain pits, dug for that purpose. The natives were so glad of the linen the Portuguese carried them, that they gave a large quantity of copper for a shirt, and were so friendly, that they assisted the seamen in bringing water from a river called Cobio, a quarter of a mile distant, to the sea side.

From this place the fleet departed the fifteenth of January; they sailed by a very low land, covered with lofty and thick trees, and came to a river, broad at the mouth. Here they came to an anchor on the twenty-fourth, the general being desirous to gain some intelligence of India. The same night he and Nicolas Coello went up the river, and at the dawn of day perceived the land to be low, covered with water, abounding in a variety of trees, loaded with fruits. They soon after saw some boats, with men on board, coming towards them. The general concluded from this, that they had some knowledge of the sea, and that they should gain some information from them. As they approached, the Portuguese perceived they were black, of good stature, naked, except their private parts, which were covered with cloth. They approached, and entered the Portuguese ships, without any signs of fear, and behaved towards the people as if they had been on the greatest familiarity with them. The general ordered they should be well treated, and some little bells and other things given to them. He conversed with them by signs, for the interpreter did not understand them, nor they any language he was acquainted with. They went away apparently well pleased, and returned again to the ships, with many others, bringing such provisions as the country afforded. Many of the natives came also by land to visit them, bringing with them some women, rather handsome, especially the younger, all dressed as the men. They had in their lips three holes, through each of which they hang a piece of tin, and esteem it a great ornament. Some of the Portuguese went on shore with them, to make merry at a neighbouring town, where they got their water. Three days after two of their chiefs came to visit their general in a boat, appalled like the rest, except that the piece of linen cloth they wore was much larger, and one of them had on his head an handkerchief wrought with silk, and the other a cap of green satin. They appeared very cleanly, and the general received them courteously, gave them victuals, apparel, and other things; but it was evident, by their countenances, that they little esteemed them. The general understood, by the signs of a young man who accompanied them, that their country was far from hence, and that they had before seen ships



ships as large as the Portuguese. This gave great joy to all, as they concluded India could not be far off; and they were further confirmed in this opinion by some cotton cloth which was brought on board for sale, marked with ochre. These circumstances induced the general to name that place the River of Good Signs, and he erected a mark at a place which he called St. Raphael, from the name of his ship. But afterwards considering, that as these men by signs described their country to be far off, and that India might be at a greater distance than they at first concluded, he therefore determined to lay all the ships aground to repair them, which was accordingly done. This employed them thirty-two days, in which time the crew were attacked by a disorder, which was thought to proceed from the air; the hands and feet of many of them swelled, and their gums, to such a degree, that they could not eat; the gums rotted, and the smell that proceeded out of the mouths of the diseased persons was intolerable. They were all greatly alarmed; many died, but others recovered, by the care and attention of a person on board, who had carried medicines for his own use, which were successful in this disorder.—This is the first mention we find of the effects of that dreadful disorder the sea scurvy.

The fleet sailed from hence the twenty-fourth of February, and were becalmed that night; next day they passed three small islands, distant about four leagues from each other; two of them were furnished with wood, the third was a plain: the general was unwilling to lose time in visiting them, therefore continued his voyage for the space of six days, coming to anchor every night.

On Thursday the first of March, towards evening, the seamen discovered some islands, two of which were near the shore, and the others further out. To avoid getting in with them in the night, they stood out to sea, designing to pass between them; but the next day the general commanded Coello, whose ship was smaller than the others, to go first, which he did, running in between one of the islands and the main; but missing the channel, touched the ground; on which the other ships stood off, to avoid the danger, and soon saw seven or eight little boats coming from the island, under sail. They repaired on board Coello's ship: he went with them to the general, who directed him to go on shore, as he designed to anchor at the island from whence they came, to gain what information he could respecting India. The boats followed the ships, making signs, or calling to the Portuguese to stay for them. At last they came to anchor, and the boats came on board. These people were black, of a good stature, and well made; they were dressed in cotton cloth, striped with different colours: some wore it close to their knees, others like cloaks, and on the head a kind of handkerchief, or turban, wrought with silk and gold thread. They had swords and daggers, like the Moors, and brought with them instruments like sackbuts. They came on board, and conversed as freely as those before-mentioned, speaking in the Arabic tongue, and could not be distinguished from Moors. They ate and drank heartily of whatever was given them. Being asked by one who understood Arabic, what land that was, they answered, that the land belonged to a great king, and the island was called Mozambique; that the town was full of merchants: the latter trade with the people of India, who brought thither silver, linen cloth, pepper, ginger, silver rings, pearls, and rubies; and from another country they brought thither gold, offering to pilot their ships into the harbour, where they might see the truth of what they asserted. The general consulted with his officers, if he should go in; and Nicolas Coello was ordered to stand in first, and sound the bar. In this attempt his ship touched on the point



of the island, broke the helm, and was in great danger, but soon got off, found the passage into the harbour, which was good, and anchored two bow shot from the town. It was situated in fifteen degrees north, had a good harbour, and the country produced plenty of provisions. The houses are of straw, and the inhabitants Moors, who trade to Sofala in large ships, without decks, built without nails, and are sewed with coyro [a kind of cord made with the rind of the cocoa-nut]. Their sails were mats, made of the leaves of a green palm-tree. Some of them carry square compasses to steer by; they have also sea charts.

These Moors not only trade with the people of India, but also with the Moors of the Red Sea. They concluded the Portuguese to be Turks, from the knowledge they had acquired of the Turkish customs from the Moors who dwell in the Red Sea. The first which came on board the ship, informed their scheik or governor so, who resided there for the king of Quiloa.

This scheik being informed of their arrival, and believing them to be Moors, came to visit Coello on board his ship, accompanied with some persons dressed in silk, whom Coello received with courtesy; but as they could not understand each other, they did not stay long; however, he discovered that they believed them Moors, and presented the chief with a red cap, of which made no account; he then gave him some black beads, which he carried away as a pledge of friendship. When he was departing, he, by signs, requested Coello to let him have his boat to land in, which was readily granted, and some Portuguese sent with him: these the governor carried with him to his house, feasted them with dates and other things, and sent to Coello a pot of preserved dates.

When the other ships arrived in the harbour, the governor sent to visit them, presented them with many delicacies, and desired leave to come on board. The general sent, in return, some red hats, short gowns, coral, brass basons, little hawk bells, and other things, all of which (the messenger who carried the same reported) they little esteemed, asking the use of them, and demanding why the captain did not send them something scarlet, which they more desired.

Notwithstanding this, he visited the general, who, having knowledge of his coming, dressed his ship with colours, ordered the sick men to be concealed, and that those who were not sick, should be sent from the other ships on board his; these he armed, to be ready, if the Moors offered any violence, or sought to betray them. The governor came, accompanied by many, all well dressed in silk, bringing with them several ivory trumpets, and other instruments, on which they played. He was a man of good stature, though lean; he wore a kind of shirt made of linen, which came down to his heels, and over it another of Mecca velvet; on his head a silk cap of many colours, trimmed with gold; at his girdle a sword and dagger, and shoes upon his feet. The general received him at his entrance into the ship, and conducted him with some of his people into the cabin, the rest remaining in their boats. The governor desired him not to be offended that he had not sent him any scarlet, since, in truth, he had brought none with him, and had no merchandise, except to exchange for victuals, when his men wanted; that the intent of his voyage was to discover the Indias, by command of a great and mighty king, whose subject he was. This was explained by an interpreter. Meat and wine were then set before them, and the governor and his people ate and drank heartily.

After



After this they were very friendly to each other; the governor asked the general if they came from the country of the Turks, for he had heard say the people of that country were as they were, requesting also to have a sight of their bows, and the book of their laws. The general answered, that they were not of that country, but from a kingdom bordering thereon. As to the book of their laws, they had none with them, since at sea they had no use for it: some cross-bows were then brought, and in their presence bent and shot off; some armour was also shewn them, at all which they expressed great surprise.

At this meeting De Gama gained intelligence, that from thence to Calicut was nine hundred leagues; that it was necessary to take a pilot of this country, on account of the many shoals in the passage: that along the coast were many cities, and that the country of Prester John was far from thence inland. As it seemed expedient to take a pilot, the general requested the governor to have two, least one should die. This was agreed to, on condition they should be well used and paid. The governor, at a second visit, brought the two pilots, to each of which were given thirty crowns and a coat. It was likewise agreed, that if one of them went on shore, the other should remain in the ship.

Notwithstanding this apparent friendship, the Moors having found out that the Portuguese were not Turks, but Christians, plotted to destroy them. The governor planned this enterprise, which would have succeeded, had not one of the Moorish pilots, conceiving his own safety concerned, discovered it to the general, who, as the infidels were numerous, and his company small, determined to depart immediately. Accordingly, on the tenth of March, he put to sea with his squadron, and came to an anchor at an island about a league from Mozambique: this he did to have an opportunity of saying mass, and confessing themselves on shore, which they had not done since they left Lisbon.

The general concluding the ships to be out of danger in this place, determined to return to Mozambique in his boat, to demand one of the pilots who was left on shore; leaving his brother with the fleet, in readiness to succour him, if there should be occasion, he departed, carrying with him Nicolas Coello and the Moorish pilot. As they passed along they saw six boats, with Moors in them, armed with bows and arrows, shields and spears: they called to the Portuguese to come into their harbour. The Moorish pilot told the general what they meant, and advised him to go there, for that otherwise the governor would not deliver up the other pilot. De Gama was angry at this counsel, thinking the Moor wanted to take an opportunity, when they came near the shore, to run away; he therefore commanded him to be secured, and discharged his ordnance at the boats. Paul de Gama hearing the report, immediately put the ship Berrio under sail; the Moors perceiving this, fled so fast, that the general could not overtake them, on which they returned to the ships.

The general seeing no hopes of recovering the pilot, sailed the next day, and directed the pilot that was on board to be released from his confinement; but this man, incensed at the treatment he had received, determined within himself to be revenged. To accomplish this, he persuaded the general not to be troubled for want of the other pilot, as he would carry him to an island about one hundred leagues from thence, inhabited both by Moors and Christians, who were constantly at war, where he might furnish himself with pilots to carry him to Calicut. The general liked the advice, but did not put any confidence in him, only promised him good rewards if he carried



him safe. They proceeded with little wind, and the next day (Tuesday) they had not lost sight of the land they departed from: that day and the next they were becalmed; at night the wind coming easterly, they stood out to sea, and on the next morning found they had been driven by the current four leagues to the westward of Mozambique; in the evening came to anchor again near that island, where they were detained eight days by a contrary wind. In this period a white Moor came on board, belonging to the governor of Mozambique, and declared that the latter was much concerned at the breach of friendship between them, and was desirous to renew the same. The general answered, that he would not be in friendship with him, until he returned the pilot. With this answer he went away, and did not come back again. Soon after another Moor with his son, a boy, came on board, to ask the general to take him to Melinda, a place which lay in his way to Calicut, as he wanted to return to his country, which was near Mecca, from whence he came as a pilot in a ship to Mozambique. He advised the general not to expect an answer from the governor, who would make no peace with him, as he was a Christian.

De Gama was much rejoiced at the coming of this Moor, thinking he should by him gain full information respecting the Red Sea, and of the towns along the coast which he must sail pass to Melinda. He immediately resolved, as they were in want of water, to return to the harbour of Mozambique, and take some by force: accordingly they entered the harbour, and at night got out their boats to go, according to the Moorish pilot's information, to the continent for water: the general went himself, with Coello and the pilot, leaving Paul de Gama in charge of the ships. When they came to the place, they could not find any, although they searched all night, therefore they suspected the pilot had deceived them, to gain an opportunity to escape, and before day-light appeared they returned on board for more strength.

Being reinforced, they returned again on shore, and as the pilot now saw he had no means of escape, he directly shewed them the watering place, where were about twenty Moors, who seemed placed there for the purpose of defending it. The general seeing this, caused three pieces of ordnance to be discharged, which frightened them, and they ran away and hid themselves. The Portuguese landed, supplied themselves with water, and returned to their ships a little before sun set.

When they returned on board, they learned that a negro belonging to Paul de Gama's pilot had that day run away to the Moors. On Saturday the 24th of March, early in the morning, a Moor appeared on the shore, and dared the Portuguese to come for more water. The general provoked at this insult, the detention of his pilot, and the loss of the negro, determined to take revenge on the town; and his captains approving his resolution, they all embarked in their boats, with their people armed: they found about one hundred Moors on the shore, armed with shields, darts, bows, arrows, and slings, and beyond them a paling of boards. The Portuguese could not see what was behind. As soon as the boats were near, they began to use their slings, and were answered by the Portuguese ordnance, which drove them from the water side behind the paling: that also was soon beaten down, and they fled to the town, leaving two dead on the spot. The general then returned on board to dinner, and saw the Moors running from one town to another, from whence they went by water to another place.

After dinner the general went on shore, to see if he could take any Moors to exchange for the negro, and for two Indians, which the Moorish pilot told them were prisoners



prisoners in the town. Paul de Gama took four; the rest got away, leaving their boats behind them, in which were found much linen cloth, and the book of the Alcoran. The boats were all day rowing about, but they could not get to the speech of any of the Moors. They took in water the next day without resistance. However, the general determined to have his revenge on the town of Mozambique, which he had by battering it.

The fleet sailed from Mozambique the 27th, and made two little rocks, which they called Saint George, where they met with such light winds, that the current drove them back again. They had the good fortune to find, that one of the Moors which Paul de Gama took was a pilot, and could carry them to Calicut. On Sunday, April 1st, they saw four islands very near the shore, to one of which they gave the name of Afotada, because the Mozambique pilot was whipped there for having told them these islands were the continent. On being whipped, he confessed that his design had been to make them run on the rocks of the islands. The islands were very close together; to avoid them, they stood out to sea. On the 4th they ran N. W. and before noon on that day they saw the continent, and two islands near the same, (round which were many shoals) three leagues beyond Quiloa, which the pilots said were inhabited by Christians. De Gama was sorry to have run past it, and the pilots excused themselves, by saying they were driven by the current. The truth was, the pilots were more disappointed than the general, for their intention, by telling him the inhabitants were Christians, was to put him off his guard, and get him and his people destroyed. Both parties wishing to return, they spent that day in endeavouring to get to Quiloa, without effect. The general then determined to run for Mombassa; in which the pilots said were two towns, inhabited by Moors and Christians: this was also false, that place being inhabited wholly by Moors.

In their passage thither they saw an island, which lay to the north, of which the pilots gave the same account. They did not attempt to get to it. In a day or two after, the Saint Raphael early in the morning ran aground upon a shoal, two leagues from the land: as they made proper signals, the other ships avoided it, and came to anchor, sending their boats to the assistance of the Raphael. The ebb tide left her dry, and as it was a sandy ground, she received no damage: they carried out anchors, waiting for the flood. During this time they had a full view of the island, and called these sands the shoals of Saint Raphael; and gave the same name to some islands and hills on the continent, then in sight.

While the ship remained dry, some boats with Moors came to the ships, bringing oranges, finer than those of Portugal, which they gave to the men, telling the general not to fear, for the ship would float on the return of the tide. The general made them presents, and on hearing the ships were going to Mombassa, some of them desired he would give them a passage thither, which was granted. On the return of the tide, the Saint Raphael floated, and they proceeded on their voyage.

On Saturday the 7th of April, about sun set, they anchored without the bar of the island of Mombassa, which is very near the main land. This island is well furnished with provisions, as millet, rice, and cattle, both large and small (the sheep are without tails). The island is pleasant, full of orchards planted with pomegranates, Indian figs, oranges of both kinds, lemons and citrons: it has also excellent water. The city is large, bears the same name as the island, lies in four degrees south latitude, on a hill, formed of a rock.

The



The harbour is barred, and is defended by a fort, low and near the water: most of the houses are built with lime and stone; the ceilings wrought in figures with plaister of Paris. It is governed by a king, and the inhabitants are Moors; some white, some brown, both men and women; the men are good horsemen; they dress richly, especially the women, who wear silk gowns adorned with gold and jewels. They have a considerable harbour, which is good, and continually full of ships; and from the continent they get plenty of honey, wax, and ivory.

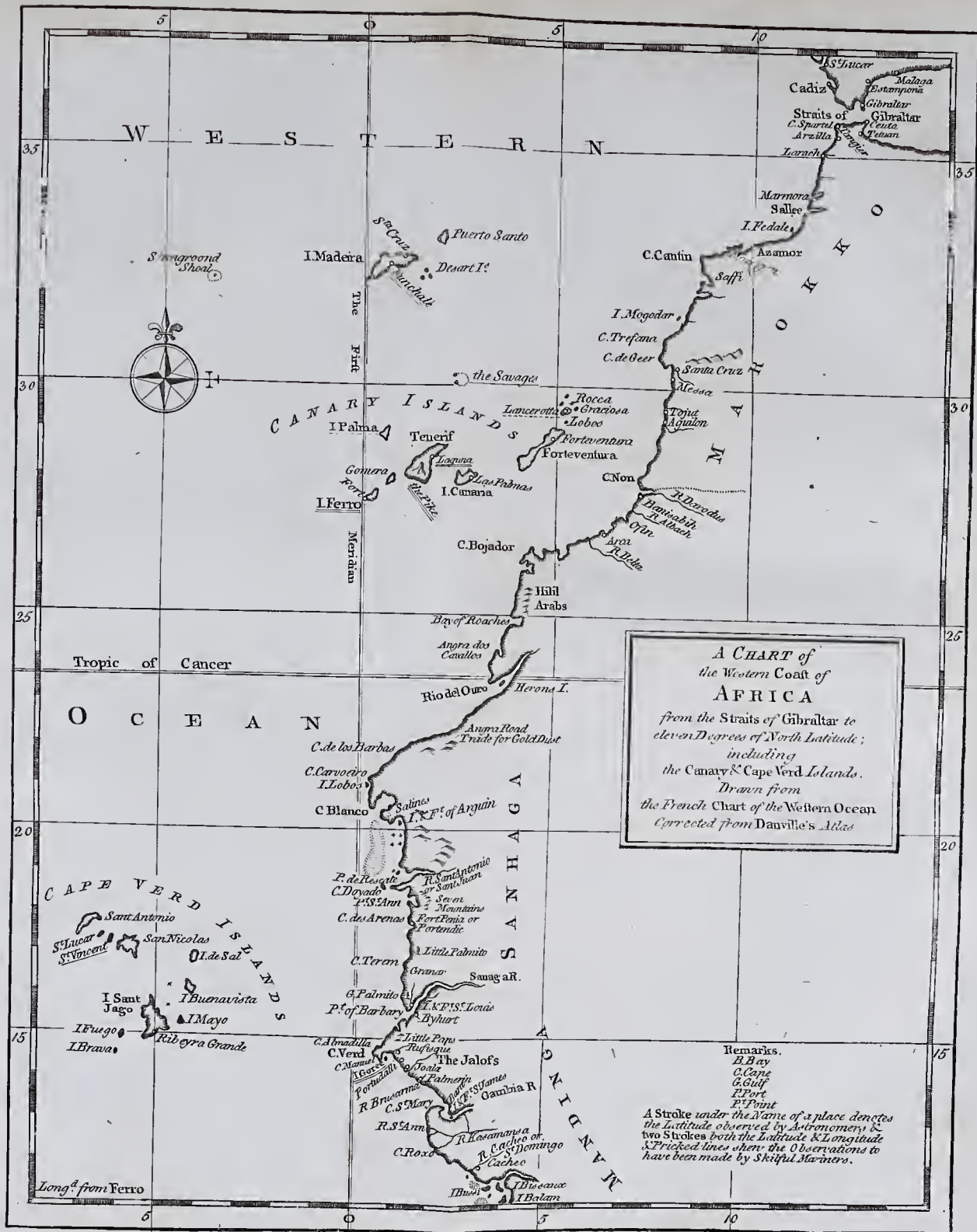
While the ships lay at anchor without the bar, rejoicing at their good fortune in arriving where they expected to meet with Christians, and where they should be able to cure their sick, of which a few only remained alive, the greater part having died, they saw a large bark approach with near an hundred men in her, armed, who, on coming up, would have entered the ship; but De Gama would not suffer more than four to come on board, and those not armed, excusing this precaution as being a stranger. To those who came on board, he gave good entertainment of such as he had. They said they came out of curiosity to see him, as a new sight to them; that he must not wonder to see them bring arms, as it was their custom to carry them both in peace and war. They told him that the king of Mombassa was apprized of his arrival, and would send to visit him the next day: that he was glad of his coming, and would give him spices to load his ship: they also said there were many Christians on the island, who lived by themselves. The general was pleased with this information, as it agreed with what the pilot had told him; yet resolved to be on his guard.

The next day being Palm-Sunday, some white Moors came from the king, to say he was glad of their arrival, and that if they would come into the harbour, he would supply them with what they stood in need of: he sent the general a ring, a sheep, some sweet oranges, citrons, and sugar canes: these Moors also said there were Christians in the island. The general believed them to be sincere, sent presents back to the king, returning him thanks, and saying that the next day they would come farther in. He sent also two men (criminals) who were on board, to be employed on such desperate enterprises, to be left on shore occasionally, to gain intelligence, and to be called for again. When these landed with the Moors, a multitude of people met and accompanied them to the king's palace: they were conducted through three apartments before they came to his presence, at the doors of each a porter attended with a sword on. The king shewed little state, but received the Portuguese well, and ordered the Moors to shew them the city. They saw in the streets many men prisoners, and in irons: as they did not understand the language, they could ask no questions, but had some reason to believe them to be Christians.

They were also carried to the house of some Christian Indian merchants, who having information that the Portuguese were of the same persuasion, gladly received them; and after having banquetted them, shewed them, on a painted paper, the figure of the Holy Ghost, before which they paid their devotion on their knees. The Portuguese were further informed by the Moors, there were other Christians who dwelt in another place, but that they should not be introduced to these till after the Portuguese captain-general had entered their harbour.

After viewing the city, they were brought into the king's presence, who commanded a sample of pepper, ginger, cloves, and wheat to be shewn them; also a quantity to be presented to the captain-general, informing him by his messenger, that he would give him a freight of all these commodities, in which his country abounded; and











and that at a small labour and expence he would amply furnish him with gold, silver, amber, wax, ivory, and other valuable articles.

This message was brought to the captain-general on Monday: having seen the spices, and hearing the king's promise, he was elated with his good fortune, especially when the two banished men gave him so ample an account of the population and wealth of the country; as also of the treatment they met with at the house of the Christian merchants.

He and his captains immediately proposed to enter the port and accept the offer of spices, and afterwards proceed on their voyage to Calicut; if they could not be better furnished there, they would return and remain contented with their present acquisition. They determined, therefore, to enter the harbour next day.

Mean time the Moors behaved themselves with such friendship, that it seemed as if they and the Portuguese had been of long acquaintance. The captain-general, therefore, gave orders to weigh their anchors, with an intention of fulfilling his purpose; but here the Portuguese were preserved from impending destruction in an extraordinary manner. When the general's ship had weighed anchor, and was going to enter the port, her stern struck upon a shoal; which being instantly perceived, command was given to drop their anchors, lest the ship, as was expected, should be lost.

When the Moors saw the accident, and that the fleet was obliged to anchor, they were disappointed of their intention of getting them into their harbour that day; they therefore ran to their boat, and got off the pilot of Mozambique, having taken to the water from the ship's stern; and though the captain-general called to them to return and deliver him up, they disregarded him, and rowed towards the city.

The captain-general now perceived that mischief had been designed against him and his company, by the king and his people, which divine providence had prevented, by throwing him on this shoal to preserve them from the intended treason. He communicated his sentiments to the company, and in the evening put to the torture two Mozambique captives, to force them to confession. The command was instantly observed, and a confession obtained by heating bacon and dropping it upon their flesh. The treason was immediately acknowledged; as also that the pilots had taken to the water, on suspicion they were discovered.

The captain-general now altered his intention of entering the harbour, and being greatly chagrined at the falsehood of the Moors, proposed to torture another captive, to know if he was in the confederacy. But the Moor perceiving these preparations, threw himself bound into the sea, as did another before day-light.

The mischief intended being now evident, the captain-general returned thanks to God, by whose goodness alone they were delivered from the slaughter of the infidels. He then, on board his ship, said the "*salva regina*." Being now mindful of their safety, they ordered a diligent watch to be kept to prevent any danger in the night. It is to be remarked, that when the Portuguese came first to the town of Mombassa, those among them that were ill, began to mend, so that when this conspiracy subjected them to so much danger, they felt themselves strong beyond expectation, and the common course of nature.

It happened after the watch of the ship Berrio was set, the cable of their anchor was discovered to move. They at first judged this proceeded from the number of the fish called the tunney, very plentiful on the coast of Mombassa, whose flesh is of excellent



lent flavour; but they were soon deceived on perceiving their enemies were cutting the cable with their wood-knives or swords, hoping by this means that the ship would run ashore, and the men taken; and they practised this method, being unacquainted with any other for their purpose. However, on the alarm being given, they were prevented; but the crew of the ship *Raphael*, on coming to the rescue of their companions, discovered some of their enemies among the chains of the tacklings of their fore-mast. The Moors perceiving this, suddenly dived under water, together with their companions, and swam to some boats which were waiting for them at a distance; in which, as was afterwards understood, were many Moors, who taking them in, rowed fast away, and returned to the city.

The Wednesday and Thursday following the Portuguese fleet still remained there, during which, in the night, the enemy came in their boats, which always lay on shore; from which some swam to discover if they could by any means cut the ship's cables, but by the diligence of the watch, they were counteracted; nevertheless the Portuguese were in continual alarm, lest they should burn the ships. It is wonderful that the Moors did not attack the fleet with such vessels as they had, by which means the Portuguese might have been totally destroyed. The most probable conjecture is, that the ordnance scared them, and made them careful to avoid such an approach.

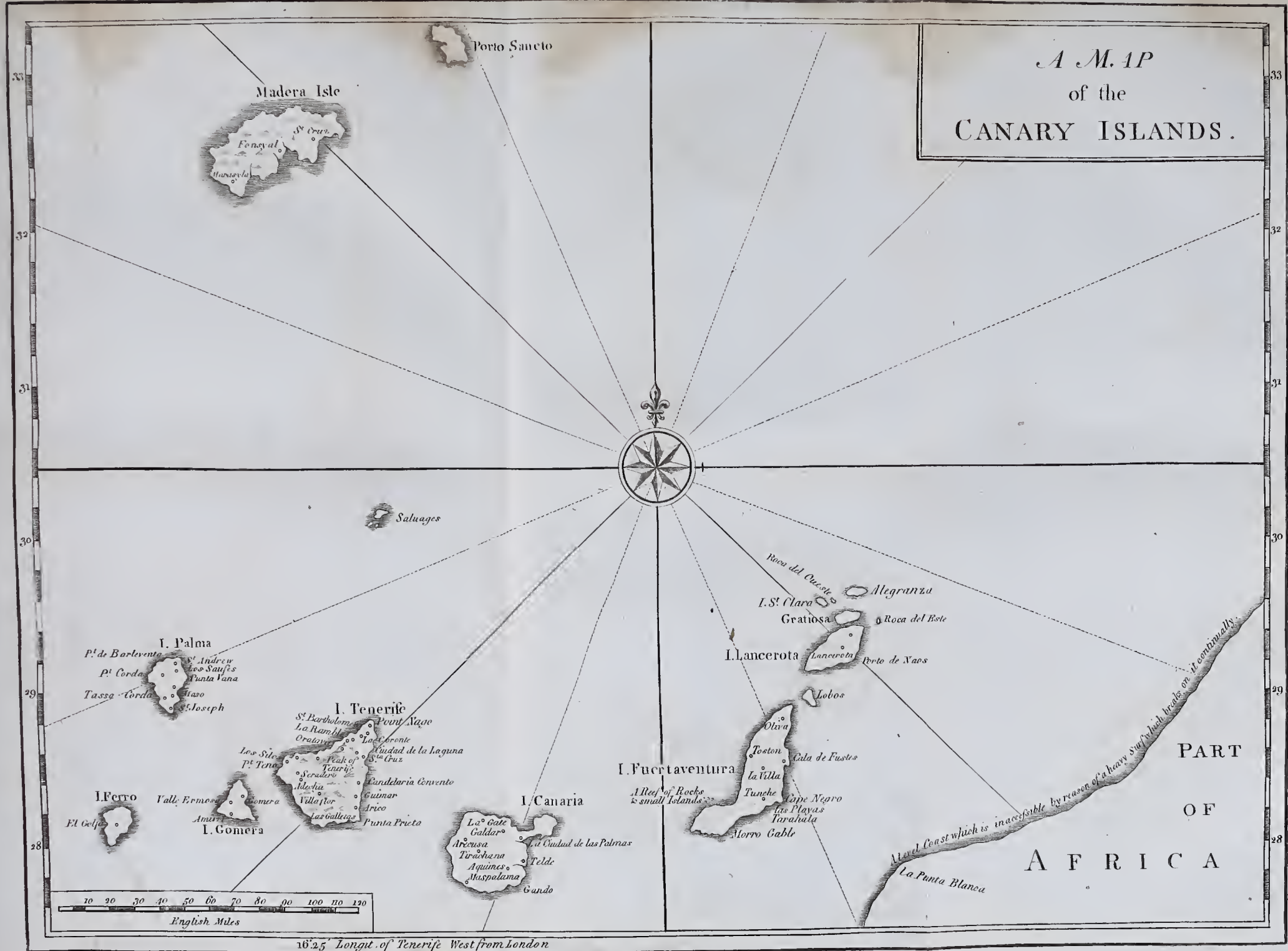
The general watched the last two days to see if he could get the pilots to carry him to Calicut, without whom the navigation would be difficult, as his own pilots were unacquainted with the coast. Not being able to procure them, he proceeded on his voyage on the Friday. He was obliged to leave one of his anchors behind him upon the bar, his people being so fatigued with heaving up the others, that they could not purchase it. The Moors afterwards took it up, and fixed it near their king's palace, where it remained until the place was afterwards taken by the Portuguese, who found the anchor there.

It falling calm, they came to anchor eight leagues from Mozambique under the land. At the dawn of day, they discovered two boats, called *Sambucos*, under their lee, three leagues from the fleet, to seaward. Hoping to find some pilots on board, the general weighed anchor and pursued them till evening, when his ship came up with and took one of them; the other got in shore. They found on board seventeen Moors, among whom was an old man who appeared master of the rest, and a young woman his wife; they also found a quantity of gold and silver, and some provisions.

The fleet proceeded to Melinda, eighteen leagues from Mombassa, situated in three degrees south latitude: it has no harbour, but an open road; and on account of a reef on which the sea beats, the ships anchor far from the shore. The city stands on a plain near the sea side, surrounded with palm and other trees, which are green all the year round; also with gardens well furnished with herbs and fruits, and with fountains of good water. Their oranges are very large, and are very sweet and pleasant; they have also great store of provisions and cattle, both great and small, and poultry fat and cheap. The city is large, the streets few, and many good houses of stone, several stories high, with windows, and terraces of lime and earth. The natives are black, and well proportioned, with curled hair: the Moors of Arabia resort thither, and behave themselves well, especially the gentlemen, who are naked from the girdle up-wards



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wards and downwards, cover themselves with silk, or very thin cotton cloth; and others with short cloaks, made of cotton. On their head they wear a certain cloth, wrought with silk and gold. They carry daggers, with tassels of silk of many colours, and swords well garnished: they are all left-handed, and constantly carry with them bows and arrows.

The men of Melinda reckon themselves good horsemen, although there is a saying used by the inhabitants of the coast, which gives a preference therein to their neighbours, "The horsemen of Mombassa, and the women of Melinda;" for in Mombassa the horsemen are very good, and in Melinda the women are handsome. There are also in Melinda many heathens from Cambaya, who are great merchants, and traffic for gold, ambergris, ivory, pitch, and wire, in exchange for copper, quicksilver, and cotton cloth, from Cambaya. The general and his fleet were highly delighted to see a place much resembling the cities of their own country, and came to an anchor in hopes of procuring pilots; for hitherto he had not found any among the Moors they had taken.

The next day, the old Moor informed the general that there were in Melinda four ships belonging to the Christians of India; and promised, if he would permit him and the other Moors to go on shore, he would procure him pilots and whatever he was in need of. This offer was accepted, and they weighed and came within half a league of the city: however, nobody came on board, fearing to be made prisoners, as they knew from the capture of the Sambuco that they were Christians, and believed them to be ships of war. The general conjectured this to be the case; therefore ordered the old Moor to be landed on a shelf or shoal opposite to the city, and there to be left. As soon as the Portuguese boat returned, a Moorish boat carried him on shore, to the king, whom he informed what the general wished, particularly his desire of peace, and his want of assistance for the discovery of the Indies. The king sent the Moor back in a boat, accompanied by one of his own servants, and a priest, with a message, signifying, that he was willing to conclude a peace, and would supply the general with pilots, and whatever else he should want. He at the same time sent him a present of three sheep, some oranges and sugar-canes. The general received all thankfully, and answered, that the next day he would come with his ships into the harbour, and inform the king, that he was the subject of a great prince, who being desirous to know where the city of Calicut stood, had sent him to discover a passage to it, and to make peace with the kings and princes whose territories he should stop at in his way; that he had been now two years from his own country, and that the king, his master, was a powerful prince, worthy of his friendship. With this message he dismissed them, sending also a hat, two bunches of coral, three brass basons, some little bells, and two scarfs to the king.

The next day he came nearer the city, which the king being informed of, conceiving a high idea of the king of Portugal, and having a great curiosity to see men who had made so long a voyage, sent word to the general, that he would visit him the next day, and that their meeting should be on the water. This message was accompanied with a second present of five sheep, and plenty of cloves, ginger, pepper, and nutmegs. On receiving this message the general went with his ships further in, and anchored close to the four ships the Moor had spoken of; the owners of which finding the Portuguese to be Christians, immediately paid a visit to the general. They were of a brown colour, good stature, and well proportioned: they wore long white cotton



gowns, long beards, and their hair long and plaited up under their turbans. The general received them well, and conversed, by an interpreter, in the Arābic tongue, of which they had acquired some knowledge, by their trade with the Moors; of these they advised him to beware, and not to trust those of Melinda too far. The general, to be assured these people were really Christians, commanded a table to be brought in, on which was the picture of the Virgin Mary, and some of the apostles; on seeing which, they fell prostrate on the deck, worshipping it and praying. Gama enquired if they were of Calicut; they answered no, but of a city further off, called Cranganor, and knew a little of Calicut. These people came every day after to pay their devotions to this picture, and offered pepper and other things to the image. The Portuguese were informed that they did not eat flesh.

Next day, after dinner, the king of Melinda came in a large boat to the fleet, dressed in a cassock of crimson damask, lined with green sattin, and a rich turban on his head. He sat in a very handsome chair, upon a silk cushion, and another near him, on which lay a hat of crimson sattin. Near him stood an old man, his page, who carried a very rich sword, the scabbard of which was silver. He brought with him many sackbuts, and two ivory flutes of eight spans in length, and played on by holes at the side, agreeing well with the sackbuts. He was accompanied by twenty Moors, richly apparelled. When the king approached the ships, the general went in his boat, with flags flying, and accompanied by twelve of his principal officers, to meet him, leaving his brother in charge of the ships. As the boats approached, mutual salutations passed: the king invited the general into his boat, where he was as much honoured as if he had been a prince: he viewed the Portuguese very attentively, and enquired the name of their king, which he caused immediately to be written down: he next enquired many particulars of him and his power, which the general readily answered, declaring for what cause his master had sent him into those seas. After some conversation with the king, the latter promised him pilots for Calicut, invited him to his palace in the city, and promised to visit him afterwards on shipboard. The general answered, that his king had given him no permission to go on shore, and therefore he dare not. The king was grieved at this excuse; however, said he would send either letters or ambassadors to the king of Portugal, if he would call on his return. This De Gama promised, and made him a present of the Moors he had taken, at which he expressed great satisfaction.

After this, the king, accompanied by the general, rowed among the ships, and beheld them with much admiration; he was particularly delighted at the firing of the cannon; seemed much pleased with the Portuguese, and said he should be glad to have some of them to help him in his wars. He then desired the general to send two of his men to see his palace, if he would not go with him himself; and for a pledge of their safety, he would leave his son and one of his chief cadis or judges, and desired him also to come near the shore in his boat, the next day, to see his horsemen. The general agreed, sent two of his men, and the next day he and Coello went along shore in the boats, where they saw the horsemen skirmishing. As the boats came near the shore, some footmen came down from the king's house, took him up in a chair, and carried him near to the general's boat. He once more requested him to go on shore, and visit his father, who was a lame man, and very desirous to see him; and if he would go, the king and his children would remain on board the ships; but the general still declined, saying, he must obey his prince.

As



As they returned on board they passed by the India ships, and saluted each other: that night, by the king's permission, they entertained the crews of these ships. On Sunday, April 21, a man of some rank came from the king to visit De Gama, who, not having seen any for two days before, was fearful the king was offended at his refusal to go on shore. His suspicion increased when he saw this person brought no pilot. When this was told to the king, he immediately sent him a Gentile pilot, with many excuses for not sending one before.

Having all things necessary, the fleet sailed from Melinda for Calicut on the 22d of April, and they now determined to quit the shore, which they had hitherto coasted, and stand out to sea, trusting to the conduct of the pilot. On the next day they saw both the north and south polar stars; the former of which they had not seen for a long time: they were also agreeably surprised to meet with no storms at that time of the year, but rather fair weather. They were twenty-three days out of sight of land, which they saw on the 17th of May, a high shore, eight leagues distant: on sounding they found forty-five fathom; and to avoid getting into shoal water, they stood to the south-east until next day, and hauled in again for the land, but not so close as to be certain what part of the coast it was; but by some showers which fell, the pilot judged it to be the coast of India, that being their winter season. On the 20th they discovered some hills over the city of Calicut, which the pilot knew, and with much joy demanded his reward of De Gama, assuring them that this was the land he so much desired to see. The general paid him, and immediately went to prayers, saying the *salva*, and returning thanks to God for their happy arrival; after prayer they feasted and rejoiced, and on the evening came to anchor two leagues from Calicut. Immediately four little boats, or *almadias*, came on board, to enquire what ships they were, having never seen any such on that coast before. The people were naked, except their private parts, covered with pieces of linen cloth; they were of a brown complexion. They went on board the general's ship, who treated them well, although his pilot told him they were only fishermen, (a name applied on this coast to poor people) and directed his men to purchase their fish. From them he learned that the town in sight was not Calicut, that being further off, and offered to pilot him thither; which they did.

Calicut, is a city situated on the coast of Malabar, in the second Indies, beginning at Mount Delhi, and ending at Cape Comorin: it is in length sixty-one leagues, and fifteen in breadth: all the country is low, and often overflowed. It has many islands belonging to it, and is divided from a great kingdom, called Narsinga, by a high hill. The Indians have a tradition, that this land of Malabar was once sea, and reached as far as the Maldivé islands, which were then firm land.

The province of Malabar was anciently governed by a king, who resided at Coulan. In the reign of their last king, who died about six hundred years ago, the Moors of Mecca discovered the Indies, and settled in Malabar, the people being then heathens. They converted the king, who became so zealous a devotee, that he determined to go and end his days at Mecca. Before he departed, he divided his dominions among his kindred, reserving only a small portion of twelve leagues, from which he was to embark, and which was never before inhabited. This he gave to a kinsman, who had been his page, commanding that the same should be inhabited, in memorial of his embarkation, investing him with his sword and turban, and commanding all others to be obedient to him as their emperor. This was



the origin of Calicut: at the place where he embarked, the city was built, and out of a principal of devotion, they now ship all goods from hence; by which means the port of Coulan became neglected. The merchants removing hither, it was soon one of the richest marts in India, for spices, drugs, precious stones, pearls, seed pearl, pease, musk, sanders, china, gum, lace, gold, amber, wax, ivory, cotton, raw silk, wrought silk, cloths of gold, tissue, &c. carpets of silk, copper, quicksilver, vermillion, alum, coral, rose water, and all kind of conserves. It had the advantage of a good road, the other parts of the coast being very dangerous.

This place is surrounded with many orchards, and has excellent water; they have also many palm and other trees. They have but little rice, although their common food; but import great quantities. The city is large, and all the houses of straw, they being prohibited by law from having any other, except the temples of their idols, and the king's palaces, which are built of lime and stone, and covered with tiles. It is inhabited both by Gentiles and Moors, some of whom are great merchants, and so rich that some individuals are owners of fifty ships. There is scarce a winter but six hundred ships remain there; these they haul on shore with little trouble; they are built without nails, sewed together with Coyro ropes, and pitched over that: they have no keel, but are flat-bottomed.

The increase of trade to Calicut, and the country round, enlarged the king's income greatly, and enabled him to keep so many men that in one day he could raise thirty thousand, and in three days one hundred thousand fighting men. His title is that of Samorin, or emperor, as he is among the kings of Malabar, of which there are only two, those of Coulan and Cananor. The Samorin is a bramin, as his predecessors were; these are priests among the Malabars. It is an ancient custom, that all their kings shall die in one pagoda, which is a temple of their idols: he is elected for the purpose of serving those idols, and when he dies, the king, who is then reigning, must resign his empire and take his place, in whose room another is elected. If the person in possession refuses to go to the pagoda, he is compelled. The kings are brown men, naked from the girdle upwards, and cloathed downwards with cloths of silk or cotton; sometimes they have short gowns of silk, or cloth of gold and of scarlet, with very rich stones; especially the king of Calicut, who excels in dress and jewels. They shave, except their upper lip, like the Turks: they are served at their meals with little state, except the king of Calicut, who has greater.

The kings of Calicut do not marry, yet are allowed a lady of the house of the nayres, or gentlemen: she has a house by herself near the palace, and a liberal allowance. The kings may leave them when they please, and in that case the children cannot inherit, although after they are men, they are in more estimation than they receive from their mothers. Their brothers inherit, if they have any; if not, then their sister's children: the sisters do not marry, but are free to choose whom they like. These have large incomes allowed them: at ten years old their kindred seek for a young nayre, present him with gifts, and the young virgin to deflower: he receives her with great joy; and when she is thus used, he ties a jewel about her neck, which she always afterwards wears as a token of the liberty given her to do as she will with herself.

The kings sometimes war with each other, and take the field themselves. When they die they are carried into an open field, where their bodies are burned with a great quantity of sanders-wood, and a sweet wood called aguila. At this ceremony all his brothers nearest kindred, and the nobility are present, for which purpose they  
put



put off the burning three days, to give them time to come together. After he is burned, and his ashes buried, they are all shaved, even the least child, and abstain from eating betel for thirteen days. During this time the successor does not take upon him the government, to see if any one objects against him. After which he is sworn to support the laws of his predecessor, and to pay all his debts. The thirteen days being ended, they are allowed to eat betel again, except the king, who for the space of a year must not eat fish, flesh, or betel, nor must he shave his beard, cut his nails, or eat but once a day, before which he must bathe. At the expiration of the year he performs a certain ceremony for the soul of his predecessor, gives great alms, and is then confirmed in his kingdom.

All the kings of Malabar have one person charged with the administration of justice, who is equally obeyed with the king himself. The soldiers are all nayres, or gentlemen; they are all Gentiles, and carry arms, which are bows, arrows, spears, daggers made like a hook, and targets. They go naked, except a painted cloth from the girdle to the knee; bare-footed, and have turbans round their heads: they are all supported by the king and nobility, who allow them stipends for their maintenance: they esteem themselves so highly, that they will not permit any husbandmen to touch them, or to come into their houses. The king cannot make nayres, they are so by descent; they serve well and faithfully; their allowance is small, and by the laws of the country, they cannot marry, but have their women in common, who are all gentlewomen: the brothers children inherit their lands and goods: they are privileged, that none can be imprisoned or put to death by the ordinary course of justice; but if one of them kill another, or kill a cow, (which is esteemed a great sin, as they worship them) or sleep or eat with a woman of inferior degree, or speak evil of the king; in either of these cases, the king issues a warrant in writing, directed to other nayres, to kill him: this they do by cutting him with their swords: upon his body they hang the king's writing, that every one may know why he was slain. The nayres cannot take arms until they are made knights: at seven years old they are taught the use of their weapons; the masters who teach them are much respected. When any of the nayres would be made a knight, they go, accompanied by many of their relations, to present themselves to the king with a present of gold. He asks them, if they will observe and keep the customs of the nayres. To which they answer, "Yes." He then girds them with a sword, and laying his hand upon their heads, mutters something in a low voice, like a prayer: and then embraces them, saying, "Have a regard to the bramins and their kindred." The nayre then worships the king, and becomes a knight.

These nayres, when they engage with any nobleman, undertake to live and die with him, which bond they inviolably keep. They are great soothsayers, and have good and bad days. They worship the sun, moon, fire, and the cattle that they first meet on going out of a morning. There are other sorts of people in Malabar, which are of divers sects, and observe different customs; but all obey these kings, except the Moors, who are exempt on account of the great duties they pay on their merchandise.

The general having come to anchor without the bar of Calicut, sent one of his convicts in the boat, to see what sort of country it was, and if they should be well received. When the man landed, a number of people immediately came round to look at him. They asked the Malabar who carried him on shore, what he was,  
who



who answered, that they took him for a Moor, and that he came in one of the three ships they then saw. The people of Calicut observed, he was dressed different from the Moors. Among the people who flocked round him, some spake to him in Arabic, which he could not answer. This surprised them, that he should be a Moor, and not understand that tongue; however, they carried him to the house of two Moors, who were natives of Tunis, in Barbary; one of them, whose name was Bontaybo\*, could speak Spanish, and knew him to be a Portuguese. As soon as the convict entered the house, the Moor said to him in Spanish, "I give thee to the devil, who brought thee here?" He then asked him which way he came. The man answered and told him how many ships the general had with him. Bontaybo was much surprised how they could get by sea thither, and asked him what brought him so far. The man answered, "To seek for Christians and spices."—"Why (said Bontaybo) did not the kings of France and Spain, and the doge of Venice, send fleets hither also?"—"Because (says the man) the king of Portugal would not give his consent." Bontaybo said, he did very wisely. He then entertained him well, and gave him some cakes made of wheat flour, and some honey. After he had eaten, Bontaybo advised him to go on board, and said he would go with him to see the general. As soon as he got there, he addressed himself to De Gama: "Good luck, good luck! many rubies, many emeralds! thou art bound to give God thanks, for he hath brought thee where there are all kinds of spices, stores, and riches in the world." When the Portuguese heard him, they were much surprised to find one, at so great a distance from their native country, who could speak their language. The general embraced Bontaybo, made him sit down, and asked him if he was a Christian. The Moor told him from whence he came, and what he was; that he came to Calicut by way of Cairo; told him how he came to have a knowledge of the Portuguese, and that he entertained a good opinion of them, had been a friend to them, and would be now. The general returned him thanks, and promised to recompense him liberally for any service he did him or his company.

The general asked him what kind of man the king of Calicut was, and whether he thought he would receive him as an ambassador from the king of Portugal. Bontaybo answered, he was a very good man, of an honourable disposition, and he had no doubt but he would gladly receive him as an ambassador, if he came to establish trade, or brought any kind of merchandise for that purpose; "for (says he) he reaps great advantages by duties, which form a principal part of his revenue." He further informed De Gama, that the king was at a village called Panane, five leagues from Calicut along the coast, to which place he advised him to send to declare his arrival. The general approved of his advice, made him a present, and sent two of his men with him, with a message to the king of Calicut; requesting Bontaybo to conduct them thither, which he did. When he came before the king, one of them, whose name was Francis Martin, by an interpreter, declared that he came from his captain, who had letters for him from the king of Portugal. The king hearing the message, ordered they should each of them be presented with a piece of cotton cloth and two pieces of silk, such as he used himself. He then asked what distance the kingdom was from thence. Martin informed him, and added, that his king was a

\* Osorio calls him Monzaybo.



Christian, as they all were in the ships. He then related the dangers and difficulties they had encountered on the voyage. The king was pleased with the message, and sent word to the general that he and his company were heartily welcome to his country, requesting him to bring his ships to anchor near Pandarene, being a better harbour than Calicut, from whence the general might come by land to visit him. He sent a pilot, who conducted the ships to that port, but the general would not permit them to be carried so far in as the pilot wished, not being willing to rely too implicitly on these people, who might afterwards do him mischief.

The captain being come near this harbour, received a message from the cutwal, an officer of Calicut, signifying that he was come to Pandarene by the king's command, to conduct him to Calicut; he was therefore at liberty to disembark when he pleased. As the day was far spent, De Gama excused himself for the present, and consulted with his captains and officers how to act: he expressed his desire to wait on the king, to settle trade and alliance. His brother objected to his going, from a fear that the Moors might procure his destruction, and proposed that he should send one of them. The others were of the same opinion. To which De Gama spiritedly replied, that whatever was the consequence, he would go and see if he could settle a friendship and trade; for should he return without effecting that, no one would believe they had been at Calicut. Besides, he did not, for many reasons, conceive the danger to be so great as they suspected; adding, that the consequence he carried with him, by virtue of his commission as captain-general, would insure him success. He concluded with directing, in case any accident should befall him, to sail home with the news of the discovery.

His officers finding him resolute, gave up their opposition, and appointed twelve of his men to go with him; among the rest, Diogo Dias his secretary, Francis Martin the interpreter, and John de Sala, who was treasurer of the house of the Indies. The general's brother was to remain in charge of the ships, with positive orders not to permit any one on board during his absence: and he left orders for Coello to come every day in the boat as near the shore as he could.

These preliminaries being settled, on the 28th of May De Gama embarked with his twelve attendants, dressed in their best cloaths; the boats furnished with arms, decorated with flags, and their trumpets founding all the way to the shore: there the cutwal waited for him, attended by two hundred nayres. The general was received very politely, and placed in a litter, which the king had sent for him: these litters are carried by four men, with others to relieve them, and by that means they can travel very fast; they are open, but are attended by men who carry umbrellas to defend them either from the sun or rain.

The general being placed in his litter, and the cutwal in another, they proceeded to a town called Capocate; the rest of the company going on foot, having some of the natives to carry the apparel they had brought with them. At Capocate they rested, and were furnished with provisions, consisting of fish, rice, and fruits, very different from European fruits, but very good.

After their repast, they embarked on a river in two almadias, fastened close to each other, which they called *ensengada*. The cutwal and his train embarked in others. The sides of the river were covered by the natives, to see the Portuguese. After passing about a league, they saw many large ships aground, and the captain and cutwal again disembarking, took to their litters, followed by thousands of people, men, women,



women, and children. The cutwal stopped at a pagoda, telling the general it was a place of great devotion, into which they entered: the general believed what he said, and concluded it to be a Christian church, particularly as he observed seven small bells hung over the door, and before the same a pillar of brass, as high as the mast of a ship; on the top of which was a cock, likewise of brass. This church was as large as some monasteries, built of stone, and covered or vaulted with brick. On entering they were received by certain men, naked from the girdle upwards; they wore cloths which came up under the arm-pits, and were supported by strings over the shoulder, as the Romish priests used to wear their stoles when they went to mass. These men were called Caffres, and were heathens, who served in these temples: they took water with a sponge out of a font, and threw it on the captain, the cutwal, and the rest of the company, and then gave them some sanders wood powdered, to throw on their heads, as the Catholics do ashes. As they walked about the church, they saw many images painted on the wall; some with teeth projecting an inch out of their mouths; others had four arms, very ill favoured, and seemed almost like devils: the latter made the Portuguese somewhat doubtful whether it was a Christian church or not. Being come before a chapel, in the middle of the building, they perceived it had a little tower at the top, of free-stone, in which was a small door of brass: within this tower was an image which stood rather in the dark, and the Portuguese being kept at a distance, could not distinguish what it was: but the Malabars calling out Maria, or some word like it, the general supposed it was an image of the Virgin, and fell on his knees, as did the rest of his company; but Juan de la Sala being doubtful, cried, "If this be the devil, I worship God." The general hearing him, could not refrain from smiling. The cutwal and his company fell flat on the ground, with their hands extended; afterwards rising, they said their prayers standing.

At their entrance into Calicut, De Gama and his attendants were conducted to another pagoda. The croud was so great to view the Portuguese, that they could not get on, but were obliged to take refuge in a house. Here they were joined by the cutwal's brother and many nayres; they proceeded from hence with trumpets and sackbuts sounding to the palace; the mob, from respect to the cutwal's brother, keeping back. The palace, although built of earth, was very large, and ornamented with a multitude of trees, standing in pleasant gardens.

The general was met at the entrance of the palace by several noblemen, and conducted through several courts, at the gate of each of which were ten porters. At the door of the house where the king was, they were met by a little old man, who was chief bramin or high-priest; he embraced the general, and conducted them in. Here the pressing began again, the natives endeavouring to get a sight of their king, whom they seldom see, and many of the people were hurt.

The place where the king gave audience was very large, surrounded with seats one above the other, like a theatre; the floor was covered with green velvet; the hangings were of silk of different colours. The king was lying on an estrado or seat of boards, covered with a cloth of white silk and gold, and a rich canopy over him. On his head he had a turban, rich with stones and pearls, and jewels in his ears. He wore a jacket of fine cotton; the buttons were pearl, and the holes gold. About his middle he had a white girdle, made of the same cotton, which reached down to his knees; his fingers and toes were full of rings, which were of very fine stones, set in gold; and on his arms and legs many bracelets of the same metal. Close to the estrado stood an  
ewer



ewer, which had a high foot of wrought gold : in this was the betel, which the king chews with salt and areca, a preserved apple, about the size of a nut. This is eaten throughout the Indies, to sweeten the breath, dry the stomach, and quench the thirst : when it is sufficiently chewed, they throw it out of their mouth, and take another. That the king may not swallow it, there is a vessel of gold for him to spit in, which stands on a gold foot. He has a gold fountain, full of water, to wash his mouth, when he has finished chewing his betel. This betel is given to him by an old man who stands close to the estrado ; all the others that are present cover their mouths with their left hands, lest their breath should be offensive to the king. It is thought great disrespect to spit or sneeze before him.

When the general arrived at the council-chamber, he made his compliments to the king, after the manner of the country, which is by bowing three times, and lifting up the hands. The king immediately made signs to him to draw near, and commanded him to sit down. Being seated, the rest of his men entered, and made the like obedience. The king also commanded them to sit down facing him : he ordered them water to wash their hands and refresh themselves ; for though it was winter they were very hot ; after which he commanded figs and other fruit to be brought them to eat, which they willingly accepted. The king was so much pleased at seeing them eat, that he laughed heartily. He took occasion to talk with the old man who administered the betel to him. In the mean time the Portuguese called for water, being thirsty. It was brought to them in a ewer of gold, and they were given to understand that they must hold the cup above their mouths, for the Malabars look on it as an injury to touch the vessel with their lips ; they therefore held it in the manner described ; but not being accustomed to that mode of drinking, part of the liquor ran down some of their throats and made them cough, others spilt it over them, at which the king seemed delighted.

Looking towards the captain-general, he spoke to him by an interpreter, desiring him to speak to those that were with him, and inform them of his pleasure, likewise to report theirs to him. The general was not satisfied with this behaviour, for he thought it a disgrace to him, and answered, by the interpreter, that he was the king of Portugal's ambassador, who was a great king ; and that the Christian princes did not receive their embassy by a third person, but by themselves, and before very few people, and those were of great credit ; that he had observed the same form in other countries from whence he came ; therefore he would not deliver his embassy to any but the king himself. The king approved of this, and immediately ordered the general and Francis Martin to be conducted into another chamber, which was equally adorned as the other. The king followed him, accompanied only by his interpreter, the chief bramin, and the old man who always gives the betel. As soon as he entered this chamber, he went to his estrado, and asked the general " from what part of the world he came, and what he would have ? " De Gama answered, " that he was an ambassador from a Christian king, of a kingdom called Portugal, besides many others, who was of great power, both in possessions and people, but much more in riches, beyond any king in those parts, and hath been so for the space of these sixty years ; and that his predecessors having had information of there being Christian kings and great princes in the Indies, particularly the king of Calicut, they had been induced to send their captains to discover the same, make friendship with the king of the country, and take him as a brother, which the king his master would now do, and to visit him by his ambassadors ;



not that he had any need of their riches, for in his own country he had gold and silver, and other things of great value, and more than he had occasion for. That the captains who had been sent on these discoveries had been gone a year or two, consumed all their victuals, and returned to Portugal, without finding what they sought for, and spent large sums of money in vain. But the king, don Emanuel, who then reigned, being desirous to make an end of the enterprise, had sent him thither; and that he might not want provisions, as the others had done, ordered him three ships, laden with stores, commanding him not to return to Portugal without discovering the king of the Christians, who is lord of Calicut; and if he should return without bringing him an account thereof, he would command his head to be cut off. He had further ordered, when he should arrive at the place where this king was, to deliver him two letters, (which he would present the next day, it being then too late): that he should also tell him he was his friend and brother, requesting him to accept of his kindred and friendship, as a return for sending so far to seek him; and desired he would send his ambassador, for the better preserving the same; and that henceforth they would visit each other by their ambassadors, as was the custom with Christian kings."

The king appeared well pleased with this message, and told the general he was very welcome: that since the king of Portugal would be his friend and brother, he would be the same to him, and would send his ambassador. This the general earnestly pressed, saying, that he durst not shew himself before the king his master without him; the king therefore promised it should be done. After this, he was desirous to know the whole estate of the king of Portugal; how far the country lay from Calicut, and how long he had been upon that voyage.

As part of the night was nearly passed, the king wished him to retire, first asking him whether he would sleep amongst the Moors or the Christians. De Gama answered, that he would sleep alone. The king then commanded a Moor, who was his factor, to accompany the general, and ordered that he should have whatever was necessary.

The general, on taking his leave, found that the catwal and others, who had accompanied him before, meant to do the same: they were obliged to go on foot, and there came so much rain, that the streets were in a flood; he was therefore under the necessity of commanding some of his men to carry him on their backs, not for the water only, but because it would be so late before he could arrive at his lodging. Four hours of the night having passed before they set out, the general was so angry, that he asked the king's factor, "whether he meant to carry him about the city all night?" Who answered, "that he could do no otherwise, for the city was large and scattered." He took him to his own house to rest, and afterwards offered him a horse; but there being no saddle, the general would not accept the offer, saying, he would rather go on foot to his lodgings, which he did, when those that accompanied him there left him: previous to his coming his men had brought thither his baggage. When the general had rested himself, he reflected with great joy on the good beginning of his business, and determined on the next day to send a present to the king. He knew that the factor and the cutwal must examine it, therefore sent for them to take a view of what he meant to send, which was four scarlet habits, six hats, four branches of coral, a parcel of brass of seven pieces, a chest of sugar, and two of honey. When the factor and cutwal had seen these parcels, they began to laugh, saying, this was nothing of a present for the king; that the poorest merchant which comes to this port gives him much more than that; and if they must needs send a present, to send him some



some gold, for the king would not accept any thing else. At this answer the general was much offended, and shewed himself so by saying, that "if he had been a merchant, and had come there to trade, he would have brought gold; but as he was sent by the king of Portugal on an embassy, he had brought none with him: the present he designed for the king of Calicut was his own goods, and not from the king his master, who was not certain he should find the king of Calicut, therefore gave him nothing to present him with: but when he returned and informed the king of Portugal that he had found him, he would send gold, silver, and other rich things." They answered, "it might be so; but it was the custom of that country, that whatever stranger came to speak with the king, he always sent him a present according to his rank." The general replied, "it was right to keep up this custom, and for the preservation of it, and not for the value of it, he offered this present, therefore desired they would suffer him to send it to the king, which, if they refused, he would put the things on board his ship again." They immediately answered, "that he might do so, for they should not be sent to the king by their consent." The general was very angry at this, and declared, since they would not permit this present to be sent, he would go himself and speak with the king, and then return to his ships. His intention was to inform the king what had passed concerning the present.

They seemed to approve of this, but said, as it would detain them some time at court, having business, it was necessary they should settle it before they went; that they would do it, and return immediately to conduct him to the king, who would not be pleased he should go without them as he was a stranger, particularly as there were many Moors in the city. The general giving credit to what they said, promised to wait their return. They did not come back that day; for knowing the Moors to be his enemies, they entered into a conspiracy with them against his fleet, having been informed of what he had done in Mozambique, of taking the sambuco in Melinda: that they were Christians, and that their coming was to discover Calicut. Bontaybo had also told the Moors that spices were held in great esteem in Portugal, and that he judged they were come not only to discover Calicut, but to settle a trade there, and to carry spices to their country, where there were merchants of all denominations who could come to Calicut by way of the streights: that having great store of gold and silver, the trade once settled would add greatly to the king's profit. The Moors listened attentively to Bontaybo's speech, and judged as he did, that if the Christians once settled a trade in Calicut, it would lower the price of their commodities, and consequently reduce their profit. They consulted together on this, and took all means in their power to prevail on the king to make the general prisoner; to take his ships, and destroy his men, to prevent their return to Portugal with information of Calicut. To effect this, they joined some of the king's favourites and went to him, and jointly intreated him not to be deceived by those men: that the general was no ambassador, but a pirate that came to rob them: that they were assured of it by the factors, who asserted, that when they were at Mozambique, the scheik went to visit the general on board his ship, and made him presents; establishing a friendship with him, and sent a pilot to conduct him to Calicut, where he said he was going. After this he fired on the town, killed some of his subjects, and took some sambucos with merchants on board, and treated both the scheik and his people like enemies: that from thence he went to Mombassa, and under the same appearance of friendship, said he was bound to Calicut; upon which the king went on board his ship and requested him to enter the harbour,

many



many ships laying there, he fled and left one of his anchors behind him. That the pilot which he brought from Mozambique ran away from him, on account of his ill-treatment: that going from thence he met with a sambuco with Moors on board, which he made prisoners of; that the Moors promised to procure him a pilot to take him to Calicut, if he would carry them to Melinda; that the king of Melinda received him well, but the general being conscious of the injuries he had done, would not land, and made the Moor, who the king had sent to visit him, a prisoner; nor would he deliver him up till the king had sent him a pilot, by whose means he reached Calicut: that it might be supposed if he was an ambassador, and came to maintain peace, he would not have committed such depredations, but would have brought the king a present. They were, they said, in duty bound to give this account of his behaviour, that the king might use his pleasure with him.

With this relation the king was amazed, and told the Moors he would consider what to do; but fearing he would not act as they would have him, they acquainted the cutwal, who they knew was in great favour with him, and requested him to persuade the king not to accept the embassy: the cutwal went immediately to the king, and advised him to do as the Moors requested. The king now began to entertain an ill opinion of the general, yet did not declare it; but when the cutwal informed the Moors that the general would have sent the king a present, they, pretending friendship, went to the general under pretence of giving him advice, telling him it was the custom for all strangers, who came to the king on business, to bring a present. De Gama shewed them what he intended to give, which they said was not a fit present for a king. Bontaybo said the same, and the general excused himself by saying, he was not certain of reaching Calicut.

De Gama was offended that the cutwal and factor did not return, and expressed his resentment when he saw them in the afternoon: they evaded this subject, and went with him to court, where the king made him wait three hours, and then would only admit two of his officers with him. The king received them with a severe countenance; told him he pretended to belong to a great and rich king, and yet had not brought any present.

The general made the same apology he had done before, adding, that in case he lived to carry back the news of the discovery, the king his master would send him a noble present. The samorin then demanded, "whether his master sent him to discover stones or men; if the latter, (adds he) why did he not send me a present? but, (says he) I hear you have an image called Saint Mary in gold." De Gama answered, "that the image was not of gold, but of wood gilt, and that he could not part with it, since it had preserved and brought him to that country." The king then asked for his credentials; one copy of which was in Portuguese, the other in Arabic. The general asked for a Christian interpreter, but none being found, he desired Bontaybo might read them, which he did. The purport thereof was, that as soon as it was known to the king of Portugal that the king of Calicut, one of the mightiest princes of all the Indies was a Christian, he was desirous to cultivate a trade and friendship with him for the conveniency of lading spices in his ports, for which, in exchange, the commodities of Portugal would be sent, or else gold and silver, in case his majesty chose the same, referring it to the general, his ambassador, to make a further report.

The samorin, whose interest it was to encourage merchants, seemed well pleased with the letter, and putting on a friendly countenance, began to make enquiries concerning



cerning the commodities of Portugal, of which De Gama gave him an account, acquainting him at the same time that he had brought samples of them all, to shew his majesty, if he would permit him to fetch them from on board, and to leave some of his men behind till he returned. The king said, there was no necessity for his men to stay, desired he would bring his merchandise on shore, and he should have the liberty to sell them to the best advantage; he then ordered the cutwal to attend him to his lodging.

The next day, being the last of May, the cutwal sent the general a horse, which being without furniture, De Gama would not use, but requested a litter: this was sent him, and in which he went to Pandarene, his men on foot, and many nayres bore him company. As soon as he was gone, the Moors applied to the cutwal with a large offer of money, to seize De Gama. The cutwal immediately followed, overtook the general, and inquired, by signs, what he ran away for? De Gama answered, to get out of the heat. They soon after reached the village of Pandarene, where the general stopped till his men came up, who did not arrive till the evening, having missed their way.

As soon as they came, the general asked the cutwal for a boat to go on board, who endeavoured to persuade him to stay till the morning. De Gama told him, if he did not immediately furnish him with a boat, he would return to the king, and complain of him. The cutwal answered, that if he wanted thirty boats he should have them; but would still advise him to stay till the morning. He then sent people out to seek for boats, but at the same time sent others to tell the owners to keep out of the way. De Gama being suspicious of some bad designs, sent three of his men along the shore to see if they could find Coello with his boat, and to tell him to be on his guard. The men and the cutwal's people departed about the same time; De Gama waited for them till about three hours of the night were passed, when he consented to stay on shore for that night. The cutwal conducted him to the house of a Moor, and then went away, pretending to go in search of De Gama's men, but did not return till morning. When he appeared, the general again demanded boats; but the cutwal and the nayres desired him to order the ship to be brought nearer the place. De Gama now began to fear some ill; however, he told them he would not. "Then" (says the cutwal) "you shall not go." At this De Gama was much offended, and answered, that if they would not let him go, he would return to Calicut, and complain to the king; but if his majesty thought fit to detain him, he would stay with pleasure. The cutwal seemingly advised him to go; yet still kept the door of his apartment guarded by armed nayres.

The cutwal's design in desiring the ships to be brought near shore, was to have an opportunity to board them; this De Gama and his men saw clearly, and therefore refused to consent. The cutwal then desired him to bring his sails and rudder on shore; a request which made De Gama laugh at him, and threaten to acquaint the king with his behaviour. Some time after the general complained of hunger, and requested that his men might be permitted to procure him some refreshment. This was also refused. The men now began to think their lives in danger. Soon after the three men De Gama had sent in search of Coello, returned, and informed him they had seen him; he was waiting in the boat. The general was much afraid the cutwal should know of this, for fear he should send men to seize the boats. By some means the person who brought this intelligence, got back, and informed Coello



in what situation the general and his men were; the latter therefore went directly on board. The cutwal soon after heard of his being near shore, and dispatched boats after, but could not overtake him. The cutwal once more requested the general to order his brother to bring the ships nearer shore. He replied, that if he were to issue such orders, neither his brother or the men would obey him.

At night the Portuguese were confined in a large yard, paved with brick, and walled round, and the guard was increased. The general suspected they designed to separate him from his men; however, he appeared unconcerned, and concluded the cutwal's design was to extort money from him. The latter, to cover any appearance of an ill design, came to sup with De Gama, and seemed surprised at his patience and constancy. The cutwal now began to fear he had gone too far, and the next day told him, that since he had promised the king to bring his merchandise on shore, he should command them to be brought, as it was the custom for all ships, as soon as they arrived at Calicut, to land both their goods and men, and the latter remained on shore until the cargo was sold; but he would favour him; and as soon as the goods were on shore, would permit him to return on board. The general put little confidence in this promise; however, he told him he would send for them, provided he would find almadias or pinnaces, for he was confident his brother would not permit the ships boats to come on shore.

The cutwal agreed to this proposal, in hopes of getting possession of the goods; and De Gama dispatched two men with a letter to his brother, informing him of his situation, and that although he was confined, he was not ill used: he directed him to send part of the cargo on shore; but in case he was detained after the goods came, he should conclude he was kept prisoner by direction of the king, in order to gain time for arming his own fleet to seize the ships; he therefore directed him, in case he was not released immediately as the goods were landed, that he should sail back to Portugal, and inform the king his master of what had passed, of what he (De Gama) had performed, and of the confidence he entertained that his majesty could send a fleet of ships and men to procure his release.

His brother, Paul de Gama, on receiving the letter, sent the goods, with a message to the general, that if he was not immediately released, he would force them to do it with his ordnance. The goods being landed, the cutwal set him free, and De Gama returned on board, leaving Diogo Dias and the secretary of the ship as factors. When he was once safe on board, he determined not to send any more goods on shore until the others were sold, nor to return on shore again. This was a great disappointment to the Moors, who now saw him out of their reach; they began, therefore, to undervalue the merchandise, and hinder the sale. Mean time the general directed his factor, Dias, to acquaint the king with his reasons for acting as he had done, and inform him of the injuries he had received both from the cutwal and the Moors; assuring him, however, that he and his fleet were still at his command.

The king seemed to be much offended, but did not punish the cutwal: he sent, however, some merchants of Guzerat to purchase the goods, and with them an honest nayre, to take care that no injury was done to the factors. The Guzerat merchants being in league with the Moors, did not buy any thing. The latter rejoiced at this, and as they dared not come any more to the factory on account of the nayre, they took every opportunity to insult the seamen when they came on shore, by spitting on the



the ground, and crying, "Portugal, Portugal." The men, by the general's orders, only laughed at them.

De Gama not being able to dispose of his goods, began to think there were no merchants in the place, and desired leave of the king to remove them to Calicut, which was granted, and the cutwal was ordered to see them removed, at the king's expence. The general, however, still kept his resolution not to return on shore, and Bontaybo, who often visited him, gave him the same advice, as the king was of a fickle disposition, and the Moors in great credit with him. De Gama had suspicions of Bontaybo, because he was a Moor; however, he always received him as a friend, and rewarded him for his advice, and intelligence he brought.

The goods being removed to Calicut, the general gave his men liberty, by turns, to go and see the city, and purchase what they thought proper: the men were received kindly by the Gentiles, and mutual good offices and exchanges passed between them. The natives, on the other hand, went daily on board the ships, to sell provisions, or out of curiosity, and were kindly entertained. De Gama ordered food to be given them; after which order, the ships were never clear of them, until the evening approached, when they were desired to go on shore.

Thus things went on until the beginning of August, which was the season to leave the coast. De Gama perceiving that every thing had been friendly for near three months, determined to leave the factor and secretary behind him, with such goods as remained. He therefore sent Dias, the factor, to the king, with a present of scarfs, silks, coral, and other things, with an excuse, that the presents were of no great value; and to assure him, that if he had any thing more valuable, he would have sent it. He was also directed to acquaint the king with the general's intention to depart, desiring, in case he was disposed to send an ambassador, that he might be immediately dispatched; also to notify his design of leaving a factor and the secretary at Calicut, to remain until the arrival of the next fleet from Portugal; requesting, as a token of respect, and as a proof of his having reached the Indies, that he would send the king, his master, a package of cinnamon, another of cloves, and some other spices, for which the factor should pay as soon as he received money.

The factor, Dias, was four days before he could obtain an audience; and when he did, the king, after looking on what he had brought, turned to him with a frowning countenance, and asked what he wanted. Dias was much alarmed, but delivered his message, and was going to offer the present, but the king would not look at it, and answered, that as the general wished to go, he might, but must first pay him six hundred sharafins as customs. Dias withdrew, accompanied by many nayres, who, as soon as he returned to the factory, placed themselves as guards at the door, and would not suffer any one to go out. After this a proclamation was published throughout the city, forbidding any one to go on board the fleet, under pain of death. However, Bontaybo ventured on board, and warned the captain not to venture himself, or any of his people, on shore, as he knew for certain, from some Moors, that the king would order their heads to be struck off: that the king's seeming kindness was all dissimulation, for the Moors had prepossessed him, that the Portuguese were pirates, who came there to seize such merchant ships as should come to the city, and that they would afterwards return with a fleet and invade the country. De Gama had received the same information from the Malabar Gentiles; and at night a negro slave, belonging to Diogo Dias, who was a Christian, and spake the Portuguese



guese tongue well, came on board, and told him what answer the king had made; what treatment he had given his present, that the above proclamation had been made, and that Diogo Dias and the secretary were in prison. Dias had bribed a fisherman to bring this messenger on board, under cover of the night. De Gama now resolved to stay and see an end of this business.

The next day, August 18th, there came only one boat on board, in which were four boys, who brought some valuable stones to sell. De Gama suspected them to be spies, but received them well, determining within himself to let these go, and seize some other persons of more consequence, to hold as a ransom for his own people. And in order to deceive the samorin, he wrote a letter to his factor, couched in such terms, as if he was ignorant of their imprisonment. This had the desired effect; the boys delivered the letter to the king, who sent other persons on board, with instructions not to inform De Gama of the imprisonment of his officers, with a view to deceive the Portuguese, until he should be able to equip a fleet, or until the ships from Mecca should arrive and take them.

The Malabars went on board, were well entertained, and suffered to depart, as they were not of consequence enough to detain. But on the Sunday following, six principal Malabars, with fifteen attendants, went on board; and believing he had now sufficient in his power to secure the redemption of his officers, De Gama seized and detained them all, except two seamen, whom he sent back with a letter, in which he demanded his factor and secretary to be delivered up; offering, on that condition, to release those he had in custody. The king, on the receipt thereof, ordered the factor and secretary to be brought to the house of his factor, that he might send for them from thence, under pretence that he was ignorant of their imprisonment.

The general finding they did not come, commanded his men to weigh anchor, and get under sail on Wednesday the 23d of August. The wind proving contrary, they were under the necessity of coming to anchor four leagues from Calicut, and to ride in the open road, where they remained till the Saturday following, in hopes of recovering the prisoners; but not perceiving any chance of that, they went so much out to sea, as to be almost out of sight of land, but were obliged to come again to anchor for want of wind. In the mean time there came a boat on board with Malabars, who informed the general that they were come in search of him, to tell him that Diogo Dias, with the other, were in the king's palace, and that he would the next day send them on board. The reason they did not bring them then was, that they thought they could not overtake the ship. The Malabars not seeing any of their own people who were prisoners to the general, supposed them dead. This message was sent with a view to detain De Gama till the king could procure some ships to join the Mecca ships, which were hourly expected. The general commanded the Malabars to return, and not come back to him without his men, or letters from them, for if they did, he would sink them; and if they did not return with an answer, he would cut off the heads of those which he had taken. Upon this they departed; and as soon as the wind would permit, he made sail, and running along the coast, came to anchor at sun set off Calicut.

The next day the men descried seven almadias, in one of which was Diogo Dias and the secretary; in the rest were many of the country people. None of them dared to enter the ships, but put Diogo Dias and the other into the ship's boat, which lay at the stern, and then went further off, waiting the general's answer. Diogo told him,



him, that as soon as the king knew he was gone, he sent for him from the factor's house, and appeared as if he knew nothing of his imprisonment, but asked him the reason why the general took his men and kept them prisoners. When he told him the cause, the king said he was right. He also enquired whether his factor had demanded any present, for it was not long ago since he had commanded one to be executed for taking bribes of foreign merchants. At last he desired him to tell the general to send him a stone, upon which there was a cross, and the royal arms of Portugal, which he promised to set up in the country; and also to know if he was willing to leave Diogo Dias as factor in Calicut. By the latter he sent a letter to the king of Portugal, which was written by Diogo Dias, and confirmed and signed by the king: this letter he sent with Alvaro de Braga. The general took the letter, which was written on a leaf of a palm-tree to this purport:

“ Vasco de Gama, a gentleman of your household, came to my country, which gave me great pleasure. In my country there is plenty of cinnamon, cloves, pepper, and precious stones. The things which I am desirous to have out of your country, are silver, gold, coral, and scarlet.”

The general knowing the king to be deceitful, did not put any faith in his promises, but sent him back such of the prisoners as were naves, and kept the rest till he could regain some merchandize which had been taken from him. He, however, sent him the stone, and with this answer dispatched the people who brought Diogo Dias on board.

The next day Bontaybo came on board, and told the general, that his coming from Calicut so suddenly, caused the king to command every thing he possessed to be taken from him, saying that he was a Christian, and that he came to Calicut as a spy, by the king of Portugal's orders. Bontaybo gave him some other information respecting the Moors. De Gama was well pleased to see him, offered to carry him to Portugal, and promised he should recover double what he lost by going, and also be well rewarded.

About ten o'clock there came three pinnaces, with men on board, to the general's ship, and on the seats and benches lay some scarfs, to appear as if they covered other merchandize. Four other boats came after them. The men in the first three boats told the general that they had brought all his merchandize, and would put it in his boats, and desired him to let them have the Malabars who were prisoners. The general perceiving they designed to deceive him, bid them go back, for he would not take the merchandize, but would carry the Malabars to Portugal as witnesses of his discovery, and would soon return to Calicut and let them know whether the Christians were pirates. He then commanded some pieces of ordnance to be fired, at which they ran away.

De Gama left Calicut, highly pleased with his success, but not wholly satisfied, as he left the king of Calicut at enmity with him; yet was in hopes, by means of the Malabars he had on board, to heal that breach.

On the Thursday after his departure, as they lay becalmed about a league from Calicut, they observed sixty tons or vessels full of soldiers, intended by the king of Calicut to take them. On seeing them approach, he ordered his ordnance to be fired on them, which, by repeating, was in all probability a means of saving him, for they pursued him an hour and an half. A sudden squall of wind and rain drove the general with his fleet to sea, and gave his enemies an opportunity to run away. He



He now steered along the coast for Melinda, and met with great calms. He thought it necessary, for the benefit of those who might come after him, to write to the king of Calicut, which he did by means of Bontaybo, in the Arabic language, craving pardon for carrying away the Malabars, and excused himself by saying, it was for no other purpose than to witness the discovery he had made: that he was sorry he had not fixed a factory in Calicut, but was fearful the Moors would kill him, which deterred him from landing; notwithstanding, he would always be at his command: that the king his master would rejoice at his friendship, and would send a fleet with great store of merchandise for the trade which should from henceforth commence in this city, and which would add greatly to the king's profit. This letter was given to one of the Malabars to carry on shore, and deliver to the king.

The general then pursued his course along the coast, and on the Thursday following fell in with some rocks, one of which was inhabited. Some pinnaces with men came on board, who brought fish and other victuals to sell. The general received them courteously, gave them shirts and other things, which they were glad to accept. He then asked them if they would permit a cross, with the royal arms of Portugal, to be erected, in token that the Portuguese were their friends. This was agreed to, and the place called Santa Maria.

As the night came on, and the wind began to blow off the shore, the fleet made sail and kept along the coast until the 19th, when they fell in with a high land, near which lay six small islands. Here De Gama came to anchor, and sent on shore for water. A young man met them, and asked if the commander was a Christian; and being answered in the affirmative, shewed them a spring of excellent water, issuing from between two rocks, for which they rewarded him with a red night cap. The next morning four others came on board in a boat, and brought some goards and cucumbers. They were asked by the general if there were any cinnamon or pepper in that country, and replied, that there was cinnamon only. Two of the ships company were sent to bring some on board, and returned with two green boughs of certain trees, which they thought to be from that tree, and said there was a large grove of it growing wild. At their return they brought with them about twenty natives, with hens, goards, and cows milk, to sell, and requested the general to let some of his men go on shore, and they should return with a good quantity of dried cinnamon, hogs, and hens. Notwithstanding this tempting offer, De Gama would not permit his men to land, for fear of treachery.

The next day some men going on shore to cut wood at some distance from the ships, fell in with two boats which lay near the shore. De Gama on hearing this, sent some of his men aloft to look out, who saw eight ships that were becalmed. On this intelligence he prepared to receive them, and when they came within two leagues of the fleet, he stood towards them. The enemy perceiving this, made towards the shore. In their flight, the rudder of one of them breaking, the crew took to their boats, and Coello made prize of the vessel, containing nothing but cocoas and molasses, which latter is a kind of sugar made from the palm or date-trees, and some arms, as bows, arrows, swords, spears, and targets. The other seven ran aground, and as the Portuguese ships could not come near them in that situation, they pursued in their boats, and drove the people from on board them. The next day seven men came on board in an almadia, and told De Gama that those ships were of Calicut, and fitted out by the king to take him. This they had learned from the fugitives.

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This information hastened De Gama's departure, and he steered to the Afandina, or Anchédive island, a short distance from where he was, and where he was informed he might water. This island is small, and not more than a league from the land. There are many woods in it, and two conduits of free-stone with excellent water, arising from springs; one of which is six feet deep. The adjacent seas are well furnished with fish. Before the Moors traded to India, the island was inhabited by Gentiles, in which were many good buildings, particularly some pagodas; but when the former came thither from the Red Sea, they called there for wood and water, and abused the inhabitants so much, that they were obliged to quit their habitations. Before their departure they destroyed their pagoda, leaving only one chapel standing; but their veneration for that was so great, that the Gentiles of the continent, subject to the king of Narfingas, often repair thither to pay their devotions to three black stones which lay in the middle of the chapel.

This island, and four others which lay round it, are called Afandina, which, in the Malabar language, means the five islands. Coello went on shore, and found this a proper place to careen the ships, which the general and captains resolved to perform. The ship Berrio was first laid on the ground. While they were employed on her, many people came to sell them provisions, and two brigantines made their appearance, with flags flying, drums beating, and trumpets sounding: they had many men at the oar; five others appeared in shore. The Malabars bid De Gama beware of them, as they were rovers, and plundered all they could. De Gama might have taken them, had he permitted them to come close, but as soon as they were within gun shot, he played his ordnance upon them from the two ships which were on float, on which they gave a loud shout, crying out, "Tambarane, Tambarane," that is, God, God, and fled. Coello pursued in his boat so far, that the general called him back by a signal.

The next day, while the general and his men were on shore, two boats, called paroas, came in with twelve men on board, who seemed of some consequence: they brought a bundle of sugar-cane as a present, and as soon as they had delivered the same, they asked leave to go on board to see the ships. De Gama suspecting they were spies, appeared offended at their request; and while they were conversing, two other paroas, with the like number of men, made their appearance, and finding the general angry, they all went away.

The Berrio being ready, the general's ship was brought a-ground. One day, a person came in a paroa: he was about forty years of age, not a native of the country, as appeared by his dress, which was a sabaco of fine cotton, a turban on his head, which covered a part of his face, and a scymetar at his girdle. As soon as he landed, he ran to embrace the general and the other captains, as familiarly as if he had known them, telling them he was a Christian, born in Italy, and brought into this country when a child; that he lived with a noble Moor, called Sabayo, who was lord of a certain island, called Goa, lying about twelve leagues distant, and who had forty thousand horsemen within the said island. He said, that as he lived among the Moors he observed their law, but was in his heart a Christian; and that he heard at Sabayo's house that some strange men had come by sea to Calicut, whose language none understood, and whose bodies were covered with cloaths. That on hearing this, he knew them to be Franks, (a name by which all Christians are called in that country) was desirous to see them, and obtained leave of Sabayo so to do, who had sent word, that  
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if there was any thing in his country of which they stood in need, they should have it; and if they would come and dwell there, he would amply provide for them.

De Gama enquired particularly concerning Sabayo's country; but the stranger desiring to be furnished with a cheese to send to his companion, who was on the continent, as a token of his being well received, De Gama began to suspect him, however, he gave the cheese, which he sent to his companion. This person was continually talking; his conversation raised further suspicion, and Paul de Gama asked some of the natives who he was? they replied, he was a pirate, and that he had attacked many ships that had been laid on shore there. The general being informed of this, ordered him to be carried on board and whipped, till he confessed what his design was in coming there, and whether he was a Moor or a Christian. He said, he was a Christian, but denied the charges against him. This whipping not bringing him to confession, De Gama punished him in a more cruel manner; he hung him up by the private parts, and hoisted him up and down by a pulley. This had the desired effect; he confessed himself a spy, sent to discover how many men the general had with him, and what weapons: that there were many atalayas, or boats, in every creek and bay ready to attack him, but which waited the arrival of forty other vessels, which were preparing to join them, but could not say when these vessels would arrive. The general ordered him into custody, and determined to carry him to Portugal, telling him at the same time, he would not treat him as a captive, but carry him to the king his master, to give him information of India, for which he would be rewarded.

As De Gama had received this intelligence, he hastened his departure. He was offered for the ship he had taken a thousand fanons, which he refused, and ordered her to be burned. He departed as soon as his ship was ready on the 5th of October, standing out to sea. When they were about two hundred leagues from the land, the Moor said, he would now tell the truth, that he did belong to the lord of Goa, who had received information that the Portuguese were wandering in the Indian seas without knowing where they were; that Sabayo had prepared a fleet, and had sent him to persuade De Gama to come to Goa, where he designed to have attacked him, and have made the Portuguese prisoners, and as he heard they were brave, to employ them against his neighbours. On this frank confession, the general treated him with more kindness, and gave him apparel and money. He afterwards became a Christian, and was called Gaspar de la Gama.

During the passage to Melinda, where they were to stop to take in an ambassador, the fleet met with continual storms and contrary winds during the first part of the passage; afterwards with calms, attended with excessive heat; and when the wind freshened, it was contrary for them: all together kept them so long at sea, that they were short of water, and the commander was obliged to put them to allowance. These circumstances combining, the people began to fall sick, being attacked in the same manner they were at the river of Good Signs, their gums, arms, legs, and other parts of their bodies, were swelled, by a pestilent humour, which brought on a lassitude; and thirty died of this disorder. The mortality threw the whole crew almost into despair; they entreated the general to take the advantage of the wind and return to Calicut, or some other port of India, and take their chance of what might befall them. De Gama endeavoured to appease their murmurs, by telling them, they would soon experience a change of wind; but as they had now been at sea four months, they did  
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not believe him. At this time their numbers were so reduced, that they had not sixteen persons in each ship capable of duty, and some of them were infected with the same disease. The discontent on board the fleet became so general, that, it is said, Paul de Gama and Coello had determined to sail back.

But on a sudden the wind changed, a fresh gale sprung up, and in sixteen days they made land, on the 2d of February; on sight whereof, they forgot all their troubles and dangers. They fell in with the land so close, that they were obliged to stand off until the morning, as no one on board knew what place they had fallen in with. When day appeared, they stood in again, and had sight of a very fine city, walled round, with lofty houses, and a large palace; all which they could clearly see from the ship. The city is called Magadoxo, one hundred and thirteen leagues from Melinda. As De Gama knew this city was inhabited by Moors, he sailed by it, firing his ordnance; and to avoid running past Melinda, he lay too in the night.

On Saturday, February 5th, they came off a village of the Moors, named Pate, about one hundred and three leagues from Melinda: from whence came eight boats, called terradas, full of soldiers, and made towards the fleet; some pieces of ordnance were fired at them, and they ran away. On the Monday following they arrived at Melinda, and immediately received a present of fresh provisions, and a message from the king, expressing his joy at their arrival. The general sent an answer, and another present, by his interpreters. As many of his men were sick, whom he was desirous to get cured, he remained here five days, in which time many of them died. Here he procured leave from the king to set up a stone mark, in token of friendship: and having provided himself with provisions, sailed from thence on the 17th of February, having on board an ambassador from the king of Melinda to the king of Portugal.

As De Gama found he had not men enough surviving to govern the whole squadron, by the advice of his captains, they determined to burn the Saint Raphael: they made choice of her to be destroyed, as her seams were all open, owing to her not having been brought on the ground and careened. They determined also to do this on the shoals of Saint Raphael, where they arrived on the Sunday following. They spent five days in taking out her provisions and stores, during which time, they were supplied with poultry from a village called Targata. Having effected this, the general taking his brother on board his own ship, they proceeded; and on the 20th of February, he came to the island of Zenzibar, which lies in five degrees south, not far from the continent. This island is very large, and has two others near it, the one called Pomba, and the other Mofya: they are very fertile; have groves of large trees, which produce good fruit. The Moors who inhabit them are slight made people, and have few arms, but are very well clothed in a fine cotton, which they buy at Mombassa of the merchants of Cambaya. The women have great store of jewels and gold from Sofala, and silver from the island of St. Lawrence, where they carry their provisions, in little boats, to sell. Each of these islands has a king, who observes the Mahomedan laws, as do the subjects.

As soon as the king of Zenzibar heard that the general was arrived, he sent him several presents of the produce of the country, requesting his friendship, to which De Gama consented. He sailed from thence on the 1st of March, and came to anchor before the island of St. George, in Mozambique; the next day sent on shore a stone mark, to be erected on the island, where he heard mass, and departed without



having any communication with the people of Mozambique. March 1st, he anchored at Saint Blas, where he took in water, and a provision of flesh, sea wolves, and solticaroes, salted for sea store. They sailed, and on the 20th doubled the Cape of Good Hope, the people all healthy and strong. They had a fair wind for twenty days, until they judged themselves to be only about one hundred leagues from Saint Jago, one of the Cape de Verde islands; the wind came contrary, and not being able to get an observation, by rainy weather, they stood in for the continent, and founded in twenty-five fathom, and soon after in twenty, but did not see land: the pilots judged they had fallen in with the shoals of the Rio Grande. As they stood for Saint Jago, Nicolas Coello took an opportunity to leave the general in the night, and steered for A. D. 1499. Portugal. He arrived at Cascais on the 10th of July, and carried the king the joyful news of the discovery of the passage to India.

De Gama arrived at Saint Jago, and as his brother was in a bad state of health, as his ship made but little way, and was very leaky, he hired a caravella to carry him to Portugal, leaving John de Sala as captain to refit the ship, and bring her to Portugal. He embarked in the caravella with his brother, whose illness increased so much at sea that they run for the island of Tercera, in order to land him, where he died and was buried. De Gama then put to sea, and arrived at Belem in September, having been out two years and two months, bringing back only fifty-five men of the one hundred and seventy that embarked.

De Gama having returned thanks to God for his safe arrival, was conducted to Lisbon by several noblemen and gentlemen sent by the king to meet him, and attended by a vast concourse of people. The king received him honourably, conferred the honour of knighthood upon him, gave him the royal arms of Portugal, and settled a pension upon him of three hundred reis per annum, out of the revenues of the village of Sinis. He also promised him the lordship of the said village, being the place of his birth; and until he could put him in possession of the said lordship, he was to be allowed a thousand crowns a year, which was in due time made good: he had also a privilege granted him, that after the trade of India should be settled, he should import the value of two hundred ducats in spices, free of duty. Coello was made a gentleman of the king's household, and rewarded with good possessions. The king also added to his own titles that of the lord of the conquest and navigation of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and the Indians.

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Oforio has preserved several particulars of the voyage which the former historian has omitted, and differs from them in others. He describes, in pathetic terms, the emotions of the relations and friends of those who embarked in De Gama's fleet.

Many of those who came to see them aboard were deeply concerned, and expressed their sorrow, as if they had been come to the funeral of their friends. "Behold (said they) the cursed effects of avarice and ambition! What greater punishment could be devised for these men, if guilty of the blackest crimes? To be thrown upon the merciless ocean, to encounter all the dangers of such a voyage, and venture their lives in a thousand shapes. Would it not be more eligible to suffer death at home, than be buried in the deep at such a distance from their native country?" These, and many other things, did their fears suggest. But De Gama, though he



he shed some tears at his departure from his friends, was full of hope, and went aboard with great alacrity. He sailed on the 9th of July, 1497. Those who stood on the shore, followed the ships with their eyes; nor did they move from thence till the fleet was under full sail, and quite out of sight."

The dispute between the Portuguese and natives at the Bay of Saint Helena he thus relates: "This friendly intercourse was, however, not of a long standing, being broke off by the indiscretion of a Portuguese, who, having contracted a great intimacy with the natives, desired liberty to go along with some of them to their houses. They conducted him on shore with great complaisance, and in their way killed a sea-calf, which they intended, as an elegant entertainment for their new guest. This dish, when served up, was so much against the stomach of the squeamish Portuguese, that he got up, and wanted to be gone; nor did they oppose his abrupt departure, but accompanied him with the greatest good humour. He doubted, however, whether they attended him by way of honour, or led him as a victim to be sacrificed; his fear made things appear in the worst light; therefore, when he came near to the ships, he called aloud for help, as if he had been led captive. Our men came immediately to his assistance, which frightened the Ethiopians, who fled to the woods, where their arms were deposited: there they concealed themselves; for now they looked upon the Portuguese as invaders come to destroy them. The arms which they used were spears headed with sharp pieces of horn; these being whirled round, and thrown with great dexterity, wound as deep as the sharpest javelin. In the mean while, Gama, with some of the officers, had come on shore, to take the altitude of the sun with an astrolabe. Whilst they were busied in this manner, without the least apprehension of danger, those who had retired to the woods, of a sudden sallied out from their lurking places, attacked them with great fury, and wounded several, amongst whom was the admiral himself, who received a wound in the foot. Our men were obliged to retreat, which they effected sooner than was expected."

Respecting the passage round the Cape of Good Hope, he gives the following particulars: "In this part of the voyage De Gama gave the greatest proofs of his resolution, which was often put to the most severe trial. The waves were like mountains in height; the winds boisterous and piercing cold; the storms frightful in themselves, were rendered still more so by an almost continual darkness, which prevails in these parts at that time of the year. In short, every thing appeared most dismal and horrid, especially to those who had never been in these seas. They expected every moment to be swallowed up in the deep. Now the ships seemed to be raised to the heavens, then to be sunk to the lowest abyss. Being unable to proceed further, they were obliged to tack, and humour the winds, so as to keep the way they had already made; and thus to wait the issue of the storm. When there happened to be a calm at any time, then the men, half-dead with fear, came round Gama, begging he would not suffer himself, as well as those committed to his charge, to lose their lives by so horrid a death. They said, they could no longer weather the storm, but must certainly be all buried in the waves, if he went any farther, and did not steer homewards. The admiral with great firmness refused their request; for this reason, there was a conspiracy formed against him. This he was informed of by his brother Paul, and guarded against it with the utmost precaution: he put all the pilots in chains, and he himself, with some others, performed that office. At last, however, when he had for a considerable time resolutely withstood the dangers of the storm,



and a wicked machination, the weather took a turn, and he quickly made the Cape of Good Hope, which all our ships doubled on the 20th of November."

To the information received at Mozambique, he adds the following: "They said there was on this coast, a country that De Gama had passed by, called Zofala, which abounded in gold; and, lastly, they informed the admiral how far that place was from Calicut. This account added greatly to the spirits of our people, who, with uplifted hands, began to return thanks to God, thinking their labours now almost at an end.

"This island is situated in that part of Africa formerly called Agefimba, in sixteen degrees south latitude. The inhabitants are black, and the country, on account of its marshes, is very unwholesome. Their houses are made of clay, and thatched with straw; yet, for the convenience of traffic, ships come hither from all quarters. The Arabs, at that time, had the most power and wealth in this island. They use small gallies not fastened with nails, but long round pegs driven through holes made for that purpose; they caulk the seams with ropes made of palm leaves. The palm trees are of a great height, covered with long prickly leaves; the broad spreading boughs afford an agreeable shade, and bear nuts of a great size, called cocoas.

"The Arabs, at that time, knew the use of the compass, and had sea charts and maps, wherein the situation of countries were laid down with great accuracy: nor were they without quadrants, with which they took the altitude of the sun, and the latitude of places. In short, so great was their skill in these arts, that they seemed to be very little inferior to the Portuguese pilots, in knowledge of maritime affairs."

Osorio gives the following account of De Gama's spirited conduct when he quitted the ship, to wait on the king of Calicut. "The admiral, in the mean time, gave the command of the ships to his brother Paul; to whom, as well as to Nicolas Coello, he left orders, that if he happened to meet with any misfortune when on shore, they should give themselves no concern about his safety, but sail directly homewards, to give an account of their new navigation; since it would be highly unreasonable, that by making a fruitless attempt to save him, they should run the risque of being all destroyed, and thus lose the fruits of such vast fatigue. He said, that in order to accomplish the purpose for which he was sent into those parts, he could not avoid having an interview with the king of Calicut; nor did he make the least scruple of sacrificing his life for the service of his king and country."

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De Barros says, that king Emanuel appointed De Gama to be captain-general of this expedition, not only from the great confidence he had in him, but also as he was the son of Estevam de Gama, who had been nominated to the same employ in the time of king John, but died before it was put in execution. That after the arrival of Bartholomew Dias from the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, he had orders to build ships for this purpose, and to equip them as soon as possible, building them larger than usual, to be able to withstand the seas beyond the Cape of Good Hope, of which the seamen had formed notions similar to those they entertained of the seas beyond Cape Bojador before they had been explored.

When the king delivered De Gama the ensign of silk, with a cross on it, the latter took an oath thereon that he would obey all the instructions he received; that he would under that banner run every risk, and defend it to the last drop of his blood; that he would do every thing in his power for the honour of his king and country, and



and be faithful to the trust reposed in him. He then received letters from the king to such other kings and princes as he might think necessary to deliver; such as Prester John, the king of Calicut, &c. of whom the king had information.

De Gama coming to Lisbon the beginning of July, prepared every thing for the expedition, without considering the proper season for sailing, being totally ignorant of that precaution which future experience hath shewn to be necessary; all he thought of, was getting to sea. The number of officers and sailors who went on this expedition, was one hundred and seventy. Barros calls the captain of the tender Gonfalo Numez, and says Joam de Coimbra was pilot, and Joam de Sa secretary of the Saint Raphael; Pero Escolar pilot, and Alvaro de Brava secretary of the Berrio; and Pedro d'Alanquer pilot, and Diogo Dias, brother to Bartholomew, secretary of the admiral's ship.

At the Bay of Saint Helena, De Gama went on shore to take an observation, which (says De Barros) had only of late been practised by means of the astrolabe, for from the continual motion of the vessel, they were fearful of depending on their observations made at sea. He adds the following account of the invention of the astrolabe: "This astrolabe was made of wood, of only three spans diameter, which they raised on a stand of three feet, the better to ascertain the solar line, and fix the latitude. They had also some of these instruments made of brass, but very small. The first use was made of them by the Portuguese navigators." He observes, "that now the navigators trust themselves out at sea, nothing could be so serviceable as making these observations; for while they only reckoned how many miles the vessels made an hour, after having lost sight of land, they found themselves much deceived by currents and other incidents. But as necessity is the mother of invention, and of all arts, king John II. gave it in charge to master Rodrigo and master Josepe, a Jew, both his physicians, and to one Martin de Boemia, a native of that country, who had studied under Joanne de Monte Regio, a famous astronomer, and these found out the method of navigating by taking the altitude of the sun, and formed tables for that purpose, and recommended these large astrolabes to be made use of."

De Barros also relates the affair at Saint Helena bay somewhat different from Castagneda and Osorio. He says De Gama returned to his ship, but left Coello to take care and guard the men that were employed in cutting wood and catching lobsters, of which there were great plenty. Paul de Gama, not to be idle, seeing many young whales about the ships, got into his boat and struck one, which had nearly destroyed him and his people, but getting into shoal water, he ran a-ground, which saved them; and the day being near the close, all the boats that were out were returning to the vessels. Vasco de Gama at that time looking towards the shore, saw Fernam Veloso, who had gone with the blacks, making great haste to the sea side. He made a signal for Coello's boat to return to take him in, but before they did it, two blacks endeavoured to hinder him, and a scuffle ensued, in which the blacks were wounded: they soon discovered more that had hid themselves; they began their attack on the boat with stones and arrows, and Vasco de Gama coming to their assistance, was wounded by an arrow in the leg, as were three more. Finding nothing would appease them, he ordered the boats to make the best of their way to the ships, and give them a salute with the guns, to shew them the power he had to chastise them. Veloso, in this excursion, saw nothing worth relating, for they only walked him about, and brought



brought him back again, with a design to get more men in their possession. On the third day after he left Saint Helena Bay, he passed Cape Boa Esperanea with less bad weather than they expected, for they had heard there were always storms to be met with there.

Aguada de St. Blas, or the watering place, he says is seventy leagues beyond it. They found there blacks with woolley hair, from whom they purchased sheep, but never could buy any of their cows without horns, which they perceived among them very fat and sleek, on which the women rode. Vasco de Gama remained three days there, and had much intercourse with the inhabitants, who sung, danced, and played upon a kind of shepherd's pipe, which was pleasing; but he was forced to sail, as some disputes arose in the traffic about cattle; however, they followed the ship till she again came to anchor, and being very numerous, and rather inclined to hostilities, Vasco de Gama ordered a few guns to be fired, not to hurt, but merely to fright them. Going about two leagues further, he took all the provisions and men out of the tender, and set her on fire. Having left this place three days after, on St. Lucia's day, he was overtaken by a most dreadful storm, and for three days was obliged to run under bare poles. Being the first storm they experienced in those seas, they were so frightened, that they could hardly do any thing but pray. They were carried as far as the Flat Islands, five leagues beyond De la Cruz, and there the currents had such an effect on them, that what way they gained at one time, they lost at another. On Christmas-day they passed a coast, which they called Natal: on twelfth day they entered the river, which some call the Copper River, or Cobre, from the traffic they had with the blacks; exchanging copper, bracelets, ivory, and provisions, with the natives, who were so friendly, that Martin Afonso got leave from the captain to go to one of their towns. Vasco de Gama called this place Aguada da Boa Paz, or the peaceable watering place. After this, he kept more from the land, and in the night he passed the cape which is now called Corrientes; and as he perceived a strong current driving towards the shore, as soon as he had passed it, he kept out to sea, for fear of being carried into some bay, which he might find very difficult to get out of: this made him pass by Sofala, so much celebrated, from whence the Moors get a great deal of gold; but seeing, about fifty leagues beyond it, some boats with palm sails enter a large river; he steered for it, and found amongst the inhabitants, a different species of people from the blacks, which much revived their spirits. They supposed them a mixture of Moors and blacks, as they were tawny\*, and could speak some words of Arabic, which Fernam Martin, one of the sailors, understood, but the native language was not intelligible; however, they appeared to have some communication with the Moors, in the same manner as the Jalof blacks have with the Moors of Barbary. The greatest part had blue cotton cloaths on, and some silk caps about their heads, of different colours. De Gama learned from them, that towards the rising of the sun, there were white people, who navigated in vessels like theirs, which often appeared off their coast. This gave him great spirits, and he named this river Rio de Bons Sinaes, that is, the River of Good Signs; and finding the people very friendly, he careened his ships, during which time many of his people fell sick, and some died: their complaints were the erisipelas, and a swelling of the gums, to such a degree, that when they cut them, it was like cutting dead flesh:

\* Castagneda calls them black.

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they learnt afterwards, it proceeded from their eating salt provisions and decayed biscuit. They had like to have met with two terrible accidents while there; one was, Vasco de Gama being in a boat, and having laid hold of the chains on the side of his brother's ship, to speak to him, the current was so strong as to carry the boat from under him and his men, but by timely assistance they were saved: the other was, this vessel getting on shore on a bank, when they were leaving the river: they had given her up for lost, but fortunately the waters rising, she was got off.

Proceeding on their voyage, always within sight of land, in five days he came to an inhabited country, and anchored near some islands about a league and half from the town, which are now called St. George. Vasco de Gama placed there a stone mark. He saw three boats coming towards them, with palm sails and oars, and as they approached, found the people in them were white, with turbans about their heads, and cloathed with cotton cloth, like the Moors of Africa, singing and playing, which gave infinite pleasure. In one of these boats, when close to the vessels, a person, well dressed, got up and spoke in Arabic; enquired who they were, and what they wanted? Fernam Martins, the linguist, answered, they were vassals to the king of Portugal; and as to their business, they would let him know as soon as they had told them who they were.

The Moor who spoke to them was from the kingdom of Fez. Finding they were not Turks, as he first thought, he seemed much pleased, and acquainted them that their city was called Mozambique; that it was governed by a scheik, or chief, called Cacaoja; that it was his custom, as soon as he saw any vessel come into his port, to send to enquire what they wanted. If to trade with him, he was ready to do it: if they were bound on any other voyage, he was ready to supply them with every thing they might want. De Gama answered, that he came there in his way to India, to transact some business by order of the king his master, and principally with the king of Calicut; and as he had never before been that voyage, begged he would tell his chief, that he would be much obliged to him if he would let him have a pilot for those seas; that he would pay him well. As to trade, he had brought no goods for that purpose, only a few things to exchange for provisions; all the rest were presents to be given to kings and princes that might receive them hospitably; and as he hoped he was now in a friendly port, he meant to make the scheik a present of some few things, to shew what they had in their country. The Moor offered himself to carry any thing he thought proper, deliver any message to the scheik, and that he had not a doubt but he might have pilots for his purpose, there being many in the town. Accordingly he sent the presents of sweet-meats by him, and also gave him a red cap for himself.

The Moor set off with the presents for the scheik, and seemed much pleased. The Portuguese were also greatly elated to find that they were now likely to reach India, which they had so long anxiously sought. De Gama joined in keeping up the spirits of his people, yet had a suspicion of the Moor, who, as he came from Fez, must be well acquainted with the name of the Portuguese, the weight of whose arms his countrymen have often felt. The Moor, to cloak his design, returned soon, and said the scheik was highly pleased with the present, and to find who they were; and in return, had sent some refreshments, and wished him to come nearer the city. Coello having had the misfortune to beat off his rudder, they anchored off the town, which was low, surrounded by the sea, and all the country flat and swampy, which made it very unwholesome. The inhabitants were Moors, who had come from on board ships that had made it a place of resort in their passages to Quiloa and Sofala; for  
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the land in itself produces little, and the original natives are black, with woolly heads, who chiefly live upon the continent. This place, however, is now much used for a place of resort, and particularly for the Portuguese, whose India ships often winter there, although, from the unhealthiness of the climate, they bury many men there; but it is situated so as to be of great use; for as the land stretches out into the sea, it forms a good land-mark. Here also, if the wind comes contrary, they put in and winter.

De Gama, the next day, sent his secretary with the Moor, and a present to the schiek, which operated so well, that many boats came off to the ships, brought provisions, and seemed pleased with the traffic.

Ten days Vasco remained there, waiting for a fair wind, made peace with the schiek, placed a stone mark on the island of St. George, and raised an altar at the foot of it when mass was performed.

Among the Moors that came to sell provisions, there were three abexifs from the country of Prester John, who, although following the errors of the Moorish religion, by being brought up amongst them, were children of Christians, though not according to the Roman church. These seeing the angel Gabriel painted on one of the ships, fell on their knees, as in their country many of the images of angels still existed. De Gama hearing of their being from the land of the celebrated Prester John, immediately had them brought to him, and by means of Fernam Martins, his linguist, asked them (in Arabic) many questions; but he did not understand the interpreter, nor he them, except a few words. The Moors finding de Gama take so much notice of these men, hurried them away, and carried them ashore, almost by force, nor could he ever get sight of them again. He applied to the schiek for the pilots he had promised him, who were sent; and having agreed with them for a certain sum, they wished to have the money before hand, to leave with their wives and families, which De Gama consented to, on condition that one of them should always remain on board. Two days elapsing, the ships boats went on shore for wood and water, which were brought by the natives to the water side; and having loaded the boats, as they were coming towards the ships, seven sambucos, or vessels, full of men, came and attacked them with their arrows. The Portuguese being provided with arms, returned the compliment, and beat them off. No boat or vessel of theirs appeared after. De Gama finding the peace broken, consulted his captains, and they determined to make the best of their way to India, having only one of the pilots, though the weather was not very favourable, to avoid greater danger. The first four days the currents run so exceedingly rapid, that they found themselves driven back again within five leagues of Cape Mozambique; and by the information of the pilot, they would have no winds to carry them on till the new moon; he returned, therefore, to the island of St. George, but would have no communication with the inhabitants. After remaining seven days, he determined to take more water with him, and the pilot agreed to shew them by night where they could easily get it; but he carried them from one place to another without success; his real intention was to give them the slip: they were obliged to send their boats, well armed, to get it, and in this expedition a black swam away by day. De Gama and he went with force to the town, to demand him and the pilot. The Moors had got together about two thousand men, and sheltered themselves behind some wood and earth thrown up. He made signs of peace to them. The Moor that had at the first carried the messages to the schiek came on board. De Gama made heavy complaints



complaints of the usage he had received, and said it was in his power to do them much mischief; but only desired he might have back the pilot and the black. This Moor said he would go and speak to the scheik; and on his return said, that the scheik made heavy complaints; that his people intended no harm when the boats came near to their ships; that they were only in jest; and that the Portuguese had killed and wounded their men, and sunk one of their boats with a valuable cargo, for which he expected reparation; and as to the pilots and black, he knew nothing of them; they were strangers in his country; that having once sent him them upon the good faith of his being what he had represented himself, he now found they were vagabonds, and going from port to port, pillaging the natives; and he would have nothing more to do with them. The moment he retired, they begun to throw their arrows at our boats, and came near, forgetting what they had before experienced; but as soon as the Portuguese fired, they all ran behind the island, where they had their boats ready to carry them to the continent: however, one of their boats was taken, laden with cloaths, in which was an old Moor and two blacks; the rest of the crew got away by swimming.

The town being thus deserted, De Gama had it in his power totally to destroy it, but he only wanted to recover the pilot he had lost. On his getting on board, he learnt from the Moor the reason for all this behaviour; he informed him that Sofala gold and spices were their traffic, and that from thence to Calicut was a month's voyage, as he had heard; and that the two blacks he had taken could tell him where water was to be had in plenty. Accordingly they were sent in the night for it, and got it with much trouble.

The scheik fearing bad consequences, to make peace with De Gama, sent him back the negro, and a pilot, in the room of those which had run away. De Gama having thus secured what he was most in need of, sailed the following day. This pilot made several attempts to mislead the Portuguese, as related by Castagneda. However, they safely reached the city of Mombassa. This city is almost surrounded by the water, so as to appear an island, and is so hid, that unless the ships had steered directly for it, they would not have seen it.

De Gama mistrusting the pilot, anchored at a distance. Some people came on board from the king, and offered him whatever he wanted, but on condition he brought his ships into the harbour. This he consented to, and requested a pilot for that purpose, who was sent him. Notwithstanding every precaution was taken to keep this man and the Moorish pilot from having communication with each other, yet the latter found means to acquaint the former with what had passed. With the people who came on board, De Gama sent two of his men, (as mentioned by Castagneda) but De Barros says, those who accompanied them took care they should see as little as possible, and they could only report the king's message.

The third day he prepared to enter the port; many boats came off with people well dressed, and players upon instruments. De Gama, however, agreed with his captains that not above twelve of the inhabitants should come on board at one time. Great joy was expressed on all sides, at the command being given to loose the sails; the Portuguese thinking they had now an opportunity of being at rest among civilized people, and the Moors, on the other side, thought they would soon have them in their power.

In going in, De Gama's vessel could not bring her main sail to fill, and falling off, was near running on a shoal. Exertions being made to carry out an anchor, the



Moors concluded that the pilot had been discovered, and jumped into their boats in the greatest confusion, from every ship. De Gama seeing this, determined to get away as fast as possible, and sailed the next day. The day after he took a sambuco with Moors on board, and from them he learned that the king of Melinda was a good man, and would give him pilots to India, and there were three ships in the harbour that came from thence. They all separately agreed in the same story. De Gama found none of them were pilots; if he had taken one person that knew any thing of India, he would have proceeded without further delay, these Moors informing him it was not above seven hundred leagues distant.

On Easter-day they came to Melinda, and De Gama sent one of the Moors and one of his criminals with a message to the king, to inform him who they were, their destination, and that they had taken the vessel to procure a pilot, and hoped he would let him have one. The king sent two of his people to inform De Gama he should have pilots, and whatever his country afforded; and also his friendship, in token of which he sent him a gold ring.

During De Gama's stay he was visited by many inhabitants, and others who were there on business; among them some Moors from Cambaia, in vessels from that part of the world, and with them some religious men, called Banians; people who follow the sect of Pythagoras, never kill any kind of animal, nor eat any flesh. These men having entered De Gama's cabin, saw an image of the virgin, and observing the Portuguese pay respect to it, they also in a very particular manner paid their adoration, and the next day brought offerings of spices, &c. From this the Portuguese concluded that Christianity had made its way to India, as among these people was one Vamed Malemo Cana, from Guzerat, who offered himself as a pilot. This man soon made himself much esteemed, and shewed De Gama a chart of all the coast of India, drawn in their manner with meridians and parallels, very small, without any division of the winds; for by the squaring of those meridians and parallels, the coast was very certainly laid down, both from north to south, and east and west, without the multiplication of the winds, as in common charts. De Gama having shewn him his large wooden astrolabe, and the others of metal, by which he took the height of the sun, he was not surprised at them, as some of the pilots in the Red Sea used instruments of brass in a triangular form, and quadrants, to take the height of the sun, and principally of the stars, by which they navigated their vessels: but as to the navigators of Cambaia, and other parts of India, they sailed by the north and south stars, and other signs in the eastern and western hemisphere; nor did they take their distances by such instruments, but by one he brought with him, which was made of three boards. They make use of this instrument in the same manner the Portuguese do an instrument called Balhestillha. De Gama gained great information from this man.

Having left a stone-mark, called Sancto Esperito, in the town, which he told the inhabitants was as a memorial for the peace settled between them, he sailed the 24th of April, and having crossed that great gulph of seven hundred leagues in twenty-four days, without any hinderance, the first land he stopt at was below the city of Calicut. Some fishermen conducted him to the city, and this being the end of his intended voyage, the king had given him letters to the king of Calicut, and appointed him ambassador. This was on the 20th of May, the beginning of the winter in those parts. They found but few ships in the port, and the vessels of Calicut were laid



laid up in the creeks and rivers, covered with palm leaves, as customary in that country. The inhabitants were surprised to see the Portuguese at such an unreasonable time, and knew they must be strangers. As soon as De Gama brought his vessels to anchor, he sent on shore the Moorish pilot and a criminal, notifying to the king his arrival, and that he had a particular message to deliver to him, and begged to know when it would be agreeable to him, as he should not go on shore till he had his permission. With the pilot came another the king had sent, a pilot of Camorin, who brought a message from the king, that he was glad to hear of his arrival, and that he had sent this pilot to carry his vessels to a safe place, on account of the danger of the winter. De Gama was much satisfied to have his vessels placed in safety, and told the pilot he was ready to obey him; accordingly his vessels were carried to a place called Capocate; but during the time they were waiting for the return of the pilot, when first they came into port, some of the king's officers, collectors of duties, came on board, and also a Moor, called Moncaide, who was a broker, and known to their pilot; he could talk Spanish, and was of infinite service to De Gama, as he gave him information of every thing, and prevented many dangers: and having given orders for his brother and Coello to take care of the ships, on receiving a message from the samorin, he went to pay him a visit. De Barros says while he was there, he had every day reason to apprehend some treachery, and made his brother acquainted with his suspicions, to put him on his guard, for the Moors were not their friends, and were taking every step to set the native Indians against them. The cutwal, when he found an opportunity, told the samorin that by what he could learn, he had great reason to think De Gama and his people were pirates; that they made it a custom to commit outrages in foreign parts, as they were not able to live in their own country; and as for their embassy, and the letters they brought, these were all fictitious, and made by themselves; that it was not consistent for a king of the Franks to send an embassy to such a distance, out of a pretended friendship, when their religion and belief were so opposite: that what they had told them of the riches of their country must be false, for the presents they had made him were so paltry, the lowest merchant could not have done less; and that if they intended to have purchased spices, they would have brought goods sufficient for that purpose, which was not the case. Besides, he was running a risk of displeasing the Moors, who were established in the trade of his country, and would find themselves much hurt, if any people that lived at the end of the world, and under the necessity of making a two year's voyage, should meet with any countenance; and would give displeasure to the vessels from Mecca, Juda, Adam, Ormuz, and other places, from which the whole of the commerce of his kingdom was carried on. He said he informed him of all these things, thinking it his duty, having heard the complaints of the Moors already, and that he had better consult other cutwals. The king, or samorin, having heard these things, though a prudent man, and had flattered himself with considerable advantages that he was to reap from these new visitors, and their intended trade, yet he gave way to the remonstrances that had been made to him, and began to think of taking proper steps on the occasion, which in the end turned to the advantage of the Portuguese, by hurrying them away before the large ships from Mecca arrived; however, the samorin determining to be satisfied as much as lay in his power, sent for Vasco De Gama, and told him the doubts that had arisen about them: that if they were really people driven out from their own country, he was ready to assist them all in his power; and



and was proceeding, when De Gama interrupted him, and said it was very natural that such suspicions should arise, from seeing strangers in every respect so different from themselves, and coming by seas never till then explored; but from what he had informed him, it was the desire of purchasing spices, and extending the trade of his country, that brought him there; for men, arms, horses, gold, silver, silks, and a thousand other things, were in such plenty in his country, that they had no necessity to go abroad for them, and at such a distance as India was; but after having explored so many leagues on the coast of Africa as his king, and his predecessors had done, it was not to be wondered at that he should continue searching out new countries, and particularly to seek the friendship of the king of Calicut, whose fame had long reached his ears.

In the subsequent circumstances of this voyage, De Barros agrees almost intirely with the other authors.

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Ramusio has preserved a short account of this voyage, written, as he says, by an Italian gentleman, who was at Lisbon when the ships arrived. There seems to be little authenticity in it, and indeed nothing more than what he might collect by hearsay; we shall therefore decline giving any extracts from it; but as every thing which concerns this celebrated voyage is important, we shall conclude with Maffei's account of the honours bestowed on De Gama on his return.

“Don Vasco de Gama, as soon as he arrived at Lisbon, went to spend a week in devotion at the hermitage of our lady, built by the infante don Henry, and where he had offered up his prayers to God for the success of his voyage at the time of his departure. Thither the king sent several persons of distinction to compliment him in his name; after which he made his public entry into Lisbon, with all the pomp and ceremony of a sovereign prince; illuminations, bonfires, and every other testimony of public joy, being expressed on his return. Besides these honourable marks of favour, the king granted him more solid evidences of his gratitude and esteem, by augmenting his coat of arms with part of those of Portugal; declared him admiral of the Indies; added to that a perpetual rent charge of one thousand crowns out of his exchequer, with a permission to invest two hundred thousand crowns in every cargo sent to the East Indies, and some time after created him count of Vidigueira\*.”

Thus we have attended the Portuguese navigators to the end of the fifteenth century. There was only one voyage more, that of Cabral, which was commenced in the last year of this century; but as the greatest part of it was performed in the next, we shall postpone it until we come to treat of the voyages of that period.

\* *Historia Indica.*



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B O O K II.

S P A N I S H V O Y A G E S,

I N T H E

F I F T E E N T H C E N T U R Y.

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C H A P T E R I.

*Voyages to, and conquest of the Canary Islands. Manners and customs of the ancient inhabitants.*

**H**AVING thus pursued the Portuguese navigators until they obtained the object of their desire, a passage by sea to the East Indies, we must now turn our attention to another side, and view the Spaniards, with the same intention, succeeding even beyond their wishes, and discovering a new world.

But before we proceed to a detail of these important discoveries, we must first take a view of a prior acquisition of the Spaniards, in which we shall behold a brave, but unfortunate people, struggling for many years against the exertions of a nation possessed of discipline and resources.

The Canary Islands were the first acquisition to the westward made by the Spaniards. Their discovery we have already touched upon, book i. chap. iv. The account of their conquest, and of the manners and customs of their ancient inhabitants, we shall now extract from the translation of a Spanish manuscript, written in the year 1362, in the island of Palma, by John de Abreu de Gallineo, a Franciscan friar, and native of Andalusia in Spain, because it seems to us the most complete account we have. This manuscript lay a long time in obscurity in the island of Palma, and was sent as a present to the bishop in the island of Canaria. Captain Glass, when in those islands, procured a copy, and translated it. It contains a series of voyages, made either from Spain to the Canaries, or from one island to another, during the time the natives were opposing the invaders.



We have already mentioned Betancour's obtaining a grant of them from Henry III. king of Castile; one Gadifer de la Sala, a man of considerable fortune, having the same passion for seeing foreign countries, soon agreed with John de Betancour to go with him in quest of the Fortunate Islands, much talked of at that time in Europe. In order to prosecute their design, they sold some of their lands, and mortgaged others, by which they raised money sufficient to equip a small fleet, well provided with skilful mariners, pilots, and some people as interpreters.

This fleet consisted of three ships, containing two hundred persons, exclusive of the seamen: among that number were many young gentlemen of Normandy, several of whom were relations of John de Betancour. On the first of May A.D. 1400. they set sail, and proceeded on the voyage, without any thing of consequence happening to them until they arrived at the islands. The first they saw was Lancerota, which name was then given to it by John de Betancour, probably in honour of some person of his acquaintance. When he landed his men, the natives gathered together in a body to defend themselves, imagining that these strangers were come to plunder and carry them off, as others had done before: but observing the French to be well armed, and keeping together, they were afraid to attack them, but retired into the country, and left them at liberty to encamp in a convenient place; for the natives had nothing to oppose them with but sticks and stones, these being their only weapons. But finding the French remain some days in the same place, without following or attempting to molest them, they began to take courage; some of them ventured into the camp, who were well treated, allowed to take whatever they chose, and to come in and go out whenever they pleased. This removed all their fears, insomuch, that when the French began to build a fort, the natives cheerfully assisted them. This fort was built at the port of Rubicon.

The ready obedience and quiet behaviour of the natives gave great satisfaction. They now determined to pass over to the next island, separated from Lancerota by a channel of two leagues in breadth; and leaving an officer and some men in the port of Rubicon; they landed at Valtarrahala, in the island of Fuertaventura, then called by the French Fortuite. The inhabitants gathered in great numbers to oppose them, being men of a more warlike spirit than those of Lancerota, stronger, and of a larger size; which the French perceiving, and considering what a handful of people they had to attack such a multitude with, thought proper to reembark, and set sail, and taking a view of some of the islands, they returned to Lancerota, where they consulted what was next to be done; and considering how few people they had, it was determined that Gadifer de la Sala should return to France, to bring over supplies of men, &c. Accordingly he went, but died a few days after his arrival in France. When this was known to Betancour, he found himself deprived of his expected succours, and without money or friends in France, which determined him to embark for Spain, where he arrived, and applied to his uncle Rubin de Bracamonte, and other relations there, for assistance to prosecute his design: but his chief patron and intercessor with the king of

Castile was the infante don Ferdinando, afterwards king of Arragon, A.D. 1403. by whose means he procured a grant of the Canary Islands, with the title of king. He went to Seville, and equipped a fleet, well provided with men and necessaries, for the conquest of these islands, the king supplying him with money to defray the charge of that armament.

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These two islands, Lancerota and Fuertaventura, as well as the others, were divided into two portions, each of which was governed by its own lord or captain, and separated by a wall of loose stones, crossing the island from the sea. The inhabitants of these quarters held their respective chiefs in great esteem; were of a humane, social, and chearful disposition, very fond of singing and dancing. Their music was vocal, accompanied with a noise they made by clapping their hands and beating with their feet. They were very nimble, and took great delight in leaping and jumping, which were their principal diversions: two men took a staff or pole, which they held by the ends, and lifted as high above their heads as they could reach, keeping it parallel with the ground; and he who could leap over it, was accounted to be very dexterous.

There is a sepulchre at the foot of a mountain in Lancerota, called the Mountain of Thorns, nineteen English feet and ten inches in length, where a person named Mahan was buried. Duels and combats were frequent among them; to these they went armed with sticks of a yard and an half long, which they called Tezzezes. They had this law or custom, that if a man entered in by the door of his enemy's house, and killed him, or did him harm, he was not punished; but if he came upon him unawares and killed him, then the captain or chief, before whom the cause was examined, ordered him to be put to death. The manner of executing a criminal was, they placed his head upon a flat stone, and with another dashed out his brains: his children were afterwards held as infamous. They were excellent swimmers; and used to kill the fish on their sea-coasts with sticks. The houses were built of stone, without cement; notwithstanding which they were strong: the entry was made so narrow that but one person could go in at a time. They had also houses of worship and devotion, which they call Efeguen; these were round, composed of two walls, one within the other, with a space between; and were, as well as their dwelling-houses, built of loose stones, strong, and having a narrow entry. In these temples they offered to their god (for they worshipped only one) milk and butter. They sacrificed to him on the mountains, pouring out from earthen vessels, offerings of goats milk, and adoring him at the same time by lifting their hands toward the heavens.

The habit of the natives of Lancerota was made of goats skins, sewed together and fashioned like a cloak, with a hood to it. It reached to the knees. The seams were closed in a very neat manner with thongs of leather, which were as fine as common thread. They cut and prepared those thongs with sharp flints or stones, instead of knives or scissars. Their shoes were of goats skins, the hairy side outward. They wore bonnets made of goats skins, having three large feathers stuck in the front; the women wore the same, with a fillet of leather, dyed red with the bark of some shrubs.

They had long hair, and wore their beards plaited. The king of the island wore a diadem or crown like a bishop's mitre, made of goats leather, and adorned with sea shells. When they were sick, which seldom happened, they cured themselves with the herbs which grew in the country; and when they had acute pains, they scarified the part affected with sharp stones, or burned it with fire, and then anointed it with goats butter. Our author says, that in his time earthen vessels of this butter were found interred in the ground, having been put there formerly by the women, who it seems were the makers, and took that method to preserve it for medicine. When any one died, they buried him in a cave, stretching out the body, and laying



goats skins under and above it. Their food was barley meal roasted, and goats flesh, boiled and roasted; also butter and milk. They ate their victuals out of vessels made of clay, and hardened by the heat of the sun. Their method of obtaining fire, was by taking a stick of dry, hard, thorny wood, which they caused to turn rapidly round on the point, within a soft, dry, spongy thistle, and so set it on fire: this method has been used there to this day.

When they sowed their ground with barley, (which was their only grain) they dug or turned it up with goats horns. They threshed their barley with sticks, and winnowed it with their hands; then ground it in an hand-mill, made of two stones, nearly the same sort of mills now used in some remote parts of Europe.

The natives of Fuertaventura were cloathed with jackets made of sheep skins, the sleeves short, and reaching no farther than their elbows. They wore also short breeches, that left the knees bare; and short hose or stockings, that reached little higher than the calf of the leg. On their feet they wore the same sort of shoes as the natives of Lancerota. They wore high caps on their heads, made of goat skins. The hair of their heads and beards they dressed after the fashion that prevailed among the natives of Lancerota.

In the island of Fuertaventura, says our author, there lived two women who held a correspondence with the devil, the one called Tibiatin, and the other Tamonante, who were mother and daughter: the business of the one was to settle and compose differences that might arise among the chiefs of the island, and that of the other to regulate their ceremonies. The natives pretend that these women used to foretel future events.

There were in this island, at the time of the conquest, four thousand fighting men. It is said that when John de Betancour and Gadifer de la Sala came in quest of these islands, the then king of Lancerota, who was named Guadarfia, was descended from an European, who had been driven by a tempest on this island.

When Betancour embarked for Spain, he left a garrison in Lancerota, commanded by William de Betancour, who behaved towards the king and natives in such a licentious and cruel manner, that they were at last, for their own defence, obliged to take up arms against him. They laid an ambush, and killed several of the French, among whom was William de Betancour; the rest who survived, made their escape into the fort of Rubicon, where they were so closely blocked up by the natives, that they were reduced by famine to the last extremity. In this situation were the affairs of Lancerota when John de Betancour arrived there; who, as before related, had left the court of Castile, and went to Cadiz, where he procured some vessels, which he fitted out for a second expedition to the Canary Islands: the fame of this armament drew to Cadiz many adventurers from different parts, so that he soon procured his complement of men.

The fleet set sail from Seville, and, after a quick and agreeable passage, anchored at the port of Rubicon, where all the troops disembarked. Upon their landing, the natives made their complaint to John de Betancour against the garrison, and excused the violence they had committed, as having been compelled thereto by the tyrannical and cruel usage received from William de Betancour and his people. John de Betancour enquired into the cause of the difference, found that the French had been the aggressors, and therefore pardoned king Guadarfia, and promised to leave him and the



the natives in the full enjoyment of their lands, houses, cattle, and liberty. Upon this declaration the natives laid down their arms, and cheerfully submitted to his government.

Several priests came over in this fleet from Seville, in order to convert the islanders: they were greatly respected by the natives, many of whom they converted, and baptized in the church which was then built at Rubicon, named the Invocation of St. Marcial. The first among the natives who received baptism, was king Guadarfia. Betancour allowed him for his subsistence the house and lands of the deceased Quonzamas. A short time after, all the natives were baptized. Betancour now made a partition of the lands among the French and Spanish adventurers that came over with him.

Every thing being now settled on a proper footing in Lancerota, Betancour thought it high time to set about the conquest of Fuertaventura. As the inhabitants were so numerous and valiant, he collected together all his forces, consisting of French and Spaniards, besides many of the natives of Lancerota, whom he armed after the European manner. His new recruits served him with cheerfulness and fidelity; for the islanders found in him a father rather than a conqueror. Embarking his troops on board five ships, he set sail, and arrived at Fuertaventura in the month A. D. 1405. of June, and landed his people in a bay called Valtarrahala. At that time the two kings of the island, Ajose and Guise, were at variance with each other, on account of the pasturage. He who commanded in that part of the island where Betancour landed, immediately on his arrival gathered all the forces of his district together, and advanced to give battle; but the Europeans found means to come to a parley with them, and by the advice of the two women before mentioned, they were prevailed on to lay down their arms, and Ajose coming up, Betancour embraced him, and treated him with every mark of friendship. By this behaviour he won his confidence, and at length prevailed on him to embrace the Romish religion. Guise, the king of the other part of the island, seeing the good treatment which Betancour gave those who submitted to him, and that he desired only to make converts, submitted to him also, having been advised to do so by Tibiatin and Tamonante. Being moreover assured by Betancour, that if he would embrace the Romish faith, he should remain in the full enjoyment of his liberty, and in the peaceable possession of his lands and effects, he received baptism. The examples of the two kings of Fuertaventura had such an effect on the natives, that they all came, submitted to the Europeans, and were soon after baptized.

It is a tradition among the inhabitants of Fuertaventura, that the natives believed Tibiatin and Tamonante to have been sent from heaven to instruct them, to foretell future events, and to cause them to live in peace and unanimity with each other. It was by the assistance of those women that the Europeans made so easy a conquest of that large and populous island; of which when Betancour had thus taken possession, he built two forts, the one at Valtarrahala, where he first landed, and another which he named Richiorche; both of which he garrisoned with his own people.

By the intreaty of the Castilians, and some of his seamen who had been in Barbary, Betancour was prevailed on to make a voyage thither, as the coast is but eighteen leagues distant from the south-east part of Fuertaventura; and being provided with sufficient shipping, &c. he crossed over to that shore, and landed at a place called

Medanos,



Medanos, where he took prisoners several Moors, of both sexes, to the number of seventy, without the loss of a man on his side: the natives of that part of Africa living at that time in a careless and defenceless manner, not thinking it possible for any one to come from the sea to disturb or molest them. Betancour and his men brought their booty safe to Lancerota, and from thence sent their prisoners to Spain, where they were sold for slaves.

After the enterprize on the coast of Barbary, Betancour, being desirous of bringing the island of Canaria into subjection, sailed thither with two ships, and anchored at a place called Anganagen, where he landed all the forces, and marched up the country in good order, and with great precaution, lest they should be surpris'd. This was a necessary measure, as appeared afterwards; for the natives, seeing such a number of armed men on their island, immediately gave the alarm to each other, and assembled in great numbers, headed by a king or captain, named Artemis, and fell upon the Europeans with great fury and resolution, with stones and darts, which they threw by hand with amazing dexterity, and with such velocity as to exceed the motion of those thrown from slings or bows. Besides these weapons, they had sticks or poles, whose ends were hardened by fire, and sharpened, which they used as spears. Betancour and his men defended themselves with the greatest courage; but the attack they had to sustain was so rude, and the natives pressed so furiously on them, that the Europeans were at length obliged to give way, and retreated in good order to the sea shore: but the natives gathering on every side, to the number of five thousand, pursued them so closely, that Betancour, finding it in vain to attempt the conquest of the place with such an handful of men, against a multitude of well-armed and valiant inhabitants, reembarked with his troops, under favour of the night, in the best manner he could, leaving the field to his enemies, who, nevertheless, bought their victory dear, having their king Artemis, with many others, killed.

From Anganagen the fleet sailed for the island of Palma; but not being able to effect a landing, it was determin'd to return to Canaria, to try their fortune once more, and retrieve the honour they had lost: but on their arrival, they found those people assembled in vast numbers to oppose them, which made them sail back to Fuertaventura. It was on this expedition that Betancour gave the epithet of Grand (or Great) to the island of Canaria, which it retains to this day.

He remained some time in Fuertaventura, to refresh his men, and cure them of their wounds. After his unsuccessful attempt on Canaria, he could not pretend to try his fortune again there, for want of more soldiers; but he determin'd to make an attempt on some other island. To this end he took with him all the men that could be spared from his garrisons of Lancerota and Fuertaventura, and sailed to the island of Gomera, where he landed without opposition, which surpris'd him greatly, and made him apprehensive of an ambuscade; he therefore marched slowly up the country, with the greatest precaution. Soon after he perceived the natives approach in a disorderly manner, without any sign of hostility, but, on the contrary, with an appearance of mirth and joy; however, they came armed, which greatly perplexed him, and made him still more apprehensive of danger, till they drew very near to him, when some of them accosted the Europeans in the Spanish tongue, which amazed and agreeably surpris'd them. Both parties now began to converse in a  
very



very friendly manner, and the Europeans were most courteously entertained. This behaviour of the Gomerans, the fertility of their island, the goodness of the climate, and its excellent harbour, induced Betancour to spend some time in it, in order to refresh his people. During his stay the natives gave a cordial invitation to the newcomers to take up their residence among them. This invitation was readily acceded by Betancour, who thereupon made a division of lands among his followers, and determined to fix his residence for the remainder of his life in Gomera.

The cause of this kind reception which the Europeans met with from the natives, and by what means some of the latter so well understood and spoke the Spanish language, is thus accounted for: About thirty years before the arrival of Betancour, some Spanish vessels came to Gomera, commanded by one don Ferdinando. The natives attacked the Spaniards, but were defeated, and the king's brother lost his life in the encounter. After this don Ferdinando marched inland; but as soon as Amalvige, the king, heard of the invasion of the island by strangers, and of the death of his brother, he gathered the natives together, and gave battle to the Spaniards, who were defeated, and pursued into a place which had only one narrow entry, so that they could not retire but by throwing themselves over the steep cliffs that surrounded them, the islanders having blocked up the passage by which they entered with felled trees, and guarded it so closely, that the Spaniards were compelled to remain there two days without meat or drink. At last don Ferdinando found means to come to a parley with Amalvige, in which he so effectually wrought on that prince's compassionate disposition, that he ordered the passage to be cleared, and conducted the strangers to his residence, where he entertained them with great hospitality, giving them provisions and whatever else he could afford. When don Ferdinando returned to his ships, he made several presents to Amalvige, consisting of swords, shields, and other warlike accoutrements, which were held in great esteem by the natives: he then took leave of his benefactor and sailed away. It is said, that before he departed, Amalvige was converted, and baptized, with many of his people; and when the Spaniards were going away, the king begged of their commander that he would leave some person to instruct them in their new doctrine; upon which he left a priest, and promised to return soon himself. The priest did not long survive; however, by his good behaviour, in that short space of time, he greatly won the affections of the natives, and baptized many of them. This accounts for Betancour's good reception. Who don Ferdinando was, cannot for a certainty be determined.

Gomera undoubtedly bore that name before the arrival of Betancour, which it still retains. The natives were of a lively disposition, of a middle stature, very active, dexterous in attacking and defending, and excellent slingers of stones and darts, it being the common amusement with the young people to cast small stones and darts at one another; to avoid which they seldom moved their feet, but only waved their bodies; and they used to catch in their hands the stones and the arrows as they flew. As they grew up to manhood, they threw them out of slings. In their combats they used sticks or poles of hard wood, with the ends sharpened. They have had several men renowned for valour amongst them, whose fame still exists in their songs.

The clothing of the Gomerans was a sort of cloak, made of goat skins, which reached down to the calf of the leg; but the women wore a petticoat, and a head-dress that hung down to their shoulders, made of goat skins, dyed and curiously painted.



painted: the red dye they extracted from the root of a tree which they called Taginaste, and the blue dye from an herb which they called Pastil: all between the head-dress and the petticoat was left bare. When the men had any quarrel which was to be decided by combat, they laid aside their cloaks, tied a kind of bandage about their waists, and bound their foreheads with a sort of painted turban. Their shoes were made of hog skins.

When Betancour came to Gomera, he found it divided into four parts, upon the death of king Amalvige; each division governed by a chief or captain. Those chiefs had frequent quarrels among themselves concerning the limits of their respective districts.

Betancour, after settling affairs in Gomera, sailed to the island of Hierro or Ferro, and anchored in the harbour. When the natives perceived the ships approaching with their white sails, they remembered the prophecy of a man who had formerly lived among them, named Yore, and who was reckoned a soothsayer or diviner; this man, on his death-bed, called the natives together, and told them that after his death, when his flesh should be consumed, and his bones mouldered to dust, their god Eraoranzan would come to them in white houses on the water; and advised them not to resist or fly from him, but to adore him, because he was to come to do them good. The natives, who placed great faith in his predictions, buried him in a place apart from the rest of their dead, that his bones might afterwards be distinguished from theirs. Now seeing the ships approach with their white sails swelling on the surface of the waves, they firmly believed the prophecy was fulfilled, and went to the cave where Yore was buried, and there found his bones crumbled to dust; upon which they ran joyfully to the shore to receive their god Eraoranzan.

When Betancour anchored, he took great care in landing his men, for fear of being overpowered by the islanders, who were crowding to the water side; but finding that they were unarmed, and shewed no signs of hostility, he approached them, and was received with every demonstration of joy and friendship: the natives conducted the Europeans to their houses, and treated them with the best of every thing. Betancour having thus got footing in Hierro, gave thanks to God for his success, and that no blood had been spilt on the occasion. He staid there some days to refresh his people, and then returned to Fuertaventura, after leaving in Hierro a garrison, under the command of one Lazaro, a Biscayner, to whom he gave a strict charge to behave to the natives with indulgence, and to use all possible means to instruct them in the faith.

The name of this island, before the arrival of Betancour, was Efero, which signifies, in the language of its ancient inhabitants, Strong: when the Spaniards shewed them iron, they called it Efero; and afterwards, when they began to speak the Castilian language, they called iron indifferently by the name of Efero, or Hierro, which last is the Spanish word for that metal; so that they at last translated the real name of the island Efero, into the Spanish one Hierro, which it retains to this day. But the Portuguese and some others, following their own dialect, call it Ferro: and some will have it, that the natives called it Fer; though there is no proof for this assertion.

The natives of Hierro were of a middle stature, and melancholy turn of mind; their songs on grave subjects, and set to slow plaintive tunes, to which they danced in a ring, joining hands together, and now and then jumping up in pairs so equally, that



that they seemed to be united: this manner of dancing is still used. They dwelt in large circular inclosures, the walls of dry stone, without cement, each inclosure having one narrow entry: on the inside they placed poles or spars against the wall, in such a manner that one end rested on the top of the wall, and the other on the ground, at a considerable distance from the bottom of it; these they covered with branches of trees, fern, &c. Each inclosure contained about twenty families. A parcel of fern, upon which they spread goat skins, was their bed; and for coverings they used goat skins dressed; the island being very mountainous, and consequently exposed to the wind and cold.

Before they offered their children the breast, they gave them fern-roots roasted, bruised, and mixed with butter; but now they give them instead of it, flour and barley-meal, roasted and mixed with bruised cheese. Their food was the flesh of goats, sheep, and hogs; they had also some roots which the Spaniards call Batatas. As for grain, they had none: their bread was made of fern-roots; this, with milk and butter, made the chief part of their diet. Their common drink was water.

Their cloaths were made of the skins of beasts; the dress worn by the men was a cloak made of three sheep skins sewed together: in winter they wore the woolly side next their bodies, and in summer turned it outwards. The women, besides the cloak, wore a petticoat down to the middle of their legs. In sewing these skins they used thongs as threads; for needles they used small bones sharpened. They wore nothing on their heads, and their long hair was made up into a number of small plaits. Their shoes were made of the raw skins of goats or sheep; some of those of hogs.

They lived all under one king, consequently never had occasion to go to war, nor had they any warlike weapon: they used indeed to carry long poles; but these were only to assist them in travelling the country, which is very rocky, so as frequently to oblige them to leap from one stone to another by the help of these poles. Each man had but one wife; they had no rules in their marriages, except that a man should not marry his mother or sister: indeed they were all, except the king, upon an equality in that respect; the only distinction among them was in their substance, which consisted in flocks. It was customary for the man, when he chose a wife, to make a present of cattle to her father, according to his ability, as an acknowledgment. The king received no stipulated tribute, but every one made him a present according to his wealth or pleasure. When they made a feast, they killed one or two very fat lambs, according to the number of the guests, and roasted them whole; these they placed on the ground, sitting in a circle round them, and never rose till they had eaten the whole: these kind of feasts are still kept up among their descendants. When any one fell sick, they rubbed the patient's body all over with sheep's marrow and butter, covering him well up to promote a perspiration: but if a man happened to be cut or wounded, they burned the part affected, and then anointed it with butter.

They interred their dead in caves; and if the deceased was wealthy, they buried him in his cloaths, and put a board at his feet, with the pole which he used to travel with at his side; then closed the cave's mouth with stones, to prevent the ravens from devouring him. They inflicted no punishments but for the crimes of murder and theft: the murderer was put to death in the same manner as he had killed the deceased. As to the punishment for theft, for the first offence they put out one of the eyes, and for the second the other; that he might not see to steal any more. There was a particular person set apart to perform the office of executioner on these occasions.



occasions. They adored two deities, one of them male, and the other female: the male was named Eraoranzan, worshipped by the men; the other Moneyba, worshipped by the women. They had no representations of these deities, nor did they sacrifice to them, but only prayed in their necessities. The natives feigned, that when their gods were inclined to do them good, they came to the island, and posted themselves on two great stones or rocks, which are in a place they called Ventayca, but is now named los Antillos de los Antiguos; there they received the petitions, and afterwards returned into heaven. In the winter season, when, by a long continuance of dry weather, they were reduced to great necessity, and found their prayers were not answered, they assembled together in Ventayca with their cattle, and there held a fast for three days and as many nights, weeping and lamenting, their flocks also making a noise for want of food; if all this did not produce rain, they sent a man, who was esteemed by them as a saint, to a cave called Atecheita, where he invoked the gods to send a mediator; upon which, as they said, an animal like a pig appeared to him, called Aranjaibo, or mediator; the saint put the animal under his cloak, and carried it to the natives assembled at Ventayca: then they walked in procession, with their flocks, round the two fore-mentioned rocks, lamenting and wailing as they went. When the Hierrians were first converted, they invoked Jesus Christ and the virgin Mary by the names of Eraoranzan and Moneyba.

Lazaro, the officer left to command in Hierro, and his soldiers, behaved most insolently to the natives, using indecent freedoms with their wives and daughters, and even taking them away by force, which caused the most considerable villages to revolt: upon which Lazaro went to the principal of them, to treat with them; but a young man, one of the natives, who probably had been injured by him, leaped upon him, and stabbed him in several places with a knife till he died; and this so suddenly, that his soldiers had not time to assist him. When this affair was known to Betancour, he sent another governor, with power to enquire into the cause of the revolt, and to punish the offenders. When he arrived there, he found that the revolt had been owing entirely to the licentious behaviour of Lazaro and his men; upon which he beheaded two of the officers, and hanged three of the common men, who were the most active in the disturbance. The natives seeing how strictly justice was administered under the direction of Betancour, willingly returned to their subjection to the Europeans.

The four islands, Lancerota, Fuertaventura, Gomera, and Hierro, being now conquered, the natives converted, and order established among them, Betancour, after taking some repose, began to think seriously of retrieving his honour  
A. D. 1406. at Canaria; accordingly in November he mustered all his forces, embarked with them, and sailed for Canaria: but fearing his ships might be descried by the natives of that island, he avoided approaching the coast till evening, and under favour of the night, he anchored in the port of Gando, disembarked his men silently, placed some in ambush, and prepared for an attack by day break. However, the Canarians having, since the first invasion of their island, kept a constant look-out for an enemy; and ships may be seen from the tops of the high mountains of Canaria at a great distance. He found his schemes all frustrated; for, the evening before, the natives had discovered his fleet, and were prepared to give those disturbers a warm reception: accordingly, when the Europeans disembarked  
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in the night, they watched all their motions, unperceived by them; and after having formed counter ambuscades, they gave a great shout, as a signal for the attack, and fell suddenly upon Betancour and his men with such impetuosity, that they were put to the rout, great numbers being killed and wounded. Had it not been for Betancour's remarkable presence of mind in rallying his men for a retreat, joined with the courage and discipline of his troops, not one of those that had landed could have escaped; and, after all, it was with the greatest difficulty they regained their ships. This repulse obliged Betancour to return back to Lancerota and Fuertaventura, where he remained some time inconsolable; but at length began to contrive how to repair his bad fortune. Revolving many schemes, he determined to go again to Spain, and solicit assistance from the king of Castile, Henry III.

He then sent for the chiefs of the four islands, natives as well as Europeans, to whom he opened his mind, telling them, at the same time, that he hoped shortly to return with large supplies, and promised to go to Rome, to request of the pope to send over a bishop to take care of their souls. He recommended to them to live in concord during his absence; and gave them some necessary instructions to the preserving peace with the natives; acquainting them at the same time, that he intended to make his nephew, Maçon de Betancour, governor in his absence. He then proceeded to make a partition of lands, reserving to himself the fifth part of the produce of the four islands; but declared to the Europeans who had assisted him in conquering, that he would deprive them of no part of their present possessions till the expiration of nine years. This exemption he intended as a reward for their fidelity and the hardships they had endured. To Maçon de Betancour he made over the third part of his fifth of the produce of the islands, and declared him sole inheritor after his death. He gave him orders to build two churches, one in Lancerota, which is named St. Mary de Betancour; and the other in Fuertaventura, called the church of St. Mary, from which the valley and village so called, take their names.

The government being thus settled, Betancour gathered all the orchilla, goat skins, tallow, and slaves, he could procure, embarked them in three ships, and set sail, leaving another ship in Lancerota to load with orchilla, which he ordered his nephew to send to Italy. He arrived safe at the port of St. Lucar, and then went to the court of Castile, where he was graciously received by the guardians to the young prince don John. They were greatly pleased to hear from his own mouth an account of the Canary Islands, with his adventures there. They promised him their assistance in reducing those which remained unconquered, made him many valuable presents, and furnished him with an equipage and every thing necessary for his journey to Rome, at their own expence. After remaining some time in that city, he went to Avignon, to wait on pope Benedict XIII. who, at his request, appointed a bishop for the Canary Islands, with the title of bishop of Rubicon. From Avignon our adventurer went to Normandy, to visit his relations, and to settle some differences with  
A. D. 1408. his brother, Reynald de Betancour: from thence he went to Granville, where he fell sick and died, aged seventy years, eight of which he had employed in the conquest of the Canary Islands.

After Betancour's departure for Europe, his nephew governed the islands for some time with the approbation of the natives, who obeyed him, as they had done his uncle, whose return with a powerful force they daily expected. But when he heard  
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of his uncle's death, he changed his conduct, (for he now considered himself as sole lord and commander of the islands) and began to govern them more absolutely than either he or his uncle had hitherto done. However, the natives had discernment enough to perceive that the great authority which he assumed had but a shallow foundation, inasmuch as they had heard of the death of John de Betancour, and that it was uncertain whether the succours expected from Europe would arrive: they took courage therefore to oppose him in some of his arbitrary proceedings. This alarmed Masón, and made him suspect the natives had some bad design against him; in consequence of which he treated them with still greater harshness. In the mean time he made several descents upon the unconquered islands, merely to make prisoners, whom he sent to Spain to be sold for slaves. In all these proceedings he was strongly opposed by the bishop, who sent to his brother, at the court of Castile, to complain of his bad conduct, which commission was performed so well, that he gave much disquiet to Masón, and grievously harassed him with heavy law-suits. At length the affair came to the ears of the infante don Ferdinando and queen Catharine, who were much displeased to find their new subjects of the Canary Islands had been so maltreated; and therefore empowered the count of Niebla, don Henry de Guzman, to enquire into the affair and redress the injured parties; upon which the count fitted out five ships to go to the islands with supplies of every kind, and gave the command of them to Pedro Barba de Campos, one of the twenty-four of Seville.

At that time Hernand Peraza, who was also one of the twenty-four of Seville, had some claim to the Canary Islands. It was his father who obtained a grant from the king of Castile, Henry III. of the islands, in 1395, in right of which Peraza now put in his claim, but his pretensions met with no favourable reception at court. However, his son-in-law, Guillen Peraza, then alcade mayor of Seville, engaged Pedro Barba de Campos to endeavour to purchase the islands from Masón de Betancour: the same was likewise recommended to him by the queen and count Niebla.

With these instructions he set sail from St. Lucar, and arrived at Lancerota, but was hindered from landing by Masón, who drew up all his forces on the shore to oppose him. Pedro Barba then desisted from landing by force, and rather chose to compromise matters amicably, by the intervention of a third person. After many messages had passed between him and Masón, the latter agreed to return to Spain with Pedro Barba, to clear his conduct with respect to the government of the islands. Accordingly they set sail, and after a short passage arrived at St. Lucar, where Masón waited on the count of Niebla, and was cleared from his accusation. He was then prevailed on by the count to sell the islands to him for a certain sum, reserving to himself the government of them for life. It may be supposed that his acquittal from the charge

laid against him, was in a great measure owing to his acquiescence with  
A. D. 1418. the proposed sale. This sale was made with the consent of the king,

John II. upon the signing of which the count of Niebla fitted out the ships, &c. which he thought necessary for reducing the unconquered islands, and sent them, under the command of Masón, to Lancerota. When he arrived there, he made several attempts to subdue the rest of the islands, which all proved unsuccessful; so that he began to repent his having taken upon him so painful and unprofitable a charge; and what gave him more reason so to do, was his being daily on worse terms with the inhabitants, who were supported in their opposition to him by the bishop. These disagreeable circumstances determined him to leave those islands to go to the island of  
Madeira;



Madeira; accordingly he went and settled there, and married his daughter, donna Maria, to Luis Gonzales Dacama, captain-general of the island. This lady having no children, his cousins, Henry and Jasper de Betancour, became heirs to his estates in Madeira.

Notwithstanding Mafon de Betancour had already sold the Canary Islands to the count of Niebla, he sold them again to the infante, don Henry of Portugal.

Don Henry de Guzman being now become lord of the Canary Islands, sent at different times a number of ships, soldiers, ammunition, &c. to reduce those yet unconquered. These expeditions cost him great sums of money, for which he received no returns; and the islanders defended themselves with so much resolution and bravery, that the conquest was in a manner deemed impracticable. At that time he had but little leisure to attend to the affairs of the Canary Islands, being more honourably employed in war against the Moors in Granada. This induced him to give the islands to Guillen Peraza, at whose request he had purchased them, and procured a ratification of this from the court. Guillen Peraza went over to Lancerota, from whence he made a visit to the other islands. Having nominated some officers, and regulated the government of the islands, he returned to Seville, where he died, and was succeeded in his possessions by his nephew, a young man, named Guillen Peraza, who resolved to go to the Canary Islands, to conquer such of them as were not yet subdued, and which had hitherto been attacked with so little success. For this end he fitted out three ships at Seville, in which he embarked, with two hundred bowmen, for Lancerota and Fuertaventura, where he arrived, raised three hundred men more, then sailed with all his forces to Gomera, and from thence to the island of Palma. Here he landed. Immediately on disembarking, they marched into the country, which is exceeding high and rocky: the forces from Seville being unaccustomed to such rough ways, were greatly incommoded and harassed by the natives, who leaped from rock to rock with great ease, and galled the Spaniards in such a manner as obliged them to retreat. Peraza rallying his men, received a blow with a stone, which killed him on the spot. His troops fled, and reembarked, after having suffered a considerable loss: nevertheless, they carried off the dead body of the general to Lancerota, where it was interred with great lamentation.

Guillen Peraza had a sister, called donna Ignés Peraza, who married to one Diogo de Herrera, who, in virtue of this marriage, became lord of the Canary Islands, in the year 1444. Immediately after the nuptials, he fitted out three ships, and embarked with his wife and a great number of gentlemen and ladies at St. Lucar, and sailed for the islands. These ships arrived at Lancerota, where Diogo de Herrera and his lady staid some time, and then went to visit the rest of the conquered islands, to inspect into the administration of justice, and promote the conversion of the natives. They were received with great respect by the inhabitants, who entertained them in the best manner they were capable of.

Diogo de Herrera was only twenty-seven years of age when he undertook this expedition. After he had made the necessary regulations in the government, he made several descents on the coast of Barbary and the unconquered islands; in all which he constantly met with the most obstinate resistance in the island of Canaria, from whence he was often beaten off with loss: therefore finding that nothing could be done by force, he resolved to try what he could do with the natives by pacific mea-



fures. To this end he went with some ships and barks to the port of A. D. 1461. Iletas, in August, taking with him the bishop of Rubicon, the lieutenant-governor of the islands, and many other gentlemen, with some persons who spoke the Canary language. When the natives perceived the ships, they gave the alarm all over the island, and came down in great numbers; the bishop gave them to understand that they came with no hostile intention, but, on the contrary, to make peace, and trade with them; which so far satisfied them, that they permitted the Spaniards to come on shore unarmed, where they remained some days, giving and receiving presents. The princes of Telde and Galdar came and paid their respects to Diogo, who then took possession in form of the island, on the 16th of August. After this ceremony, of which it is probable the natives understood not the meaning, Diogo returned with his fleet to Lancerota, highly pleased with the success of his expedition.

Next year the bishop, moved with an ardent zeal to gather his scattered sheep of Canaria into the fold of the Romish church, went there, accompanied by the captain and governor of the island, and three hundred men, and anchored in the port of Gando, where the natives would by no means allow them to disembark. The bishop by fair words and soft speeches, endeavoured to soothe them into compliance, but in vain: they told him they would not, on any account, suffer armed men to land; that if the Europeans stood in need of any thing, they had only to speak, and they would bring them what they wanted; but if they persisted in their design to land, they were ready to oppose them. The Europeans seeing the strength and resolution of the natives, thought it most prudent to return to Lancerota.

In the year 1464, Herrera and the bishop came again to Canaria, where, finding the whole island in arms, they did not attempt to land, but sailed to Teneriffe, where the natives of that place also prepared to oppose their landing; but when Diogo and the bishop assured them they came only to cultivate their friendship, and to trade with them, they were soon appeased, and readily permitted them to come on shore. The bishop then began to talk to them about their conversion, whilst Herrera in form took possession of the island, it is said, by consent of the natives, but it will appear by what happened afterwards, that they understood not the meaning of the ceremony. The Europeans on this occasion took notice of the great numbers who had assembled themselves to hinder their landing, and saw that at that time nothing was to be done by force; they therefore prudently embarked and sailed for Lancerota. The bishop carried with him from thence a young man, whom he soon after converted, and baptized by the name of Anthony. This youth became a most fervent votary and devout worshipper of the virgin Mary, and was the first who gave notice to the Europeans of her image which was in Teneriffe. This Anthony being on a cruize among the islands with Herrera, gave him the slip at Teneriffe, and made the best of his way home, being desirous to see his relations and friends after so long a separation. On his arrival, he informed them that the image they had in the island represented the mother of him who sustained heaven and earth. The natives of Teneriffe (called Guanches) have ever since that time paid this image great respect and veneration.

At that time there was some difference between the courts of Castile and Portugal concerning the Canary Islands, occasioned by the sale of them which Mason de Betancour had made to the infante of Portugal, don Henry. Don Henry equipped a fleet



fleet of carvels, which carried a thousand men and one hundred horse, and gave the command of this armament to Antonio Gonzales, a gentleman of his household, with orders to take possession of the islands. When he came to Lancerota, Herrera opposed his landing, and killed some of his men. When don Henry heard of this, he was much displeased, alledging that his design in the expedition was only to convert the natives to the catholic faith without bloodshed.

The infante don Ferdinando, of Portugal, pretended also a right to the Canary Islands, by virtue of a gift from the infante don Henry: to support this claim he armed some carvels, and sent them well provided to the islands, under the command of Diogo de Silva, who came with his fleet to Lancerota in the year 1466, where he found Herrera ready with his forces to oppose his landing. Silva seeing it would be a difficult matter to land by force, and that even afterwards the success might be doubtful, began to treat with Herrera, who suffered him to land peaceably unarmed, and entertained him hospitably. In the mean time a vessel arrived with advice that all differences between the two courts were happily adjusted and terminated by a peace, and that the infantes had given up their pretensions to the Canary Islands; which news gave great satisfaction to both parties. Herrera had then in Lancerota a most beautiful daughter, with whom Diogo de Silva became greatly enamoured, and prevailed with her parents to consent to their marriage, which was soon after consummated; he received from them, as her dowry, a third part of the revenues of Lancerota and Fuertaventura.

Herrera now seeing so many men in the island by the addition of the Portuguese, thought it a proper time to reduce Canaria. With this view he communicated his intention to his son-in-law, Diogo de Silva, who readily came into the proposal. They accordingly embarked, and arrived with their forces at the port of Gando, where they landed in good order; and being now so strong, they thought it no longer necessary to observe that caution and circumspection in their march into the country, which they had done in their former descents. The natives, as soon as they discovered the ships, gathered together in vast numbers, and marched against their invaders with great resolution, not being in the least intimidated by their numbers; and dividing themselves into small bodies, they attacked the Europeans, and obliged them to retreat. The place where they engaged was so very rocky and unequal, that the Europeans could reap but little advantage from the superior discipline of their troops. The enemy by this time were well armed, for besides their own country weapons, they had many others, which they had taken from the Europeans at the different times of their incursions, and in the management of which they were become tolerably expert. But they annoyed the Europeans mostly with their sharp-pointed sticks or poles, hardened in the fire, and used both as darts and lances, which pierced the targets, and even went through the coats of mail; and whenever they drew the foe into a hollow place, they made great havock, by rolling huge stones down upon them from the neighbouring precipices. The Europeans continued retreating till they came to a kind of natural fortress, near the sea shore, where they made a stand, and posted themselves in such a manner, that the natives could not attack them but to great disadvantage. Herrera perceiving the great loss he had sustained, and considering that the whole force of the island was collected to oppose him, resolved to send a detachment by sea to another part of the island, in order to make a diversion.

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Accordingly, in the night he sent De Silva with two hundred men, in three carvels, together with two officers experienced in these descents, and who spoke the Canary language. The troops arrived at the port of Agumastel, and by day-break, being all safely landed, formed in the neighbourhood of Galdar, without being discovered, and marched forward till they came to a steep eminence, covered with trees and bushes, which they were obliged to pass. The people of that part of the island having at length discovered the ships at anchor, and seeing strangers ascending the mountain, assembled to attack them; but observing the route the Europeans were taking, they let them alone till they had gained the top of the ascent, when the natives immediately secured the pass by which they had gone up, and set fire to the bushes, to prevent their returning by that way to their ships. De Silva and his men finding their retreat cut off, descended on the other side of the mountain into a plain near the village of Galdar, where they found a large place, inclosed by a stone wall, into which they retired for security. As soon as the natives perceived this, they gave a great shout, as they were used to do when they gained a victory, and immediately surrounded the place so closely, that the Europeans had no way to escape. They had continued two days and two nights shut up in this place, without any thing to eat or drink; and the number of the natives still increasing, they found themselves quite destitute of all human resource, and therefore abandoned themselves to despair.

There was a woman among the inhabitants of Galdar, a relation of the guanarteme of that place, named Maria Lafirga. She had been a captive some time in Lancerota, but was sent back to her parents in Canaria, in exchange for an European prisoner. This woman spoke the two languages well, and being moved with compassion at the approaching fate of the Europeans, she came to the place in which they were inclosed, and seeing the two officers that accompanied De Silva in this expedition, she recollected them again, having been often at their houses in Lancerota. She declared that the natives intended to put them all to death that night; and that there was not the least prospect of their escaping but by surrendering at discretion to the guanarteme, her uncle, whose generous temper (she said) she knew so well, that it was very certain he would release, and let them all return to their ships. Moreover, she earnestly intreated them not to hold out any longer. The Europeans, sensible of their impending fate, agreed to the proposal, and employed her to manage the business of reconciliation: demanding only of the guanarteme to give his word to spare their lives. When Maria had delivered this message to her uncle, the guanarteme of Galdar, he determined at all events to save them; and being respected by the Canarians, so wrought upon them all, that they agreed to spare the lives of the Europeans. The matter thus settled, the guanarteme went to De Silva, and gave his word that neither himself nor the rest of the natives would do him or his followers any harm; upon which they delivered up their arms. The guanarteme then embraced De Silva, shewed him many tokens of friendship and compassion, conducted him to the village of Galdar, where he resided, and gave him and his troops both meat and drink, of which they stood in great need; and after they had refreshed themselves, the guanarteme and chiefs of the village, together with a number of the natives, conducted them to their ships. On their march they came to a very high and steep precipice, with a path so narrow that only one person at a time could descend: here Diogo de Silva and his men suspected that the natives had betrayed, and



and intended to throw them down headlong from the precipice; accordingly they intimated their suspicion to the Canarians, and accused them of a breach of faith. The natives, when they understood this, were extremely affronted: the guanarteme, however, made no reply to this accusation, but desired De Silva to take hold of the skirt of his garment, and he would lead him down; he likewise ordered his men in the same manner to assist the Europeans: thus they all descended safe to the bottom, from whence was a road to the shore near where the ships lay at anchor. The guanarteme and his people then gave them leave to embark, but complained much of their being suspected. De Silva was at a loss how to express his gratitude for this humane and generous behaviour; and when he went on board, made him a present of a gilt sword and a scarlet cloak, and to each of the gayres a fine musquet: he then took his leave. De Silva and his detachment returned to Herrera at Gando, to whom they related the whole of what had befallen them; at which he was greatly astonished, and could not conceive whence these barbarians had acquired such noble sentiments of valour and generosity. However, this did not prevent him from attacking them a second time; but, upon being joined again by Diogo de Silva and his corps, marched forward with the whole of his forces, to give battle to the islanders. The Canarians, on their side, far from being backward to engage, met them with great intrepidity, and a bloody battle ensued, in which the natives were worsted, and obliged to retreat. Many were killed and wounded on both sides; but the Europeans took some prisoners, among whom was a valiant chief, named Mananidra, whom De Silva remembered, and mindful of what he owed him, he went immediately to Herrera, and earnestly intreated him to give this man his liberty, who at length granted his request. De Silva then sent him away, loaded with many valuable presents.

The Portuguese seeing no prospect of speedily reducing the island, were greatly chagrined and discontented, and begged of their chief, De Silva, to allow them to return to Portugal. When Herrera was made acquainted with this murmuring among the troops, he thought it most expedient to make peace with the guanarteme of Galdar, and return to Lancerota, where he delivered his daughter, donna Maria, to her husband, together with a great number of slaves of both sexes, that had been taken in sundry expeditions against the islands; with whom De Silva embarked, together with his troops, and returned to Lisbon, where he and his lady were most graciously received by king Alonzo. From this marriage are descended the present counts of Pontalegre in Portugal.

Although Herrera had the reduction of Canaria greatly at heart, yet he laid aside all thoughts of accomplishing it by dint of arms; for, besides the departure of the Portuguese, his own vassals and the natives of the conquered islands were heartily tired of so many unsuccessful attempts, and desirous of resting from the fatigues of war, in order to enjoy tranquillity at home with their families. These things considered, made Herrera think proper to go another way to work, which would require time and patience. For this purpose, accompanied by the bishop, he went with some ships to Gando, which he imagined to be the fittest place for his design. The islanders discovered his ships, from the mountains, while they were yet at a considerable distance from the land, and by means of their signals, instantly alarmed the whole island; when the main body marched to Gando, to wait the arrival of the Europeans: but seeing them approach peaceably and without arms, they held a conference with



them. The guanartemes and faycags, or priests, were present at this interview, which ended in establishing a firm peace and a mutual intercourse of trade between the two parties. The bishop and Herrera, under pretence of having a place of worship for such of their people as should come to trade in the island, obtained leave of the natives to build a fort at Gando. By this treaty Herrera was to have all the orchilla weed which the island produced, on paying the people's labour who gathered it: and, to remove all cause of distrust from the natives, he gave them twelve hostages for the due performance of the treaty. The prisoners on both sides were by this peace to be set at liberty. The Europeans now began with all diligence to erect the fort, in which they received great assistance from the Canarians, who supplied them with plenty of timber from the mountains, and otherwise laboured for them, so that in a short time the fort was compleated. It was spacious, and well situated, being built on a high rock, close to the harbour. Herrera staid there some few days after it was finished; and, before his departure, took care to furnish it with a sufficient quantity of ammunition and provisions, leaving a good garrison, commanded by one Pedro Chemida, with orders that, notwithstanding the treaty of peace, if a fair opportunity should offer of making himself master of the island, he should by no means neglect it: at the same time advising him, if possible, to divide the natives, by fomenting quarrels and stirring up jealousies among them, so as to form a party in favour of the Europeans. After giving these instructions, he departed for Lancerota, in company with the bishop, highly pleased with the success of his project, of which he hoped soon to reap the most agreeable fruits.

Notwithstanding the peace which had been so lately concluded, Chemida sought a proper opportunity to make himself master of the island, and purposely did several things which he knew would be offensive to the natives, who thereupon complained to him of not taking proper care to observe the several articles of the treaty which they had made with Herrera, and accused him of privately seizing and concealing certain noble Canarians with a design to send them away from the island; but finding that Chemida gave no ear to their complaints, nor shewed the least inclination to redress their grievances, they departed, and resolved to watch an opportunity of being avenged on their oppressors. It happened soon after, that some of the Spaniards going carelessly out of the fort, the Canarians fell upon them, and killed five. Upon this Chemida complained to the chiefs of the island; who, in their turn, refusing to give him any satisfaction, he therefore resolved to do himself justice by force. This kindled the flames of war anew between the two nations, to the no small effusion of blood. The Canarians now perceived their error, in having allowed the Spaniards to build this fort, which bid defiance to their united forces.

Soon after, as some of the garrison were out on one of these marauding parties, the natives designedly drove some cattle in their way, as it were by accident, and thus drew them by degrees to a considerable distance from the fort, into an ambush, while another party of the natives was posted in such a manner as to cut off their retreat to the fort. On a signal concerted between them, those in ambush suddenly fell upon Chemida's men, and killed a great number; the rest, who upon this fled towards the fort, fell into the hands of the other party, who killed some of them, and took the others prisoners. The captain Mananidra, who had the command of this enterprise, stripped the Europeans, both living and dead, of their cloaths, which he made one half



half of his men put on, and placed the other half in ambush very near the fort; he then ordered some of the Canarians, in their own proper habits, to chace those dressed like Spaniards towards the fort. Chemida, and his men who remained there, seeing this pursuit, and believing their party was worsted, sallied out to the relief of their supposed countrymen, leaving the gates open; when the party who were in ambush perceiving this, rushed into the fort, while the disguised Canarians fell upon the Spaniards, and made them prisoners. After this manner was the fort of Gando taken; and lest another garrison should be sent from Lancerota, they burnt the wood of the fort, and rased the walls thereof to the ground; but as to the prisoners, they treated them with gentleness and humanity. A small fishing bark at that time happened to be in the port, which sailed immediately and gave notice of the loss of the fort to Herrera, who was extremely grieved; but the bishop was afflicted beyond measure; for being now old, he lost all hopes of bringing the natives to the profession of the Romish faith.

The taking of the fort of Gando manifestly shews what kind of people the Canarians were, and that they wanted neither courage or conduct. In the course of the long war between them and the Europeans, they gave many signal instances of their warlike disposition; it is hard to determine whether they were more subtle in contriving stratagems, or courageous in the time of action. Among other contrivances they had to surprize the enemy, the following merits notice: they trained a great number of sea-gulls, which they kept in and about the villages near the sea shore; and when they saw any barks approaching, they laid an ambush near one of those villages. The Europeans having experienced the subtlety of these people, never went on shore to carry off captives, or to plunder, but they first carefully looked about them, and examined every corner where they imagined there might be people concealed, and never went far from their boats. Once a number of Spaniards from Lancerota landed, and seeing no body near the shore, they ventured to go a small distance in land, where was a large village; upon the sight of which they were going to retreat, but observing sea-gulls flying about the houses, they concluded it to be uninhabited, so they went boldly up to it, when on a sudden the natives rushed from their hiding places, surrounded and made them all prisoners.

The Europeans in the islands became every day more and more discontented and dissatisfied with Herrera, who obliged them to go upon those hazardous enterprizes to so little purpose; but when they heard of the captivity of Chemida with his garrison, they lost all patience. Many of them went to the island of Madeira, in order to get a passage from thence to Spain, to lay their grievances before those who had power to redress them. The Canarians, after having made Chemida and his garrison prisoners, treated them extremely well, and regaled them with the best they had. Pedro was so well acquainted with their disposition, and managed them so artfully, as to persuade them that they had been the aggressors in the war, and had done wrong in raising the tower of Gando, insomuch that they called a meeting of the guanartemes, faycags, and principal people; at which it was agreed to send ten ambassadors to Lancerota, to make their excuses to Herrera. These envoys embarked in a Lancerota vessel, and carried with them Chemida, his garrison, and the twelve hostages. When they arrived there, they waited on Herrera, asked pardon for what they had done, and presented the prisoners and hostages. They were graciously received, kindly



entertained, and all past offences were forgiven. A new treaty was then made, by which all the orchilla in the island appertained to Herrera, who on his part was to restore all the Canarians that were then in Lancerota and Fuertaventura. When the vassals of Herrera, who went to Madeira, heard of this peace, (which was concluded on the 11th of January, 1476) and of the return of the captives from Canaria, they wanted to return to their allegiance to their lord, and enter again upon their former possessions; but Herrera would not so much as permit them to come upon the island of Lancerota. Upon which they went to Castile, and laid their complaints before their majesties, Ferdinando and Isabella, who gave orders to enquire into the affair, and that Herrera should be sent for, to answer the charges laid against him. He appeared at court, where he made a good defence: but their majesties, who had in view to add the three unconquered islands to the crown of Spain, pretended that Herrera was not able to make himself master of them by his own power, and that it was absolutely necessary they should be conquered, in order to bring the natives over to the Christian faith. Herrera was obliged to comply, and received in lieu of all his right to Canaria, Teneriffe, and Palma, five millions of maravedis, with the title of count of Gomera for his eldest son.

After the cession of the three islands to the crown, Herrera returned to Lancerota, and determined to go over to Barbary, to succour the castle of Mar Pequeno, which he had built on that coast, opposite the island of Lancerota, and which was then besieged by the sheriff, with an army of ten thousand foot and three thousand horse. He accordingly embarked seven hundred men, with the utmost expedition, on board five ships, and soon after arrived before the castle; which when the sheriff understood, he raised the siege, and Herrera returned to Lancerota.

Some time after, a Moor, of about thirty years of age, called Helegrut, came to the castle of Mar Pequeno, desiring to be made a Christian. This man told the governor, Christopher Tenorio, that if Herrera would return to Barbary with his forces, he would shew him where he might make a valuable prize. Upon this the governor sent him over to Lancerota, where he was kindly received and entertained by Herrera, who, according to his desire, caused him to be baptized by the name of Juan Camacho. This man persuaded Herrera to return with a considerable force to Mar Pequeno; from whence he set out and marched towards Tagaoft, till he came to a place where was an adouar, or company of Moors dwelling in tents, whom he approached unperceived; and then giving the cry of "St. Iago!" (or St. James) suddenly attacked them, and took one hundred and fifty-eight prisoners, men, women and children included, with whom he returned to the castle. Juan Camacho served as his guide in this expedition, as he did in all those which he afterwards undertook to the coast of Barbary, being no less in number than forty-six. In these he seldom failed of success, never returning without a considerable number of prisoners.

Our author says he knew this Moor, and had often heard him relate his adventures. He died at last peaceably in his bed, at Lancerota, in the year 1591, aged one hundred and forty-six years. He walked perfectly upright, and could see clearly till the time he was taken sick and died. Two years before his death, he married a Moorish girl, of twenty years of age, by whom he had a son, at least it was generally supposed to be his.



In the foregoing account we find that John de Betancour named this island Gran Canaria, adding the epithet Grand to its former name Canaria. He did not this on account of its size, for it is not the largest of the Canary Islands, but because of the strength, courage, and number of its inhabitants, who baffled all his attempts to subdue them. But how it came by the name Canaria, is not easy to determine.

Our author gives two opinions concerning the name Canaria. The first, that in Canaria there are a great many thorny bushes, which bear fruit of a red colour, called in Latin, *Uva Canina*, i. e. Dog's Grape. Those who discovered this island in the time of the Romans, seeing such a number of those bushes, might from them name the island Canaria.

The second opinion is, that it is named Canaria, because it abounds with an herb, called in Latin, *Canaria*, (but in the Castillian language, *Triguera*) which the dogs eat in the spring, to cause themselves to vomit or purge.

When the Europeans came first to Gran Canaria, that island was supposed to contain no less than fourteen thousand fighting men; but a great sickness or plague prevailing amongst them some time after, it swept away two-thirds of the inhabitants. They were of a dark complexion, well proportioned, and of a good stature; active, warlike, chearful, good-natured, and strictly faithful to their promises, insomuch that they considered a lye as the greatest of crimes. They were very fond of hazardous enterprises, such as climbing to the top of steep precipices, to pitch poles of so great a weight, that one of them was a sufficient burden for a man of common strength to carry on level ground.

The Canarians had nobility among them, who were distinguished from the vulgar by the peculiar cut of their hair and beards. It was not sufficient to entitle a man to nobility, that he was the offspring of noble or rich parents; but he was to be formally declared noble by the *faycag*, a person of great rank, and next in dignity to the *guanarteme*, whose business it was to decide differences among the natives, and regulate the ceremonies of their religion: in short, he was a priest, and acted also as a judge in civil affairs.

In their wars, they held it as base and mean to molest or injure the women and children of the enemy, considering them as weak and helpless, therefore improper objects of their resentment: neither did they throw down or damage the houses of worship. The weapons used by the Canarians in war, were clubs, and sharp-pointed poles, hardened by fire. But after the Europeans began to invade their island, they made targets, in imitation of theirs; and swords of *Te-a*, or pitch-pine, the edges of which were hardened by fire, and tempered in such a manner that they cut like steel.

Besides these, they had many other weapons, taken at different times from the Europeans, and which they carefully preserved, and made good use of in the day of battle. But their chief strength lay in the before-mentioned wooden spears, and stones, which they threw with a great force and dexterity.

They had public places set apart for fighting duels, in which were eminences or stages, raised for the combatants to fight on. When a challenge was given and accepted, the parties went to the council of the island, called in the Canarian language *Sabor*, (which consisted of twelve members, called *Gayres*) for a licence to fight, which was easily obtained. Then they went to the *faycag* to have this licence confirmed;



firmed; which being done, they gathered together all their relations and friends, to be spectators of their gallantry and behaviour. The company then repaired to the public place, or theatre, where the combatants mounted upon two stones, placed at the opposite sides of it, each stone being flat at top, and about half a yard in diameter. On these they stood fast, without moving their feet, till each had thrown three round stones at his antagonist. Though they were good marksmen, yet they generally avoided those missile weapons by the agile writhing of their bodies. Then arming themselves with sharp flints in their left hands, and cudgels or clubs in their right, they drew near and fell on, beating and cutting each other till they were tired; when the parties, by consent, retired with their friends, to eat and drink, but soon after returned to the scene of action, and renewed the engagement, cudgelled and cut each other with great dexterity as before, until the gayres called out "Gama! gama!" (i. e. Enough! enough! or Give over!) when they immediately left off, and ever after remained good friends.

If during the time of the combat, one of the parties happened to break his cudgel, then the other immediately desisted from striking, and so the dispute ended, and the parties were reconciled, neither of them being declared victor. Those duels were generally fought on public festivals, rejoicings, or such like occasions, which drew together a great concourse of people, when the combatants had an opportunity to display their dexterity, strength, and valour. These spectacles made a great impression on the minds of the youth, exciting in them a spirit of emulation to excel in gallant feats. If either of the combatants happened to be deeply wounded, they beat a rush till it become like tow, and dipping it in melted goats butter, applied it to the wound, as hot as the patient could bear it: the older the butter was, the sooner it effected a cure.

None of the Canarians had more than one wife, and the wife one husband, contrary to what some misinformed authors affirm. When the parents were inclined to marry their daughter, they set her apart thirty days, during which they fed her with large quantities of milk and goffio, in order to fatten her; for they imagined lean women were less capable of conceiving children than those who were fat. It has also been said, that the night before the bride was presented to her husband, she was delivered to the guanarteme, who, if he did not chuse to lie with her himself, gave her to the faycag, or to some other noble person of his intimate acquaintance, to enjoy her: but the present natives deny that such a custom ever existed among their ancestors. They were very careful in the education of their children, and never failed to chastise them when they did amiss. It was also customary to propose two of the youths as examples for the rest, the one of virtue, the other of vice.

The Canarians had among them religious women, called Magadas, a number of whom lived together in one house, which were held sacred; and criminals who fled to any of them, were protected from the officers of justice. The magadas were distinguished from other women by their long white garments, which swept the ground as they walked. The convents or houses in which they dwelt were called Tamogan-teen Acoran, i. e. houses of God; but houses of worship were called by the Canarians Almogaren, i. e. temples, or holy houses: they were daily sprinkled with the milk of goats, from whom they did not take the kids, and which were set apart for giving milk for that purpose. They held that this Acoran dwelt on high, and governed every thing



thing on earth. They adored him by putting their hands together, and lifting them towards heaven.

In the island there are two rocks, one in the district of Galdar, named Tirmac; the other Telde, called Vinicaya. To these rocks they went in procession in times of public calamity, accompanied by the religious women called Magadas, carrying branches of palm-trees, and vessels filled with milk and butter, which they poured on the rocks, dancing round them, and singing mournful songs like dirges, or what the Spaniards call *Endechas*; from thence they went to the sea side, and all at once, and with one accord, struck the water forcibly with their rods, shouting together at the same time with a very loud voice. Their division of time was not by day, weeks, and years, as with us, but they reckoned by moons.

The habit of the Canarians was a tight coat, with a hood to it like that of a Capuchin friar; it reached down to the knees, and was girded about the waist with a leather strap or girdle. This garment was made of a sort of rush, which they beat till it was quite soft, like flax, and then divided the filaments and wove them together. Over this they wore cloaks of goat skins, with the hairy side outwards in summer, and inwards in winter. They also made caps made of the skins of goats, taken off almost entire, which they placed in such a manner on their heads that they had a goat's beard hanging under each ear, which they sometimes tied under the chin. All these garments were neatly sewed and painted, and in every other respect much more curious than those of the natives in the other islands. Some wore bonnets of skins, adorned with feathers. Their shoes were made of raw hides, like those of Lancerota and Fuertaventura.

They had public houses or rooms, in which they assembled to dance and sing. The Canarian dance is still in use in these islands, and is called *Canario*: its step is quick and short. Their songs were either dirges or amorous sonnets, set to grave and plaintive tunes.

The Canarians were remarkable for their good government, regularity, and strict administration of justice. When a man committed a crime deserving of death, they apprehended him and put him in prison, where he was tried, and immediately upon conviction they led him to the place of execution, which was the same where they used to feast, wrestle and fight duels. Here the delinquent was stretched on the ground, and his head placed on a flat stone; then the executioner, who was a man set apart for that office, taking up a large heavy stone, and lifting it as high as he could, suddenly let it fall on the criminal's head. But for crimes that were not worthy of death, they used the *lex talionis*, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, &c.

None of the Canarians exercised the trade of a butcher, except the dregs of the people. This employment was accounted so ignominious, that they would not so much as allow one of that profession to enter into any of their houses, or touch any thing belonging to them. It was made unlawful for the butchers even to keep company with any but those of their own profession; and when they wanted any thing of another person, they were obliged to carry a staff with them, and point at what they wanted, standing at a considerable distance. As a recompence for this abject state, the natives were obliged to supply the butchers with every thing they had occasion for. It was not lawful for any Canarian, except the butchers, to kill cattle: when any person wanted his beast, &c. to be killed, he was obliged to lead it to the public shambles, but

was



was not allowed to enter himself; and this prohibition extended even to the women and children.

The houses in Gran Canaria were built of stone, without cement, but so neat and regular that they made a neat appearance. At the top they laid wooden beams or rafters, very close to each other, and covered them with earth. The walls of these houses were very low, and the floors sunk lower than the level of the ground on which they stood, being so contrived for the advantage of warmth in the winter season. Their beds and bedding were goat skins dressed in the hair, after a most curious manner. Their other furniture consisted of baskets, and mats of palm-leaves and rushes, made extremely neat. There were among them people whose sole occupation was to build houses and manufacture mats, &c. The women in general were employed in painting and dying; and in the proper season they very carefully gathered the flowers, shrubs, &c. from which they extracted the several colours. The threads they used for sewing and other purposes were made of the springy nerves or tendons of the loins of sheep, goats, or swine, with which they were supplied by the butchers. These they first anointed with butter, and afterwards prepared by fire, in such a manner, that they could split them into fine threads at their pleasure. Their needles were made of bone, and their fish-hooks of horn. All their vessels used in cookery were made of clay, hardened by the sun, which they called Ganigos. Their wealth consisted chiefly in goat, and some sheep; they had also hogs. Their common food was barley-meal roasted, and eat with milk or goats flesh. When they made a feast, they dressed this latter with hog's lard or butter. Their barley they ground with a hand-mill. The following is the manner in which they ploughed their lands: about twenty people assembled together, each having a wooden instrument (not unlike a hoe) with a spur or tooth at the end of it, on which they fixed a goat's horn; with this they broke the ground, and afterwards took care, if the rain came not in its proper season, to moisten it with water, which they brought by canals from the rivulets. The women gathered in the corn, of which they reaped only the ears: these they threshed with sticks, or beat with their feet, and then winnowed it in their hands.

Their only fruits were vicacorras, mocanes, and wild dates; and some time before their conquest of the island, they had figs. Their poor lived by the sea-coast, chiefly on fish, which they caught in the night-time, by making a blaze on the water with torches of pitch-pine. In the day-time, whenever they discovered a shoal of sardinas, a small fish resembling herrings and pilchards, a great number of men, women, and children, waded into the sea, and swimming beyond the shoal, chased the fish towards the shore; then with a net, made of a tough kind of rush, they inclosed and drew them to land, and there made an equal division of their prize: in doing this, every woman of the company who had young children, received a share for each; or if she happened to be with child, she received a share for the child in her womb.

When any of their nobles died, they brought out their corps and placed in the sun, took out the bowels and entrails, which they washed, and then buried in the earth: the body they dried, and swathed round with bandages of goat skins, and then fixed it upright in a cave, cloathed with the same garments which the deceased wore when alive. But if no proper cave was at hand, they carried the dead body to one of those stony places now called Mal Paices, where, levelling the ground and fixing the small loose stones, they made a coffin of very large ones, placed so as not to touch the body; then they took another large stone, two yards in length, wrought into a round



round form, and with this they closed the coffin, and afterwards filled up the niche between the top of the round stone and the outer part of the sides of the coffin with small stones, in so neat a manner, that every one who beholds them must be surprised at the ingenuity of this people. Some of their dead bodies were put into chests, and afterwards deposited in a kind of stone sepulchres. There were certain persons among them whose profession it was, and who were set apart for the purpose of preparing the dead bodies for burial, and making up the tombs.

The lower class of people were buried in the *Mal Paices*, in holes covered with dry stones; and excepting those bodies which were placed upright in the caves, all others were laid with their heads towards the north.

The natives of Gran Canaria were more polished and civilized than those of the other islands. At the time of the conquest of the island, they were governed by two princes; but before they were ruled by captains, or heads of tribes, who presided over small circles, like parishes; each tribe was confined to its own district, and not allowed to graze its flocks on the grounds of another tribe.

It has been already observed, that don Luis de la Cerda intended to go in quest of the Fortunate Islands; for that purpose he had fitted out some ships in the ports of the kingdom of Arragon; but his death, which happened just as things were got ready for that expedition, put a stop to the voyage. Nevertheless, it seems that some of those ships, or others from Catalonia or Majorca, failed in quest of the islands at that very time; but of which we have no other account than from the relation of the natives, and what may be collected from their old songs, in which some account of those Majorcans is given.

Ferdinando and Isabella, after paying to Herrera five millions of maravedis, in lieu of all his claims to the islands of Gran Canaria, Teneriffe, and Palma, issued orders for fitting out a fleet of ships, to make the conquest of them. This order was immediately obeyed, so that in a short time nine hundred foot and thirty horse, well armed, and provided with every necessary for such an enterprise, were raised, and the command of them given to one don Juan Rejon, a native of the kingdom of Arragon, an experienced soldier, and who had for his lieutenant Alonzo Jaizme. They were accompanied in the expedition by don Juan Bermudas, dean of Rubicon, a person well versed in the affairs of the Canary Islands.

On the 23d of May, the whole armament embarked on board the  
A. D. 1477. fleet prepared for their reception, at the port of St. Mary's in Andalusia, and sailed for Gran Canaria. Their design was to have landed at Gando, in order to rebuild the fort lately destroyed there by the natives; but passing near the port of Isletes, and judging it to be a more convenient anchoring place, they dropped anchor there on the 22d of June. In the morning early all the troops disembarked, in good order, and without opposition. On their landing they pitched a canopy or tent, under which they erected an altar, where the dean, Juan Bermudas, performed mass in the presence of all the troops. Immediately after mass the whole army began their march towards Gando, with design to encamp there; but they had not proceeded far, when they were accosted by a woman in the Canarian dress, who asked them, in the Castilian language, whither they were going? They replied, "To Gando." She then told them, that Gando was at a great distance,



the road very bad, and interrupted by precipices, which rendered it extremely dangerous; but that at a small distance from the place where they then were, was a commodious plain, with a rivulet of good water, plenty of fire wood, with palms and fig-trees, from whence they might have easy access to all the principal places on the island. When the commander and officers had heard the woman, and well weighed the reasons, they determined to march to the place she had pointed out, and accordingly putting themselves under her conduct, she brought them to the spot where now stands the city of Palmas. There they pitched their tents; but looking afterwards for their guide, she was not to be found, which filled them all with amazement. Juan Rejon, who was a devout worshipper of St. Anna, imagined it was no other than her. They fixed their camp there, and fortified it with a stone wall, within which they erected a large magazine for the ammunition, stores, and provisions, which they had brought from Spain.

When the natives found the Spaniards had effected their landing, were building houses, and by their conduct seemed determined to settle themselves on the island, they called to mind the injuries they had sustained by permitting the castle of Gando to be built amongst them; and therefore thought it would be most prudent, in their present situation, to lay aside all differences amongst themselves, and, uniting their forces, endeavour to expel the invaders from the island. To effect this, they raised two thousand well-armed men, and marched towards the port. When Juan Rejon saw the enemy approaching, in order to give a plausible colour to his proceedings, he sent to acquaint them, that he was come, in the name of their majesties of Castile, Ferdinando and Isabella, to invite them to leave their heathen worship, and to embrace Christianity. The natives, either unwilling to abandon the religion of their ancestors, or flushed with their former repeated successes against Betancour and Herrera, told the messenger, that they would give Juan Rejon an answer the next day early in the morning. The general readily comprehended their meaning, and accordingly prepared for battle, expecting to be soon attacked. Early in the morning he perceived their forces coming down upon him, in order of battle; upon which he marched out of his camp to meet them, and the fight was begun on both sides. The Canarians made the first onset with all the fury of men whose liberty was at stake. They were received with no less vigour by Juan Rejon and his men, who endeavoured to break the enemy's ranks; but the latter made a most obstinate resistance, fighting like lions. The battle continued three hours, without any apparent advantage on either side: at length Juan Rejon finding his army beginning to give way in that part where they were attacked by the intrepid Adargoma, he flew thither to support and encourage his troops; where singling out Adargoma, he charged him furiously, and wounded him so desperately in the thigh with his lance, that he lay on the ground for dead. The Canarians, instead of being discouraged at the fall of their champion, were fired with fresh rage, falling on like incensed tygers: but this ardor of the Canarians was not long before it spent itself, and was succeeded by a sensible abatement of vigour; and they soon after retired, but in good order, leaving behind them Adargoma prisoner, and three hundred men killed on the field of battle, besides many wounded. Of the Spaniards, only seven were killed and twenty-six wounded. This great inequality of loss must have been owing to the difference of weapons used in the engagement, for about that time the Spaniards had learned the use of fire-arms; and,



and, moreover, the Canarians were much terrified at the sight of the horses, which on this occasion made their first appearance in Gran Canaria. After this battle, which was called the battle of Guiniguada, the natives never attempted to engage the Spaniards again on level ground, but contented themselves with harassing them in their marches up the country, especially in the mountainous part, in which the Spaniards by little and little had shut them up. In the mean time the Spaniards set about erecting a fort for their security. Those who were not employed in this work, were sent out in parties to bring in cattle and prisoners, and so harassed the poor fishermen, whose way of living obliged them to be near the sea side, that many of them came into the camp through mere necessity, and embraced the Roman catholic faith; and being baptized, they received passports from the dean, to protect them from being molested in their business by his soldiers. The Spanish officers now looked upon the island as good as reduced.

At this time affairs were in a very unsettled situation between the courts of Castile and Portugal. The latter understanding the Spaniards were attempting the conquest of Gran Canaria, armed seventeen carvels, or large barks, well provided with soldiers, provisions, ammunition, and every thing necessary for a voyage, and sent them to Gran Canaria, where they arrived and anchored at the west side of the island, at a place called Agaete, in the district of the guanarteme of Galdar. The natives imagining that they were part of the forces of Guiniguada, gathered together, in order to give them battle; but the Portuguese, by means of interpreters they had brought with them, quickly undeceived the Canarians, and gave them to understand, that they were come to assist them against their invaders, with whom they were at war. When the natives were convinced of the truth of this, it gave them great joy; upon which they received the Portuguese cheerfully, and it was soon concluded between them, that the former should go and attack the Spaniards by sea, while the Canarians attacked them by land. When these ships appeared near the port, Juan Rejon, and the officers, knowing that peace was not firmly established between the two crowns, suspected on what errand they were come, and drew out their troops from Guiniguada, leaving a small number only to guard that post, and marched to the port, which is but a short league distant from it. There they placed two hundred men in ambush, behind certain hillocks of black earth, which had been formed by the eruption of some former volcanos. When the carvels anchored in the harbour, there happened to be a surf breaking on the shore, which is not common in that place. Now as the Portuguese had not boats enough to land above two hundred men at once, and did not know the force of the Spaniards, they boldly landed, with drums beating, trumpets sounding, and colours flying, but the surf breaking uncommonly high, drove some of their boats on shore while they were attempting to land their men. This prevented their going immediately back to the ships for more troops; and instead of instantly launching these boats that were thrown on shore by the surf, they began to run inland, in pursuit of the small number of Spaniards they saw drawn up to oppose them, in order to attack and make them prisoners. Juan Rejon perceiving how things went, resolved to avail himself of their bad conduct, and to attack the Portuguese before they could receive a reinforcement from the ships: with this view he ordered the two hundred men in ambush to fall upon them in concert with the others, which they did with such impetuosity, that they presently drove the hand-



ful of Portuguese back to their boats in the greatest confusion; but in the hurry of launching, and crowding into them, they were overset, forced back on the beach by the surf, and staved to pieces; so that very few of those men who landed had the good fortune to escape. The Portuguese on board the carvels seeing all that passed, without being able to give the least assistance to their comrades, on account of the violence of the surf, which continued to increase more and more, and being apprehensive of a storm arising, weighed anchor, and stood out to sea. In the mean time the Canarians had possessed themselves of some eminences that commanded a view of the city of Palmas and the port of Isletes, where observing every thing to be quiet in the Spanish camp, the sea shore of the port covered with people, and some ships at anchor, with others under sail; they concluded that the Portuguese were just landing, and therefore waited to see them begin the attack upon the camp, knowing nothing of what had passed that morning. But perceiving no appearance of any disturbance, they sent a spy to discover the situation of affairs, who being observed by one of the Spanish troopers, was pursued, taken prisoner, and brought to Juan Rejon, to whom he discovered the treaty between the natives and the Portuguese. The general was so incensed at the news, that he determined to place no more confidence in the Canarians, and began to harass them more than ever by continual inroads into the country, in which he frequently brought away whole flocks of sheep and goats, and made a number of captives. As to the Portuguese, they still hovered about the island, waiting for an opportunity to land, and try their fortune a second time; but the sea continuing much agitated for many days, they despaired of success, and having lost almost all their boats, as before mentioned, they abandoned their design of making a second landing, and returned home. The Spaniards being now more at leisure, finished their castle, and the fortifications of their camp. But not having received any supply of provisions from Europe since their first landing on the island, which was now upwards of eight months, they were obliged twice a week to send a party of horse and about two hundred foot into the country, in search of provisions, at a considerable distance from the camp; for, as has been observed, the natives, after the battle of Guiniguada, durst not continue in the plains, but withdrew with their effects to the mountains, where the Spaniards could not attack them but at a great disadvantage: and what little provisions they got in these incursions, together with some biscuit brought to them by a Flemish vessel, that had come to the islands to purchase orchilla-weed, was all they had to live upon for a considerable time. The soldiers gathered the weed upon the rocks, in places where they durst venture to search for it, and then disposed of it to the Flemings.

Juan Rejon being now avenged of his enemies, began to turn his thoughts towards completing the conquest of the island, and with that view determined to make an inroad into the district of Tamarafeyte. On his march towards that place, from the mountains he discovered a ship standing in for the island, which induced him to return back to the city of Palmas. This ship came with a new governor and captain-general of the forces; for the king, don Ferdinando, being informed of the discord among the officers employed in that business, thought proper to send Pedro de Vera to Canaria, as a person in whom he could confide, and whom he judged to be possessed of every qualification necessary in a civil or military officer.

Juan



Juan Rejon having obtained a commission to make the conquest of the islands of Teneriffe and Palma, sailed from Cadiz with four ships, having on board three hundred men, and twenty horses; his wife and two of his young sons accompanying him in this voyage. He put into Gran Canaria, to procure refreshments, and visit his old acquaintance: however, he did not land there, but proceeded on his voyage to Palma. On his voyage, he was obliged, by stress of weather, to put into Gomera, where he and his family, with eight men, landed to refresh themselves after their fatigues. The Gomerans brought them what refreshments the island afforded; but immediately dispatched advice of their arrival to Hernand Peraza, who thereupon sent some of his people to bring Juan Rejon before him; who refusing to obey his orders, they attempted to compel him by force, when a scuffle ensued, in which he was killed. Hernand Peraza immediately published a manifesto, to clear himself of having any hand in his death; and affirmed that he had only sent people to bring him before him to give an account of his motives for landing on the island without his licence. He then made a visit to donna Elvira, to clear himself before her of the murder of her husband, whom he caused to be interred in the most honourable place of the great chapel, and treated his widow and children with great tenderness and respect. Donna Elvira, however, seized the first opportunity to write to her brother, don Alonzo Jaimes, in Gran Canaria, an account of all that had passed, intreating him to come with all speed and take her out of the sight of her husband's murderer. He accordingly came, and reproached Hernand Peraza with basely assassinating his brother, threatening him with his resentment. But Peraza, with many imprecations on himself, asserted his innocence. From Gomera don Alonzo set sail, with his sister, for Gran Canaria, where she would not land; but was visited aboard by the governor and other officers of the city, who furnished her with such refreshments as the island afforded. She then departed for Spain, accompanied by her brother, don Alonzo Jaimes. All the people who came with Juan Rejon for the conquest of Palma, with the provisions, were landed, and remained at Gran Canaria.

We must now turn to the island of Palma: it is not positively known how it first received its name; probably, from the Europeans, at the time of their discovering it, for the natives called it Benahoare, which, in their language, signifies My Country. When the Europeans first landed on this island, it produced no sort of corn, or eatable roots, excepting the roots of fern, of which the natives made meal, (as the inhabitants of this and some other of the Canary Islands do to this day) and also of the seed of a tree or shrub called Amagante. Both these sorts of meal they ate mixed with milk or broth. Their other sorts of food were flesh of goats, sheep, and hogs, which they ate either roasted or boiled. The skins of the two first served them for cloathing, and of the latter they made shoes. The weapon they used in war was a staff or pole, sharpened at the point, and hardened by fire, which they called Moca.

The island was divided into twelve districts, each of which was governed by its own lord or captain. But their police was not so good as that of any of the other islands, for he was esteemed the cleverest fellow, who could steal with such address as not to be discovered: if any one happened to be detected in this practice, no other punishment was inflicted on him than being obliged to restore the thing stolen. If a man received an insult from any of his own district, he thought it mean to complain of the injury to his captain, but avenged his own cause, by gathering together his friends.



friends and relations, and retaliating the affront; after which they all removed, and took up their residence in another district. Their manner of worship was as follows: in each district there was a great pillar or pyramid of loose stones, piled up as high as possible, and so as not to fall down. There the natives assembled on certain occasions, singing and dancing around the pyramid: there also they wrestled and performed other feats of agility. In one of the districts, instead of a pyramid of loose stones, there was a natural one, being a narrow long rock, upwards of an hundred fathoms high, where the natives worshipped their god Idafe, whose name the rock itself still retains. They were in continual apprehension of its tumbling down; and therefore, whenever they killed a sheep or goat, they roasted a piece of it, which they sent by two persons as a present to the rock. As they went along, he who carried the offering sang these words, "Y Iguida, y Iguan, Idafe;" which, in their language, signifies, "It will fall, Idafe." Upon which the other answered in the same tone, "Guegerte, y guantaro," i. e. "Give to it, and it will not fall:" and then threw down the meat, and both went away; when it was quickly devoured by the ravens which hovered about the rock.

The natives held the sun and moon in great veneration, keeping an exact account of time, in order to know when it would be new or full moon, or other days of devotion. Besides the fore-mentioned worship, they acknowledged one God in the heavens, greater than all, called Abora, whom they adored. Our author asserts, that the devil sometimes appeared to the natives in the shape of a shock dog, whom they called Irvine. They were extremely alarmed in time of sickness; so that when any one was taken ill, he sent for his friends and relations, and said to them, "Vacaguare," i. e. "I want to die." Upon which they carried the sick person to a cave, where they laid him down upon a bed of goats skin, put a pitcher of milk by him, and then, closing the mouth of the cave, left him to expire by himself. They buried their dead in caves, and always spread the skins of goats under them, saying, that it was not proper that a dead body should touch the ground.

This is the only certain account that has been preserved of the customs of the ancient inhabitants of Palma.

We have already related in what manner the Spaniards were baffled in their attempt on Palma, under the command of Guillen Peraza, who was himself killed in that unfortunate expedition. After his death, his vassals in the island of Hierro made several descents on Palma, to rob and plunder the natives of their cattle, and also for making prisoners to sell for slaves. In one of these expeditions, they took prisoners a man and a woman, the latter of whom was sister to one of the chiefs of the island, named Garehagua. When she found they were about to carry her on board their ship, she made such a stout resistance, that the person whose prisoner she was, found himself obliged to have recourse to his arms to defend himself, and to prevent her from getting away, so that in the scuffle he killed her. Not long after, the natives having made peace with the Spaniards of Hierro, a reciprocal trade was carried on between them; and it so happened, that among other Spaniards that came to trade at Palma, under sanction of the treaty, was the person who killed the woman. One day, as he was talking with Garehagua, he related the adventure, not knowing that the woman was his sister: but when Garehagua heard the story, and from the person's own mouth, he replied, "Your ill fortune has brought you into my hands, that I  
" should



“ should avenge my sister’s death ;” and so saying, stabbed him instantly in the belly with a stick pointed with goat’s horn, and killed him on the spot, before any one could come to his assistance. This transaction put an end to the truce, and both parties began the war afresh.

In another descent of the Hierrons upon this island, they met with a beautiful woman, of a gigantic size, named Guayanfanta, who fought with great courage and resolution. This fair warrior finding herself surrounded on all sides by the enemy, so that no way was left for her to escape, suddenly caught up a Spaniard under her arm, and ran with him towards an high and steep precipice, with a design to cast herself and her enemy headlong down together ; which she would certainly have effected, had it not been for another Spaniard, who coming behind her, gave her a wound in the back part of her leg, which brought her to the ground. From this and the foregoing story, a tradition has prevailed, that the men of Palma were so effeminate and faint-hearted, that the war was carried on wholly by the women.

Most of these incursions upon Palma were made by order of Hernand Peraza, son of Diogo de Herrera, and were in general attended with loss to the invaders.

Juan Rejon sailed from Spain with a fleet, in order to make the conquest of Palma ; but this expedition was frustrated by his death, which happened in the island of Gomera, after which his troops sailed to Gran Canaria, and joined Pedro de Vera. After the conquest of that island, when Pedro de Vera came to make a distribution of the lands, he particularly favoured captain Alonzo Ferdinando de Lugo, who commanded the garrison of the tower of Gaete, to whom he allotted for his portion all the fertile well-watered lands about that place, which abound in all kinds of fruit-trees, and has moreover the advantage of a small but convenient harbour, stored with variety of fish. But Alonzo, not content with his lot, and preferring an active military life to one of ease and retirement, sold his fine estate, and went over to Spain, where he obtained from their majesties a grant of the conquest of Palma and Teneriffe. He afterwards went to Seville, to provide himself with ships, men, ammunition, &c. necessary for the undertaking. It is related of this captain, that the great expence attending these preparations having not only exhausted the ready cash he had procured from the court, but also most of his private fortune ; and that the king could not spare him any farther supply : chagrined at this disappointment, he was one day walking in a pensive manner in the great church at Seville, when he was accosted by a venerable old man, who entered into conversation with him, and, after some talk, persuaded him by no means to give over the intended expedition, for that God would certainly be with him, and assist him in the prosecution thereof. He then put his hand behind the cloth of an altar, and took out a bag, containing a great quantity of doubloons, which he gave to him, saying ; “ When they are gone, you shall receive more.” Alonzo de Lugo, after having put up the money, looked about for the old man, but he was gone, and he never saw him afterwards ; from all which he concluded, that it was certainly the apostle St. Peter, of whom he was a devout worshipper. With this money, and the sum he procured from some merchants of Seville, (more probably indeed the whole) he completed the equipment of his fleet, and sailed for Palma, where he arrived the 29th of September, A. D. 1490. and landed at the port of Tassacorta, on the west side of the island, in the district of one Mayantigo. There he fixed his camp, which he took care to fortify strongly, that in case of a repulse or surprise, he might have



have a place of refuge for his men, his provision and ammunition, without trusting to the shipping, which by bad weather might be obliged to put out to sea, as the ports in Palma are open roads, where ships are exposed to almost all winds. He also built a chapel, which he dedicated to St. Michael. After this he advanced farther into the island, and reduced all the south-west part of it; which he effected not by force of arms, but by presents and promises; for, before his arrival at Palma, the natives of that quarter of the island were on good terms with the Spaniards of Hierro.

From thence he went to the north-east side of the island, which is entirely separated from the other by mountains of such a prodigious height, that they reach far above the clouds. Here he met with more resistance, because the natives were enraged against the people of Hierro, for the injuries they had done them. When he came to the district in which Guarehagua commanded, he found the inhabitants in arms; nor would they be persuaded to submit until he attacked them, in doing which some were killed, and many taken prisoners: these he treated with great kindness, in order that their countrymen, seeing his humanity, might be induced to lay down their arms. This conduct had the desired effect, the natives no longer opposing the Spaniards in their progress, except at a place called, in the language of the island, Acer, (i. e. place of strength) but by the Spaniards, La Caldera.

Before he went against it, he thought proper to return to the camp, to refresh his troops, who were extremely fatigued by reason of the ruggedness of the roads, and excessive height of the mountains. After remaining in the camp some days, he marched towards the Caldera, which is a hill shaped in form of a cauldron; the outside very high and steep, having two rugged steep passages leading to it; on the inside it descends gradually, and is covered with pines, palms, laurels, retamas, and other trees; the bottom is a plain of about thirty acres, but the extent of the summit is about two leagues. Within the Cauldron spring many rills of water, which, uniting together, run down in a rivulet near one of the passes before mentioned. By this water-course Alonzo de Lugo, after attempting the other passage in vain, endeavoured to penetrate into the Cauldron, where a great number of the natives were assembled to oppose him, commanded by one of their chiefs, called Tanause. In this enterprise he was greatly assisted by the natives who had submitted; for when he could not proceed on his way, they carried him the length of two bow-shots on their shoulders. Had the enemy opposed him there, they might easily have destroyed his forces; but being posted higher, Alonzo had an opportunity of attacking them on more equal terms, which he did with great bravery, but could not force the passage; for the natives were so advantageously posted, and that place being their last resource, defended it so obstinately, that Alonzo de Lugo was obliged to retreat, and encamp at some distance from the place of action. The same evening the natives sent their old people, women, and children, for more security, to the top of the mountain, where they took up their lodgings in the caves among the rocks; but the night proving intensely cold, they were all frozen to death; in memory of which event the natives named that place Ayfouagan, i. e. the place of freezing.

Alonzo de Lugo finding how little the experience and valour of his soldiers availed him in such a place, sent one of the converted natives, named Juan Palma, to Tanause, to persuade him to embrace the Romish faith, and submit to the crown of Spain, promising him and his companions the full enjoyment of their liberties and effects.



effects. Tanause returned for answer, that if Alonzo would go back to the foot of the mountain, he would come next day and make his submission. This Alonzo agreed to; but suspecting it was only a stratagem to dislodge him from the place he was in, he left an ambush to cut off their retreat in case they followed him down, and afterwards wanted to return to the strong hold. Tanause not coming so soon as he had promised, the Spaniards were marching back to their former station, when they met him on his way: the natives seeing the Spaniards under arms and in order of battle, were apprehensive of some treacherous design, and would have returned; but Tanause assured them, they had nothing to fear. But he was mistaken; for Alonzo, not being assured of their intentions, and fearing they might escape back into the Cauldron, fell upon them, and a very bloody skirmish ensued, which ended in the death or captivity of all the natives. Among the prisoners was Tanause him-

self, who complained bitterly against Alonzo for his breach of promise. A. D. 1491. The battle was fought on the 3d of May, seven months after

Alonzo de Lugo's landing on the island at Tassacorte. That day is celebrated annually in Palma, as a great festival, in commemoration of the reduction of the whole island to the obedience of their catholic majesties. Immediately after the battle, Alonzo dispatched a vessel to Spain, to carry the agreeable tidings of the conquest to their majesties, and at the same time sent over some of the chiefs of the island, among whom was Tanause; but he took his being sent out of Palma so much to heart, together with Alonzo's breach of promise, that he obstinately refused all manner of nourishment, and starved himself to death; a thing not unusual among the natives of Palma, who were very impatient under any affliction of body or mind.

After the conquest of the island of Palma, De Lugo sailed to Teneriffe, taking with him all the troops that could be well spared. After his departure, certain of the natives, to the number of three hundred, from some motive of discontent, assembled in a body, and committed several acts of hostility on the Spaniards and the natives under their government; which when Alonzo de Lugo came to hear, he sent over one Diogo Rodriguez Talavera, a person well known to the natives of Palma, and perfectly acquainted with their manners, customs, and language, with orders to reduce them again to obedience. He accordingly landed in Palma, having only thirty soldiers under his command; with whom, the Spaniards already in the island, and some of the natives in whom he could confide, he went in search of the rebels, defeated them in several encounters, and at last entirely dispersed them, though not without some bloodshed, and the loss of many of his men; after which, to strike a terror into the rest of the natives, he caused the chiefs and ringleaders of the rebellion to be put to death. This severity had the desired effect; for ever since the inhabitants have continued faithful and obedient subjects to the crown of Spain.

The island of Teneriffe, or the White Mountain, so called by the natives of Palma; Thener, in their language, signifying a mountain, and Ise, white: the pike, or summit of Teneriffe, being always covered with snow. This name has been continued to it by the Spaniards ever since; but the natives called it Chineche, and themselves Vincheni: how the Spaniards came to give them the name of Guanches, is not known.

The inhabitants of this island were in general of a middle stature: those who dwelt on the north side of the island were much fairer, and had hair of a lighter colour than



those in the southern parts. A man, in their language, was called *Coran*, and a woman, *Chamato*. A few years before the conquest of *Teneriffe*, there was a prince called *Betzenuria*, who governed the whole island: he had nine sons, who, upon the death of their father, divided the government equally amongst them; by which means the island became divided into nine kingdoms, eight of which did homage to *Tmobat*, the elder brother, who was the most powerful, being possessed of the richest and most fertile part of the island, being that tract which stretches between *Orotava* and the brow of the hill above the port of *Santa Cruz*, in which he could raise seven thousand fighting men. One of the brothers, named *Acaymo*, was king of *Aguimar*; another, called *Atguarona*, of *Abona*; and a third, *Arvitocaspe*, of *Adehe*: the names of the other four are lost, but they reigned in *Teghest*, *Icoden*, *Centejo*, and *Daute*. The royal dignity was, in their language, called *Quebechi*, and was elective. In the summer the king resided in the mountains, but in the winter near the sea side. When he changed his place of residence, or travelled, the elders of his tribe assembled, and carried before him a scepter and a lance, with a kind of flag upon it, to give notice of the king's approach to all who might be travelling upon the road, that they might pay him the customary homage, which was by prostrating themselves before him on the ground, wiping off the dust from his feet with the corners of their garments, and kissing them.

The king was always obliged to marry a person who was his equal; but if such a one could not be found, he took his own sister to wife, not being permitted to debase his family by a mixture of plebeian blood.

The natives acknowledged a God, whom they called by the names *Achguarergen*, *Achoran*, and *Achaman*, which signify, in their language, the Sustainer of the heavens and the earth. They also gave him the titles of *Achuhuiaban*, *Aahuhucana*, and *Aguayarerar*, i. e. the Great, the Sublime, and the Sustainer of all.

When they were in great distress, occasioned by want of rain, &c. they assembled in certain places set apart for that purpose, with their children and flocks, where they sat in a circle on the ground, weeping and making a mournful noise, their flocks bleating at the same time for want of food, for both men and beasts, on these occasions, were debarred all kind of sustenance. No man was allowed more than one wife, and they married without any regard to kindred, except that of a mother or sister. They could put away their wives when they pleased; but the children of those women who were repudiated were reckoned illegitimate, and could not inherit their father's effects. They had a custom among them, that when a man by chance met a woman alone on the road, or in a solitary place, he was not to look at, or speak to her, unless she first spoke to, or demanded ought of him; but to turn out of the way: and if he made use of any indecent expression, or behaved in an unbecoming manner, he was severely punished. When their children were born, they were washed all over with water, by women set apart for that office, who were virgins, and never allowed to marry.

The men wore cloaks of goats skins, dressed and softened in butter; those of the women were longer, and reached down to their feet, with petticoats of the same stuff underneath. Both sexes frequently anointed their bodies with sheep's oil, being particularly lean, and their skins very dry. Their language differed entirely from those of the other islands, and was very guttural. They had no iron or other metal among them; and instead of instruments made of these, they used a black hard stone, sharp-



sharpened and made fit for killing sheep, cutting and working timber, &c. These they called Tavonas.

They had often disputes among themselves about their flocks and pastures, which frequently ended in wars. Their offensive weapons were darts, made of the pitch-pine, sharpened and hardened in the fire like those used in Gran Canaria. They had also a weapon like a spear, very sharp, which they called Anepa; and so dexterous were they at throwing these, that they scarce ever missed their mark. When an enemy approached, they alarmed the country by making a smook, or by whistling, which was repeated from one to another. This latter method is still in use amongst them, and may be heard at an almost incredible distance. The inhabitants of Teneriffe were divided into three classes, the nobles, the gentlemen, and peasants, the first was called Achimenfey, i. e. of or belonging to the king's house or family, the word for king being in their language Menfey, but in speaking to him they call him Quevehiera, which signifies Your Highness: the second rank, namely, the gentry or yeomen, were called Cilhiciquico; and the third, Achicarnay. They believed that God created them of earth and water, and that he made as many women as men, giving them cattle, and every thing necessary for their subsistence; but that afterwards, they appearing to him to be too few, he created more; but to these last he gave nothing; and when they asked him for flocks of sheep and goats, he told them to go and serve the other, who would in return give them sustenance; from these, say they, are descended the Achicarnay, or servants.

They had a custom, that in the cave or house where the husband and wife slept, no other person was allowed to sleep. They did not lie together, but had separate beds in the same house or cave: these beds were made of herbs or grass, covered with goats skins neatly dressed and sewed together, with blankets or coverings of the same stuff.

There were among them artificers who dressed goats skins, and made their garments; potters, who made earthen vessels; and carpenters, who wrought in wood: these were paid for their labour in flesh, barley, or roots. The natives of Teneriffe were very neat and cleanly; they washed their hands and faces whenever they arose from sleep, or when they sat down to eat, and after they had eaten. Their food was the flesh of goats and sheep, boiled or roasted; and this they ate alone, and not like the Europeans, with the addition of bread or roots. They also ate barley-meal, roasted and dressed with butter and milk; this dish they called Ahoror. After eating, they did not drink for the space of half an hour, as they imagined that drinking cold water immediately after eating warm victuals, spoiled and hurt their teeth. They had no other cattle but sheep and goats. Their grain was wheat and barley. They had little dogs, which they called Cancha.

The men prepared the ground for seed, by hoeing it with wooden hoes, and the women sowed the seed. Their seed-time was in the month of August, which they called Venesmer. They had beans and peas, or vetches, all which they called Hachichi. Milk they called Ahof; butter, Oche; and melasses, Chacerquen, which they made of mocanes, called in their language Yoja. The method of making it was this: when the mocanes were ripe, they exposed them three or four days to the sun; then bruised or mashed them, and boiled them in a quantity of water till it was almost all evaporated; then they strained the remainder through a sort of sieve made of rushes, and preserved it as a medicine in fluxes and pleurisies, which were common in the island.



When they were troubled with acute pains, they drew blood from the part affected with lancets made of Tavonas, or sharp stones.

Their wars, as has been observed before, were generally about the boundaries of their lands and pasture. The women attended them on those occasions, with provisions, &c. and in case any of the men were killed, they carried off the dead, and interred them in caves. When any person died, they preserved the body in this manner: first, they carried it to a cave, and stretched it on a flat stone, where they opened it, and took out the bowels; then twice a day they washed the porous parts of the body, viz. the arm-pits, behind the ears, the groin, between the fingers, and the neck, with cold water: after washing it sufficiently, they anointed those parts with sheep's butter, and sprinkled them with a powder made of the dust of decayed pine-trees, and a sort of brush-wood, which the Spaniards call Bressos, together with the powder of pumice-stone; then they let the body remain till it was perfectly dry, when the relations of the deceased came and swaddled it in sheep or goat skins dressed: girding all tight with long leather thongs, they put it in the cave which had been set apart by the deceased for his burying-place, without any covering. The king could be buried only in the cave of his ancestors, in which the bodies were so disposed as to be known again. There were particular persons set apart for this office of embalming, each sex performing it for those of their own. During the process they watched the bodies very strictly, to prevent the ravens from devouring them, the wife or husband of the deceased bringing them victuals, and waiting on them during the time of their watching.

Their manner of holding their courts of judicature was, they fixed on some large plain in the island, in the middle of which they placed a large and high square stone, and on each side thereof several others of inferior size and height. On the day appointed for holding the court, the king (who was always present on these occasions) was seated on the high stone, and the principal elders of the district on the lesser ones, according to their seniority; and in this manner they heard and decided causes. When any one was sentenced to corporal punishment, he was laid flat on the ground, the king delivering the staff or scepter, which he always carried with him, into the hands of some person, ordering him to give the offender such a number of blows therewith as he thought his crime merited, and then commanded him to be taken from his presence. For murder, the king took away the criminal's cattle and effects, and gave them to the relations of the deceased, and banished the murderer from that district; but at the same time took him under his protection, so that the friends and relations of the deceased might not do him any hurt. They never punished any person with death, saying, that it belonged to God alone to take away that life which he gave.

The natives of this island did not worship idols, nor had any images of the Deity. Besides the names they gave to God already mentioned, they called him Guararirari, (i. e. Possessor of the world) Atguaychafunatuman, (i. e. Possessor of heaven) Atuman in their language signifying heaven. After the conquest, they called the virgin Mary, Atmaycequayarirari, the mother of him who possesses the world.

They had a custom among them, that when one person went to the house of another, he did not attempt to enter in, but sat on a stone at the door, and either whistled or sang till some one came out and desired him to walk in. Whoever observed not this ceremony, but entered into another person's house without being invited, was liable to punishment, as they reckoned it a very great affront.

They



They had a wonderful facility in counting the number of their sheep and goats when issuing tumultuously out of a fold, without so much as moving their lips, or pointing to them with their fingers.

The armament from the island of Palma, commanded by Alonzo de Lugo, arrived at the port of Anaso on the 3d day of May, which day, among A. D. 1493. those who profess the Romish religion, is the festival of the Holy Cross, and on this account Alonzo de Lugo named the port Santa Cruz, which name it still retains.

Disembarking his troops, he marched up the high and steep mountain above the port, on the top of which commences the plain, now called the Laguna, and where the city of that name stands.

Proceeding forwards, he came to a plain, where is now the hermitage called De Gracia; there he encamped, and was waited on by Acaymo, king of Guimar, and the kings of Anaga, Adehe, and Abona, with whom he entered into a league. They informed him of the strength of Ventomo, king of Taora, who was then at war with all the kings of the island: having received this intelligence, he marched towards him. The king of Taora met him with only three hundred chosen men, and demanded what he wanted of him? Alonzo de Lugo told him, he came only to court his friendship, to request him to embrace Christianity, and become a vassal to the king of Spain, who would heap many favours on him.

To this the king of Taora replied, that as to his proposal of peace and friendship, he accepted it most willingly; but as to embracing Christianity, he did not know what he meant by that. In answer to his becoming a vassal to the king of Spain, he said, he knew him not, neither would he, who was free born, subject himself to any man; but as he had all his life-time been free, so he intended to die. Having thus answered Alonzo's proposals, he left him, and went to his own district. Alonzo de Lugo despising Ventomo's answer, marched forward, and encamped at a place called Aguerre, from whence he made inroads into the country, imagining from what had been told him of the king of Taora, that if he once conquered that chief, the rest of the island must submit at once. So passing by the districts of Anago, Tacoronte, and Tegueste, without meeting with any resistance, he came to Orotava, then called by the natives Aracifapale, where he made a great booty of cattle; with which he was returning back, when Bentomo assembled his three hundred men, and gave the command of them to his brother, with orders to harass the Spaniards in their retreat in the narrow and difficult passes, that they might be detained until such time as he could draw together the rest of his forces to attack them. Accordingly, as the Spaniards were passing a narrow defile, surrounded with high cliffs or mountains, the three hundred Guanches, who lay in ambush, gave a great shout and whistle, and then fell on them with such fury that they put them entirely to the rout, for the Spaniards could make no use of their cavalry in that place, on which they much depended, nor avail themselves of the superiority of their numbers; so that there was no remedy but in a precipitate flight. The Guanches pursued them closely, making great slaughter of the fugitives. The king's brother having sat down upon a stone by the way-side to rest himself, being much fatigued, Ventomo came up to him with the forces he had gathered together, and seeing his brother sitting there by himself, he reprimanded him severely; but the other replied with great coolness, "I have done



“done my part in vanquishing the enemy; now the butchers are doing theirs in killing them.” In this battle the greatest part of Alonzo’s army perished; and as the place where it was fought lay near Centejo, it was called *La Matanza de Centejo*, i. e. the slaughter of Centejo, which name it still retains. In this action the Spaniards lost six hundred men, and Alonzo de Lugo himself narrowly escaped: in the battle he was knocked off his horse by a blow with a stone on his mouth, which beat out some of his teeth; and as he lay on the ground he was surrounded by some Guanches, who killed his horse, but he himself was bravely defended by Pedro Benitez, surnamed the One-eyed, who rescued him out of their hands, and gave him another horse, which he mounted, and escaped with some of his troops to the port, where the ships received them on board, and immediately dispatched their boats to go along the coast in quest of the rest who had escaped from the battle: they found ninety together, who, by swimming, had saved themselves on a rock in the sea, whom they took off and brought to the ships. Some days after they had collected together their scattered troops, and refreshed them, they landed in the same port, but were attacked and beaten by the natives, so that they were obliged again to embark with some loss. Quite dispirited by these misfortunes, Alonzo knew not what course to take; for he could not pretend to land again, having lost in the two battles upwards of seven hundred men. At length he returned with the remains of his troops to Gran Canaria, where he and his men were hospitably received by his old friends, who gave him all the assistance in their power. From hence he sent to some merchants at Seville, who had assisted him with money in his expedition to Palma, requesting another supply, which they granted. With this money he levied troops in Gran Canaria; at the same time the duke of Medina Sidonia sent six carvels, having on board six hundred and fifty men and forty horses, commanded by Bartolomeo Estupinan. Ignes Peraza, widow of Diogo de Herrera, also sent him a reinforcement of troops from Lancerota.

Alonzo de Lugo now found himself at the head of a thousand foot and seventy horse, all completely armed. With these forces he embarked in the six carvels and other vessels. Juan Melian de Betancour, son-in-law to don Alonzo Jaimes de Sotomajor, went as Alferrez, or standard-bearer, to the expedition, carrying the standard of Gran Canaria. The fleet arrived at Santa Cruz, where the greater part of the forces landed, and marched directly to the plain of Laguna, where they had a slight skirmish with the Guanches, near the hermitage of Gracia. From thence proceeding forward to Taora, in two divisions, they came near the army of the Guanches, being the united forces of the island, with whom they had many encounters. But the natives, seeing the number and good order of the Spaniards, the precautions they took in avoiding ambuscades and difficult passes, and considering the small success they had had in their frequent skirmishes with them, and also, that notwithstanding the great blow they gave them at Centejo, they returned in so short a time, and with so formidable an army; they began to think seriously of treating with them. Accordingly assembling all the chief men of the island, they sent to Alonzo de Lugo to beg a truce, in order to have a conference with him, which he immediately granted. They accordingly came, and were received with great civility, and nobly entertained. They then demanded of him what motives had induced the Spaniards to invade the island in that hostile manner, disturbing the repose of the inhabitants, plundering them



them of their cattle, and carrying the people into captivity, without having received any provocation from them; and desired also to know on what pretensions he continued to make war upon them? To all which Alonzo de Lugo replied, that he had no other design than to make them become Christians, and serve God in a right manner; which if they would consent to, he would suffer them to remain in the quiet and peaceable possession of their lands, cattle, and other effects. The Guanches, after taking this proposal into consideration, came to Alonzo de Lugo, and told him they were willing to become Christians: whereupon all the Guanches then present were immediately baptized; and for several days after, others came in from all parts of the island, until such time as all the inhabitants of the island had received baptism. This sudden revolution gave great joy to Alonzo de Lugo, who now saw the whole island reduced without bloodshed, for which he gave God thanks, and founded a hermitage on the spot where the treaty with the Guanches was concluded, and called it *Nuestra Senora de la Victoria*, i. e. Our Lady of Victory: it is situated in the road between Orotavia and the city of Laguna.

Having quieted the natives, and settled the government on a regular plan, he went through the island in quest of a proper place for building a city. At length he made choice of a spot in the plain of Laguna, where he laid the foundation  
A. D. 1495. of a city on the 25th day of July, being St. Christopher's day, and therefore called it St. Christobal de la Laguna. When he landed at Santa Cruz, he left some people there to erect a fort, for the security of his troops, where, in case of any disaster befalling them, such as that they met with at Matanza de Centejo, they might have a place of refuge to fly to. This town of Santa Cruz is now become the largest of any in the Canary Islands.

After the reduction of Teneriffe, most of the officers and soldiers returned to Spain. To those who chose to remain in the island, Alonzo gave lands for their maintenance; and sent advice to Castile, to their majesties, Ferdinando and Isabella, of what he had done, who were highly pleased with the news of the conquest of all the Canary Islands, which had cost them so much blood and treasure, but were now, with the kingdom of Granada, annexed to the crown of Castile: so that the Italians, French, and other Europeans, could no longer upbraid the Spaniards with going into foreign climes in search of countries to conquer, while they could not expel the Moors from their own.

King Ferdinando appointed Alonzo de Lugo governor of the islands of Teneriffe and Palma, with the title of lieutenant-governor of the Canary Islands; and invested him with power to distribute lands amongst those who had assisted in the conquest, and others who might settle on the island. His majesty likewise granted them, for their encouragement, many privileges and exemptions.



## CHAPTER II.

*Account of the Spanish historians. Particulars of the Life of Columbus: motives which induced him to proceed on discoveries to the westward: offers himself to the Spanish Court: treats with other princes: agrees with Ferdinand and Isabella: sails from Spain: occurrences of the voyage: discovers several islands: arrives at Cuba. Alonzo Pinzon leaves the admiral. Columbus continues his discoveries: loses his ship: resolves to settle a colony: sails for Spain: puts in at Lisbon: arrives in Spain: honours conferred upon him.*

THE accounts of the early Spanish voyages, like those of the first Portuguese, have few of them been published separately: to different historians we are indebted for collecting memorials from which they have composed their histories. The authors on this subject are many; but Antonio Herrera, historiographer to his Catholic majesty, has given the world the most perfect and authentic account that has yet been published, under the title of *Historia General de los Hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y Terra Firme del Mar Oceano*.

This excellent history was compiled by command of the king of Spain, and Herrera was furnished with the best materials the crown could afford, both printed and manuscript. He informs us, that he has followed the original papers of the Royal Chamber and Archives, and the books, registers, relations, and other papers of the Royal and Supreme Council of the Indies; omitting several things delivered by others in print, which were not verified by authentic writings; but that he had, at the same time, consulted all the printed books, and taken as much from them as could be verified.

A history thus formed may excuse the necessity of consulting any other; yet as some of them are confessedly of great repute, and as we shall occasionally make extracts from them, we shall take a slight review of them, and of their respective degrees of merit.

Peter Martyr, of Angleria, was a Milanese, and takes to himself the double title of apostolic notary, and counsellor to king Ferdinand, in whose service he was at the time of the discovery of the new world, the history of which he has written in thirty books, addressed to different personages. The opportunities this author had, plead strongly in favour of his work; yet some writers censure him as imperfect, and little to be depended on.

Columbus, the son of the admiral, wrote his father's life, including his voyages, and, making allowance for filial prejudices, certainly deserves credit.

Hernandes de Oviedo y Valdez published, in 1535, his *Historia General y Natural de las Indias*. He held an office, which carried him to the continent of America; and, on his return, finding the relation of those things very imperfect respecting many things with which he was well acquainted, he composed A Summary of the Natural History of the Indies, which he published in one volume, and contains every thing relating to the first discovery. He is ranked among the first of the Spanish writers.

From these authors we shall occasionally take extracts; but our principal guide will be Herrera, who, as his translator justly observes, comprises them all, and has strictly adhered to the truth, without favour or affection.

The



The discovery of America was reserved for the immortal Columbus. As every thing which respects so celebrated a character is acceptable, we shall select a few anecdotes of him, before he embarked in this great undertaking.

The place of his birth has never yet been decided; some say it was at Nerni, or at Cugureo, a little village near Genoa; others at Savone, or Plaifance, in Lombardy. His son Ferdinand tells us, that there were in his time some very considerable persons of his family at the latter place; and that some tombs were to be seen there, with the names and arms of the Columbi upon them.

The admiral's parents having lost their property during the wars of Lombardy, were constrained to follow the sea. Ferdinand visiting two brothers of the name of Columbus, at Cugureo, both very rich, the younger of whom was one hundred years old, he was shewn one of his father's letters, where it was mentioned, that both him and his father followed that profession.

Columbus was a man of a middling stature, long visaged, aquiline nose, and sparkling eyes. In his youth he had fair hair, but which turned at the age of thirty; he ate and drank little; his manners were simple; he was pious, and courteous to strangers and to his domestics; his parents sent him to Pavia, where he closely applied himself to cosmography, astronomy, and geography, three sciences in which he particularly excelled. When he was perfect master of what was necessary, he went to sea, and made several voyages to different parts.

Meeting with a person of his name and family, called Columbus the younger, well known for his exploits against the infidels, our Columbus joined his company, and sailed along with him. Receiving intelligence that four Venetian galleys were returning from Flanders, they went in quest, and fell in with them between Lisbon and Cape St. Vincent, where they came to action. It lasted from morning until night; in the beginning of which a Venetian galley caught fire, and communicated it to the galley in which Christopher Columbus was. As it could not be extinguished, the people on board threw themselves into the sea; Christopher caught hold of an oar in the water, and by that means got on shore on the coast of Portugal.

He went to Lisbon, where he was assured of meeting with some Genoese, his acquaintance; there he was well received, and being a well-made man, a young lady of a good family, named Filippe Mognez, who was in the convent to which he went to mass, saw him, conceived an affection, made him acquainted with it, and married him. This lady, was daughter to Pedro Mognez Pereftello, who had been some time dead. After the marriage, he and his wife lived with her mother.

One day the good old lady, in conversation with him, remarked, that he had a strong inclination to the sea; that her husband had been a great seaman, and had sailed in company with two other captains, his friends, to discover new countries, and that they had discovered the islands of Porto Santo and Madeira.

Columbus was highly pleased with this information, and begged her to shew him the relation of her husband's voyages, which she did. He read and drew much information from it, and often conversed with several able seamen, who informed him of the course which the Portuguese steered for Mina and other parts of Africa; and afterwards reasoning with himself, concluded, that since the Portuguese had penetrated so far to the south, the same might be done to the west, and new discoveries made that way. It will be here proper to enter further into the reasons which determined him in his opinion, which we shall give in the words of Herrera.



The generality of mankind were far from imagining there could exist any such regions as those we now call the West Indies; such ideas were looked on as extravagant. It was generally believed the land terminated at the Canary islands, and that all to the westward thereof was sea. Although some of the ancients gave hints there were such countries, yet they had not left any that Colon, or Columbus, as we call him, who was the first discoverer of the West Indies, could make use of.

Columbus had many reasons to believe there were other countries: he was a great cosmographer, much experienced in navigation; considered, that the heavens being circular, and moving round the earth, that the earth and water, compacted together, formed a globe or ball of two elements, and that the parts known were not the whole earth, but that there was still much undiscovered, in the space of three hundred and sixty degrees, which forms the whole circumference; for although many doubted whether there were land and sea towards the poles, yet he concluded it was necessary that the earth should bear the same proportion at the Antarctic pole, as it does at the Arctic.

He also concluded, that as the Portuguese sailed to the southward, it was practicable to sail to the westward, and that of course there must be land that way. The more to confirm his opinion, he noted all the tokens sailors had observed, which any way favoured his opinion; and at length became positive, that to the westward of the islands of Cape Verde and the Canaries, there were many countries, and that it was practicable to navigate that sea, and to discover them, because the world being round, all its parts must of necessity be so; that the earth is so fixed, that it can never fail; and that the sea, though contained in the bays of it, preserves its rotundity, without over-running, with respect to its centre of gravity.

The admiral, therefore, being furnished with many philosophical reasons, authorities of writers, and intimations of sailors, being sensible, that it is natural for all the water and the earth to form the globe, and that it may be round from east to west, so that men might travel on it, till the feet of some come to be opposite to the feet of others, where-soever they happen to be diametrically against each other; then considering that a great part of the globe had been already sailed over, and that there remained no more to discover than the space from the most eastern ports of India, of which Ptolemy had knowledge, till holding on still to the eastward, they could return through the western part to the Azore and Cape Verde islands, the most western land then discovered; and that the space there was between the end eastward, and the islands of Cape Verde, could not be above the third part of the greatest circle of the globe, since they had already proceeded to the eastward as far as five hours of the sun, he concluded, that since Marinus, in his Cosmography, had writ of as much as amounted to fifteen hours, or that part of the globe to the eastward, and was not yet come to the eastern extremity, it followed of course, that the said extremity must be further on, and of consequence the more it extended to the eastward, the nearer it must approach to the islands of Cape Verde, in our western way; and that if the said interval were greater, it might easily be sailed in a few days; and if there were land, it would be the sooner discovered to the westward, as being nearer to the said islands. In this opinion he was confirmed by Martin de Bohemia, a Portuguese, his friend, native of the island of Fayal, and an able cosmographer.

God (says Herrera) several ways prompted don Christopher Columbus to undertake so great an enterprise; and besides the reasons already mentioned, he had the following.



following. He went upon very probable experience ; for discoursing with some men used to navigate the Western Ocean, and particularly to the islands Azores, Martin Vicente affirmed to him, that being once four hundred and fifty leagues to the westward of Cape St. Vincent, he took up a piece of wood, artificially wrought ; and, as far as could be guessed, not with iron ; for which reason, and because the wind had been many days together westerly, he imagined that stick came from some island.

Peter Correa, who was married to a sister of don Christopher's wife, assured him, that in the island of Porto Santo, he had seen another piece of wood, brought by the same winds, and wrought in the same manner ; and that he also saw some very large canes, every joint whereof would hold three azumbres, that is, near five English quarts of liquid measure. Don Christopher said, he had heard the same asserted by the king of Portugal, in discoursing on these affairs ; and that he had such canes, and ordered them to be shewn him, which he supposed to have been brought on the sea by the force of the wind, since it was not known that there were any such in all our parts of Europe ; and he was confirmed in this belief, by Ptolemy's saying (in the first book, chap. xvii. of his Cosmography) that there are such canes in India. He was also assured by inhabitants of the islands Azores, that when the wind blew hard at west and north-west, the sea brought some pine trees, and left them on the coast of Graciosa and Fayal, there being none in any part of those islands. The sea cast upon the island of Flores two dead bodies of men, who seemed to have very broad faces, and different features from the Christians. Another time there were found two canoes, or almadias, with a covering to take off, which it is likely had been driven by the wind as they were passing from one island to another, and because they never sink, had driven to the Azores.

Antony Leme, married in the island of Madeira, affirmed, that having sailed in his caravel a considerable space to the westward, he fancied he had seen three islands near to the place where he then was ; and many people in the islands of Gomera, Hierra, and the Azores asserted, that they every year saw some islands to the westward. This, don Christopher said, might be understood of the island Pliny mentions, book II. cap. xcvi. of his Natural History, where he says, that in the northern parts, the sea tore off some trees from the land, which had such great roots, that it carried them like floats on the water, and at a distance they looked like islands.

An inhabitant of the island of Madeira, in the year 1484, asked leave of the king of Portugal to go to discover some land he swore he saw every year, and always after the same manner ; therein agreeing with the inhabitants of the islands Azores ; and hence it was, that in the ancient sea-charts, some islands were represented about those seas, particularly those they called Antilla, which they placed somewhat above two hundred leagues to the westward of the Canaries and the Azores, and that the Portuguese supposed to be the Island of the Seven Cities, the same and desire whereof has occasioned many, out of covetousness, to spend much money to no purpose.

It is reported, that the Portuguese say, this Island of the Seven Cities was peopled by them at the time when Spain was over-run by the Moors, in the reign of king Roderic ; for that seven bishops flying from that persecution, embarked, with a great number of people, and arrived in that island, where each of them built his town ; that the people might not think of returning, they set fire to the ships ; and that in the days of don Henry, infante of Portugal, a ship sailing from that kingdom was driven upon this island by a storm, and the natives carried the sailors to the church, to see whether they were Christians, and performed the Romish ceremonies ; and perceiving they



they were such, desired them to stay there till their sovereign came; but that the seamen fearing lest they should burn their ship to detain them, returned with much joy to Portugal, well assured they should be well rewarded by the infante, who reproved them for coming away without a better account, and ordered them to return thither; but that the master and seamen durst not perform it, and departing the kingdom, never came back.

They farther add, that the cook's boy of the Portuguese ship, took up some earth or sand for their cook-room, and found that much of it was gold. Several sailed from Portugal in quest of this province, among whom was one James de Tiene, whose pilot, James Velazquez, an inhabitant of Palos, affirmed to Columbus, that they lost themselves off the island Fayal, and sailed one hundred and fifty leagues with a S. W. wind, and at their return descried the island of Flores, being guided by many birds they saw fly that way, which they knew were not sea fowl. He afterwards said, they had sailed so far N. W. that Cape Clear, in Ireland, bore east from them, where they found the west winds blew very hard, and the sea was very smooth, which they supposed to be occasioned by some land that was thereabout, which sheltered them to the westward, and that they did not proceed to discover it, because, it being then August, they were afraid of the approaching winter. This happened forty years before Columbus discovered the West Indies. Another sailor, at the port of St. Mary, said, that sailing to Ireland, he had seen that land, which the rest of the ship's company imagined to be Tartary, that it bore away to the westward, and has since appeared to be the coast called Bacallaos, in the north of America; but that they could not come at it by reason of the violent winds. Peter de Velasco, a Galician, affirmed, that sailing for Ireland, he ran so far to the northward, that he saw land to the westward of that island. Vincent Diaz, a Portuguese pilot, of the town of Tavira, coming from Guinea, said, that about the island of Madeira he fancied he saw an island, which seemed to be true land; that he discovered the secret to a Genoese merchant, his friend, whom he persuaded to fit out a ship for the discovery, and having obtained leave of the king of Portugal, orders were sent to Francis de Cazana, the merchant's brother, to fit out a ship at Seville, and put it under the command of Vincent Diaz, but that he making a jest of that affair, would not do it; and the pilot returning to the island Tercera, with the assistance of Luke de Cazana, fitted out a ship, and sailed two or three times above one hundred leagues, but never found any thing. To this was added the search of Gaspar, and Michael de Cortereal, sons to the commander that discovered the island Tercera, who were lost in quest of this land. All these were motives to excite don Christopher Columbus in earnest to embrace the enterprise, for when the divine Providence decrees to do any thing, it well knows how to fit the time and chuse the persons, and giving the inclination, furnishes the helps, offers the opportunities, and removes the obstacles, that the effects may take place.

Enough being said in relation to the inducements Columbus had to be persuaded that there were new lands, it will be proper to say something of the opinion, which long prevailed among many, that there were no Antipodes, which the admiral was against, though that controversy is now ended, by means of the Spanish nation, which has discovered the Indies, lands of the Antipodes, navigating the great ocean, against the opinion of the ancients, who affirmed it was impossible to navigate the same, crossing



crossing the torrid zone, which, if it had reached their knowledge, would have been great cause of admiration.

Though some of the ancients owned that there were Antipodes, yet wanting the light God gave Columbus, and the Spaniards who performed that great enterprise, they denied there was a passage from our world to those Antipodes, because the torrid zone and the ocean lay between, which deterred them; but now philosophy has been improved, by the voyage performed in the ship *Victory*, which returned from the Molucco islands, under the command of captain John Sebastian del Cano, a native of Guetaria, in the province of Guipuscoa, having sailed round the world, touching at both Antipodes, crossing both the tropics and the equinoctial, clearing up this doubt, to all the nations in the world; and captain Ferdinand de Magallaens, by the English called Magellan, and John Sebastian del Cano, are celebrated as men worthy of eternal fame, the first for having sailed to those parts, and the latter for his return from thence.

Columbus, from the above circumstances, being very positive in the notion he had long conceived, that there were new lands undiscovered, resolved to make the same public; but being sensible that such an enterprise was only fit for great princes, he first proposed it to the republic of Genoa, which looked upon it as a dream; and after that to king John of Portugal, who, though he gave him a favourable hearing, being then taken up with the discovery of the coast of Africa, did not think fit to undertake so many things at once; yet he referred it to don Diogo Ortiz, bishop of Ceuta, who was a Castilian, born at Calzadilla, in the mastership of Santiago, and to master Rodrigo and master Jusepe, Jewish physicians, to whom he gave credit in affairs of discoveries and cosmography; and though they affirmed they looked upon it as a fabulous notion, having heard don Christopher Columbus, and understood the motives he had, and what course he designed to steer, yet did not altogether reject the project, but advised him to send a caravel, upon pretence of sailing for Cape Verde, to endeavour, by the course don Christopher proposed, to discover the secret; but that vessel having been many days out at sea, and in great storms, returned without finding any thing, making a jest of Columbus's project, who was not ignorant of this attempt.

This action very much troubled Columbus, and he took such an aversion to Portugal, that being free from his wife, who was dead, he resolved to go away into Spain, and for fear of being served as he had been in Portugal, he resolved to send his brother, don Bartholomew Columbus, at the same time into England, where Henry VII. then reigned. He was long on his passage, having been taken by pirates, and staid there to be acquainted with the humours of the court, and the method of managing affairs. Don Christopher mean time designing to propose that affair to  
A. D. 1484. their catholic majesties, Ferdinand and Elizabeth, privately made his way out of Portugal by sea, towards Andalusia, being satisfied that the king was convinced that his project was well grounded, and that those who went in the caravel had not performed what he expected of them, and therefore designed to attempt that affair again. He arrived at Palos de Moguer, whence he went away to the court, which was then at Cordova, leaving his son in the monastery of Rabida, half a league from Palos, under the charge of father John Perez de Marchena, guardian of that house, a man somewhat versed in cosmography, and learned in human literature.

He



He began to propose his affair at Cordova, where the most encouragement he found was in Alonso de Quintanilla, comptroller of the revenue of Castile, a very discreet man, who delighted in great undertakings, and who, looking upon Columbus as a man of worth, gave him his maintenance, without which he could not have subsisted so long in that tedious suit, which was so much pressed, that their catholic majesties giving some attention to the affair, referred it to father Ferdinand de Talavera, of the order of St. Jerome, prior of Prado, and the queen's confessor, who was afterwards the first archbishop of Granada. He held an assembly of cosmographers, who debated about it; but there being few then of that profession in Castile, and those none of the best; and besides, that Columbus would not altogether explain himself, lest he should be served as he had been in Portugal, they came to a resolution not answerable to what he expected; some alledging, that since during so many ages as had passed from the creation of the world, men so well versed in marine affairs had known nothing of those countries which Columbus persuaded them must be found, it was not to be imagined, that he could know more than all of them. Others, adhering more to cosmographical reasons, urged, that the world was so large, that there would be no coming to the utmost extent of the east in three years sail, whether Columbus said he intended his voyage; and in confirmation thereof they alledged, that Seneca, by way of dispute, said, that many discreet men did not agree upon the question, whether the ocean was infinite, and doubted whether it could be sailed; and supposing it to be navigable, whether there was any country inhabited on the other side, and whether it was possible to go to it: they added, that no part of this inferior sphere was inhabited, except only a small compass, which was left in our hemisphere above the water, and that all the rest was sea; and that notwithstanding it were so, that it were possible to arrive at the extreme part of the east, it would be also granted, that from Spain they might go to the extreme part of the west.

There were still others who affirmed, that if Columbus should sail away directly westward, he would not be able to return to Spain, by reason of the roundness of the globe; because whosoever should go beyond the hemisphere known by Ptolomy, would fall down so low that it would be impossible ever to return, by reason it would be like climbing up a hill; and though Columbus fully answered these arguments, they could not comprehend him; for which reason those of the assembly judged the enterprise to be vain and impracticable, and that it was not becoming the grandeur of such mighty princes to attend to so imperfect an account.

After much delay, their catholic majesties ordered this answer to be given to Columbus; that being engaged in several wars, and particularly in the conquest of Granada, they could not enter upon fresh expences; but when that was over, they would cause farther enquiry to be made into his proposals; and so they dismissed him. Those who look upon it as an invention that Columbus learnt this secret of a Portuguese pilot, who in a storm discovered those countries, alledge to this purpose, that if Columbus had been so sure of it, he would not have exposed it to be controverted, nor have waited to be so put off by their catholic majesties, but would by some other means have made out his affirmative.

Having received the answer above, Columbus went away to Seville, very melancholy and discontented, after having been five years at court to no effect. He caused the affair to be proposed to the duke de Medina Sidonia, and some say, to the duke de Medina Celi, at the same time; they also rejecting him, he writ to the king of France,



France, designing to go over into England, to look for his brother, of whom he had heard nothing for a long time, in case the French would not employ him. With this design he went to the monastery for his son don Diego, or James, in order to leave him at Cordova; and communicating his design to father John Perez de Marchena, God having reserved this discovery for the crown of Castile and Leon, and Columbus going unwillingly to treat with other princes, because by reason of the long time he had lived in Spain, he looked upon himself as a Spaniard, he put off his journey, at the request of father John Perez, who, to be the better informed of the grounds Columbus went upon, sent for Garci Hernandez, a physician, and they three conferred together upon what Columbus proposed, which gave Garci Hernandez, as being a philosopher, much satisfaction; on this father John Perez, who was known to the queen, having sometimes confessed her, writ to her, and she ordered him to come to the court, which was then in the town of Santa Fe, at the siege of Granada, and to leave Columbus at Palos, giving him hopes of success in his business. Father John Perez having been with the queen, she ordered 20,000 maravedies in florins, to be sent Columbus, by James Prieto, an inhabitant of Palos, for him to go to court, where, being come, the affair began to be again canvassed. But the prior of Prado, and others who followed them, being of a contrary opinion, and Columbus demanding very high terms, and among the rest to have the title of admiral and vice-roy, they thought he demanded too much if the enterprise succeeded, and looked upon it as a discredit if it did not, whereupon the treaty entirely ceased, and Columbus resolving to go away to Cordova, in order to proceed from thence to France, determined not to go to Portugal upon any account.

Alonso de Quaintanilla and Lewis de Santangel, a clerk of the revenue of the crown of Aragon, were much concerned to think that this enterprise should be disappointed. Now, at the request of father John Perez, and Alonso de Quaintanilla, the cardinal don Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza heard Columbus, and looking upon him as a sensible man, he had an esteem for him. Besides, the adverse party objecting, that as Columbus ventured nothing himself in the discovery, and made himself admiral of a fleet of their catholic majesties, he would not mind being disappointed in his enterprise, the cardinal offered, in answer to them, to lay down the eighth part of the expence, provided he should be paid, and have his quota of the return that should be made; but nothing yet came of it. In January 1692, he set out from Santa Fe for Cordova, in great anguish, the city of Granada being then in the possession of their catholic majesties. The same day Lewis de Santangel told the queen, he wondered that she, who had never wanted a spirit for the greatest undertakings, should now fail where so little could be lost, and so much might be gained; for in case the affair succeeded, and fell into the hands of another prince, as Columbus affirmed it was like to do, in case Spain would not accept of it, she might judge how prejudicial it would be to her crown; and since Columbus appeared to be a discreet man, and demanded no reward but out of what he should find, and was willing to defray a part of the charge, venturing his own person also, the thing ought not to be looked upon as altogether so impracticable as the cosmographers said, nor be reckoned a folly to have attempted such a mighty enterprise, though it should prove unsuccessful, inasmuch as it became great and generous monarchs, to be acquainted with the wonders and secrets of the world, by which other princes have gained everlasting renown; besides that Columbus demanded only a million of maravedies



maravedies to fit himself out; and therefore he entreated her not to suffer the apprehension of so small an expence to disappoint so great an enterprize.

The queen finding herself importuned on the same account by Alonso de Quaintanilla, who was in much credit with her, thanked them for their advice, and said, she accepted of it, provided they would stay till she could a little recover after the expences of the war, however, if they thought fit it should be immediately put in execution, she would consent, that they should borrow what money was requisite, upon some of her jewels. Quaintanilla, and Santangel kissed her hands, for that she had, at their request, resolved to do what she had refused so many others, and Lewis de Santangel offered to lend as much as was necessary. Upon this resolution, the queen ordered an alguazil of the court to go post after Columbus, to tell him from her, that she commanded him to return, and to bring him back. The alguazil overtook him two leagues from Granada, at the bridge of Pinos, and though much concerned for the small respect that had been shewn him, he returned to Santa Fe, where he was well received, and the secretary, John Coloma, was ordered to draw up the conditions, and dispatches, after he had spent eight years in inculcating the enterprize, and enduring many crosses and hardships.

When Columbus and the secretary Coloma had conferred together A. D. 1492. about the terms he had at first demanded, they agreed upon the following conditions, on the 17th of April.

“ First, their highnesses, as sovereigns of the ocean, constitute don Christopher Columbus their admiral in all those islands, and continents, that by his industry shall be discovered, or conquered in the said ocean, during his own life; and after his death, to his heirs and successors, one by one for ever, with all the pre-eminencies and prerogatives to that office appertaining, and in the same manner as don Alonso Henriquez, their great admiral of Castile, and his predecessors in the said office, had enjoyed the same within their districts.

“ Item, their highnesses appoint the said don Christopher Columbus their viceroy, and governor general, of all the islands and continents, which (as has been said) he shall discover or conquer in the said ocean, and that he chuse three persons for the government of each of them, for each office; and that their highnesses take and make choice of one of them, as shall be most for their service, and so the lands will be the better governed, which our Lord shall permit him to discover, or conquer, for the service of their highnesses.

“ Item, that all, and whatsoever commodities, whether pearls, precious stones, gold, silver, spice, or other things whatsoever; or merchandise of any kind, name, or manner whatsoever they may be, that shall be bought, exchanged, found, won, or had within the limits of the said admiralship, their highnesses from this time grant to the said don Christopher, and it is their will, that he have and enjoy the tenth part of it for himself, deducting the charges that shall be made towards the same; so that of what shall remain clear and free, he have and take the tenth part for himself, and dispose of it at his own will, the other nine parts remaining for their highnesses.

“ Item, in case that on account of the said merchandise, which he shall bring from the said islands, or lands, which shall (as has been said) be discovered or conquered, or of those that shall be taken in exchange of them of other merchants, any law suit should happen to arise, in the place where the said commerce and  
“ trade



“ trade shall be made, and carried on, if by reason of his said office of admiral it  
 “ shall belong to him to take cognizance of such controversy, it may please their  
 “ highnesses, that he, or his deputy, and no other judge shall try the said cause, if  
 “ it appertains to the said office of admiral, as the same has been enjoyed by the  
 “ admiral don Alonso Henriquez, or his predecessors in their districts, and according  
 “ to justice.

“ Item, that all the ships which shall be fitted out for the said trade, and com-  
 “ merce, whensoever, and as often as they shall be fitted, shall be liable to the said  
 “ don Christopher Columbus, if he shall think fit, to lay out the eighth part of  
 “ what shall be expended, in fitting them out, and that he accordingly have, and  
 “ receive the eighth part of the profits of such ships.”

The aforesaid articles were granted in the town of Santa Fé, in the plain of Granada, with which dispatch, and the aforesaid money, Columbus set out from Granada on the 12th of May, and leaving his sons at their studies in Cordova, he went away to the town of Palos to undertake his voyage, few at court expecting that he would perform what he had promised. Their catholic majesties strictly enjoined him, not to touch at Guinea, nor come within an hundred leagues of the Portuguese conquests. They gave him their letters patents to all kings and princes in the world, for them to give him a favourable and honourable reception, as their officer and commander. He repaired to Palos, because there were able seamen in that place, and he had many friends there, and on account of his friendship with the guardian, father John Perez de Marchena, who helped him very much in the dispatch of his affairs, persuading the sailors, who were very backward to engage in an unknown voyage. He carried with him orders for that town to furnish him with two caravels, which it was obliged to find for the service of the crown during three months every year. He fitted out another ship to be admiral, and called it St. Mary; the second was called Pinta, of which Martin Alonso Pinzon was captain, and his brother Francis Martinez Pinzon, master. The third was named Nina, carrying square sails, whose captain and master was Vincent Yaez Pinzon, who was of great help in this affair, and laid down half a million of maravedies for the eighth part of the expence. He made use of the Pinzons, because they were prime men in that town, wealthy, and skilful mariners, and the seamen seeing them approve of the voyage, were willing to undertake it.

The ships being provided for a year, having on board ninety men, most of them natives of Palos, and among them some friends of Columbus, and some of the king's servants, they set sail on Friday the third of August in the aforesaid year, half an hour before sun rising, and got over the bar of Saltes, so the river of Palos is called, directing their course for the Canary islands, after they had all, following the example of Columbus, made their confession, and received the holy communion. As they held on their voyage, on the fourth of August, the rudder of the caravel Pinta, which Martin Alonso Pinzon commanded, broke loose, as was suspected, by the contrivance of Gomez Rascon, and Christopher Quintero, mariners, to whom the caravel belonged, because they went the voyage against their will, and they had also endeavoured to disappoint it before their departure. It was hereupon necessary to lie by, and the admiral drew near to the caravel, (though he could give it no assistance) it being usual for admirals so to encourage others. But Martin Alonso Pinzon being an able sailor, the rudder was fastened with cables, in such manner, that



they were able to sail till the Tuesday following, when it again broke loose, by reason of the high wind, and they were all forced to lie to.

This mischance happening to the caravel Pinta at their first setting out, would have dismayed any superstitious person, especially considering how disobedient Martin Alonso proved to Columbus. Having repaired the rudder in the best manner they could, on the 11th of August, by break of day, they discovered the Canaries, and not being able in two days to put into Grand Canaria, because the wind was contrary, Columbus ordered Martin Alonso to procure some other vessel, as soon as he could get ashore, and he, with the other two, made for the island Gomera, to endeavour to do the same; but finding none, he returned to Grand Canaria, and resolved to make a new rudder for the caravel Pinta, and to change the sails of the caravel Nina, which were square, into those called trig sails, that she might follow the other ships more steadily, and with less danger. The fifth of September in the afternoon, he sailed, and arriving at the island Gomera, spent four days there, taking in flesh, water, and fuel, with the utmost diligence; because, being informed that three Portuguese caravels were hovering about those islands to seize him, he feared some trouble, therefore sailed to the westward, making little way by reason of the want of wind, and calm. But the next day they lost sight of land; many sighed and wept, believing they should never see it again; but Columbus encouraged and comforted them with great hopes of wealth, and good fortune. That day they run eighteen leagues; but the admiral designedly reckoned only fifteen, thinking it convenient to shorten their run, that the men might fear the less. On the 11th of September, being 150 leagues from the island Ferro, they saw a piece of a mast, which seemed to have been carried away by the current. In the same latitude, somewhat farther on, the currents set strong to the northward; and 50 leagues farther westward, on the 14th of September, Columbus, about night-fall observed, that the needle varied to the north-west about half a point, and that at break of day it did the like somewhat above half a point, by which he perceived, that the needle did not point directly at the star called the north, but at another fixed and invisible point.

This variation had not till then been observed by any person, which was much admired, and more the third day after, when he had advanced 100 leagues farther, holding the same course, because the needles then at night-fall varied to the north-west as before, and in the morning again pointed upon the very star. Saturday the 15th of September, being near 300 leagues to the westward of the island Ferro, a flame of fire was seen to fall into the sea, in the night, four or five leagues from the ships, towards the south-west; the weather being calm, and the sea smooth, the currents still setting to the north-east, the crew of the caravel Nina said, they had the day before seen a bird called a waterwagtail, which they admired, that being the first, and a bird which they say never flies above 15 or 20 leagues from land. The next day, being Sunday, they were more surprised to see spots of green and yellow weeds on the surface of the water, which seemed to have been washed away from some island, or rocks, and they saw much more on Monday, which made them conclude that they were near land; and they were confirmed in it, because they saw a little locust, or grasshopper alive upon the weeds. Others fancied they might be rocks, or lands under water, and beginning to be afraid, murmured against the voyage. It was also observed, that the sea water was not half so salt as that they had passed; that night they saw many tunny fishes, following the ships so close, that the men in  
the



the Nina caravel killed one of them with an harpoon iron, and in the morning they found the air very temperate, which was extremely agreeable, the weather being as it is in Andalusia in April. Being three hundred and seventy leagues to the westward of the island Ferro, they saw another waterwagtail; and on Tuesday the 18th of September, Martin Alonso Pinzon, who had sailed a-head with the Pinta caravel, which was a very good sailor, lay by for the admiral, and told him he had seen a multitude of birds making to the westward, which made him believe he should see land that night, and find it to the northward, fifteen leagues from where he then was: nay, he fancied he had seen it; but the admiral judging it was not so, would not lose time to go in quest of it, because he did not think himself to be in the place where he should discover it. That night the wind freshened, after they had sailed eleven days without hauling their sails, still sailing right before the wind to the westward, the admiral continually noting down every thing that happened, observing what winds blew, what his course was, what fishes and birds were seen, and all other tokens, making observations, and sounding very frequently.

The men being all unacquainted with that voyage, and seeing no hopes of any comfort, nothing appearing but sky and water for so many days, all of them carefully observed every token they saw, being then farther from land than any men had ever been before. The 19th of September, a sea-gull went to the admiral's ship, and others came near in the afternoon, which put them in hopes that some land was near, believing that those birds went not far from it. With this hope, the weather being calm, they sounded with two hundred fathoms of line, and though they found no ground, they perceived that the currents ran to the south-west. Thursday the 20th, two hours before noon, they saw two other gulls near the admiral, and some time after they took a black bird, with a white spot on his head, and feet like a duck; they also killed a small fish, and saw abundance of weeds, like what they had seen before, and the ships making way through them, they ceased to be afraid. The next morning at break of day three other little land birds came on board the admiral singing, and at sun rising they flew away, which was some comfort to the men, as believing that the other sea fowls might easily go farther from the land, but that the little birds could not come from so great a distance. Some time after, they saw another gull coming from the west-north-west; and the next day in the afternoon they saw another waterwagtail, and a gull, and spied more weeds to the northward, which was some satisfaction to them, believing the land was near.

The weeds at the same time perplexed them, some spots of them being so thick that they hindered the ship's way, and therefore they kept as clear of them as they could. The next day they saw a whale, and the 22d of September they spied some birds, and those three days the wind was at south-west; and though it was contrary, the admiral said it was good, because the men muttering, and refusing to obey, and alledging among other things, that since they had so long run before the wind, it would be hard for them to return to Spain, by reason, that though it had sometimes proved contrary, it had held but a short time, and was not steady. And though the admiral answered, that it was occasioned by their being near land, and urged some reasons for it, he stood in need of God's special assistance; for the discontents increased, the men grew mutinous, and by degrees paid him no respect, reflecting on the king for having given orders for that voyage, and almost all of them agreed not to proceed on it. The  
admiral



admiral managed dexterously, sometimes encouraging the men, and assuring them of the shortness and good success of their voyage; at other times threatening them with the king's authority. But it pleased God, that on the twenty-third the wind came up at west-north-west, the sea indifferent rough, as they all wished; and three hours before noon a turtle-dove flew over the admiral; in the afternoon a gull, and other white birds; and among the weeds they found little grasshoppers. The next day came a gull and some turtle-doves from the westward, and some small fishes, which they struck with harpoon irons, because they would not take the bait.

As the aforesaid tokens proved of no effect, the men's fear increased, and they took occasion to murmur, gathering in parcels aboard the ships, saying, that the admiral in a mad humour had thought to make himself great, at the expence of their lives; and though they had done their duty, and sailed farther from land than ever any men had done before, they ought not to contribute to their own destruction, still proceeding without any reason, till their provisions failed them, which, though they were ever so sparing, would not suffice to carry them back, no more than the ships, which were already very crazy; so that no body would think they had done amiss; and that so many having opposed the admiral's project, the more credit would be given to them. Nay, there wanted not some who said, that to put an end to all debates, the best way would be sily to throw him into the sea, and say he had unfortunately fallen in, as he was attentively gazing on the stars; and since no body would go about to enquire into the truth of it, that was the best means for them to return, and save themselves. Thus the mutinous temper went on from day to day, and the evil designs of the men, which very much perplexed Columbus; but sometimes giving good words, and at other times putting them in mind of the punishment they would incur, if they obstructed the voyage, he curbed their insolence with fear; and as a confirmation of the hopes he gave them of soon concluding the voyage successfully, he often put them in mind of the above-mentioned signs and tokens, promising they would soon find a vast rich country, where they would all conclude their labour well bestowed. The men were so anxious, and disconsolate, that every hour seemed a year, till on Tuesday the 25th of September at sun-setting, whilst Columbus was talking to Vincent Yanez Pinzon, he cried out, "Land, land, Sir: let me not loose my reward for the good news;" and shewed, towards the south-west, a body, that looked like an island, about twenty-five leagues from the ships. This, which was looked upon as an invention concerted between the two, so much cheered up the men, that they returned thanks to God, and the admiral till night made as if he had believed it to be so, steering his course that way a great part of the night to humour the men.

The next morning they all perceived they were clouds, which often look like land, and to the great regret of the greater part, they held on their course westward, as long as the wind did not hinder them. But to return to the tokens, they saw a gull, and a waterwagtail, and other birds; and on Thursday morning they saw another waterwagtail, coming from the west-ward, and many gilt fishes appeared, which they killed with harping irons; a waterwagtail flew very near the ship, and they perceived that the currents ran not so strong as before, but turned back with the tides, and there were fewer weeds. The next Friday they took many gilt fishes. On Saturday they saw a waterwagtail, which is a sea fowl, that never rests, and pursues the gulls, till they empty their bellies for fear, and catching their dung in the air, feeds





*A MAP of the*  
**EAST INDIES,**  
Engraved for the Portuguese Voyages.  
*From a Map in the last edition of the*  
*Asia of Barros.*

*O primeiro Meridiano passa pela Ilha do Ferro*







feeds on it; and of these birds there are very many in the islands of Cape Verde. Soon after two waterwagtails appeared, and many flying fishes, which having two little wings, sometimes fly a musket-shot, a few yards above the water, being about a span in length, and sometimes fell into ships. After noon they met with a great quantity of weeds in a line from north to south, and three gulls, and a waterwagtail pursuing them; the men still fancying that the weeds were a token that there was ground near under water, and that they should perish. On Sunday four waterwagtails flew near the admiral, and by their being together, they judged that they were near land; as also because four more came soon after, and they saw many weeds in a line from west-north-west to east-south-east; and many fishes called emperors, which have a very hard skin, and are not good to eat. Though the admiral took notice of these tokens, not forgetting those in the sky, he observed there, that the polar stars were at night on the west quarter, and when day came on they were on the north-east quarter, by which he concluded, that during the night they advanced but three lines, which are nine hours, and this he found every night. He also perceived, that at night-fall the needles varied one whole degree, and in the morning they were right to the star, which very much troubled and confounded the pilots, till he told them, that the occasion of it was the compass the north star takes about the pole: this gave them some satisfaction, for in reality, that variation made them apprehensive of danger, being so far from land.

On Monday the first of October, at break of day, a waterwagtail came to the admiral, which some say is like a bittern, as did others, two or three hours before noon, and the weeds came from east to west, some believing they should fall in so near the land, that the ships would be aground, and perish. That same day in the morning the pilot told the admiral, that they were then 588 leagues to the westward of the island Ferro; the admiral told the pilot, that by his reckoning, it was 584, but in his own thoughts, and according to his true reckoning, it was 607. The pilot of the caravel Nina, the next Wednesday in the afternoon said, he found they had sailed 650 leagues, and the pilot of the Pinta said 634, wherein they were mistaken, for they had always sailed before the wind. But Columbus still took no notice, lest the men should be dismayed at the vast run, for the greatest sea till then known did not exceed 200 leagues. The 2d of October they killed a tunny fish, and saw much other fish, and a white bird, and many grey, and the weeds were very much withered, and almost rotted to dust; and having seen no birds the third day, they feared they had missed some island on either side, believing that the many birds they had seen went over from one island to another, and the men being desirous to turn to one side or other to seek for those lands, Columbus did not think fit to let slip the fair weather that favoured him, so that he kept on due west, which was what he desired, because he thought he should lose the credit of his undertaking, if they saw him turning at random from one side to the other, to find out that which he always affirmed he knew. For this reason the men began again to mutiny, which none will wonder at, who shall consider so many men led by one, of whom few of them had any knowledge; exposed to so many dangers, without seeing any thing for so many days, but the sky and water, or knowing what would be the end of such a long voyage. But it pleased God to send new tokens, which in some measure quieted their minds; for on the 4th of October, after noon, they saw above forty sparrows, and two gulls, which came so near to the ships, that a sailor killed one of them with a stone, and



several flying fishes fell into the ship, which things, and the good words the admiral gave them, pacified them. The next day there flew near the ships a waterwagtail, and a gull, and several sparrows, from the westward. Sunday the 7th, some sign of land appeared to the westward; but no man durst speak of it because of the thickness of the weather, though they all wished for it, to gain the reward of an annuity of ten thousand maravedies their catholic majesties had promised for life to the first that should discover land; and to prevent their crying land at every foot, in hopes of that annuity, it was ordained, that whosoever said it, if the same were not made good in three days, should be for ever excluded from that reward, though he should afterwards really discover it. However, those aboard the caravel Nina, which was much a-head, being so good a sailer, concluding that it was certainly land, fired their guns, and put out their colours; but the farther they sailed, the more their joy abated, till it quite vanished. In the midst of this anguish, it pleased God to comfort them again with the sight of great numbers of birds, and among them many that were land fowl, flying from the west to the south-west; and Columbus considering, after he had sailed so vast a length, that such small birds could not be far from land, he concluded it must certainly be near, and therefore he altered the course he then held due west, and steered south-west, alledging, that though he altered his course, he deviated but little from his first design, and did it to follow the rule and method of the Portuguese, who had discovered most of the islands by following the flight of such birds; besides that those they then saw took the same way, he also concluded he should find land; for as they well knew, he had often told them he did not expect to find it till he had sailed seven hundred and fifty leagues from the Canaries westward, at which distance he had also told them he should discover the island Espanola, which he then called Cipango, (in English Hispaniola) and that he should certainly have found it, had he not known it was said to lie north and south, and that he had not turned to the southward, to avoid falling on it, and that he believed it lay among other islands on the left-hand, and which way those birds flew; and that by reason they were so near land, so many and such various sorts of them appeared; for on Monday the 8th, about a dozen small birds of several colours came up close by the admiral, and having hovered about the ship awhile, they held on their way, and many more made towards the south-west. That same night they saw many large birds, and swarms of small ones, which came from the northward. Some tunny fishes were seen, and the next morning a gull, ducks, and small birds, that flew the same way the other had gone before. The air blew fresh and sweet, as it is at Seville, about April; but they were so eager to see land, that they regarded no tokens; though on Wednesday the tenth they saw many birds fly by night as well as by day. Neither the admiral's encouragement, nor his reproaching them with faint-heartedness were of force to satisfy those men.

It pleased God in his mercy, at the time when don Christopher Columbus could no longer withstand so much muttering, contradiction, and contempt, that on Thursday the 11th of October of the aforesaid year 1492, in the afternoon, he received some comfort, by the manifest tokens they perceived of their being near land; for the men aboard the admiral saw a green rush near the ship, and next a large green fish, of those that keep close about the rocks. Those aboard the caravel Pinta saw a cane, and a staff, and took up one that was artificially wrought, and a little board, and saw abundance of weeds, fresh torn off from the shore. Those aboard the caravel Nina saw



saw other such like tokens, and a branch of a thorn with the berries on it, which appeared to be newly broke off, for which reasons, and because they brought up sand upon sounding, there was a certainty of their being near land, which was confirmed by the shifting of the wind, which seemed to come from the shore. Columbus being satisfied that he was near land, after night-fall, when they had said the Antiphon *Salve Regina*, as is usual among the sailors every night, he discoursed with the men, telling them how merciful God had been to them, carrying them safe so long a voyage; and that since the tokens were hourly more manifest, he desired them to watch all night, since they knew that in the first article of the instructions he had given them when they came out of Spain, he told them, that when they had run seven hundred leagues without discovering land, they were to lie by after midnight till day, and be upon the watch, for he firmly believed they would find land that night; and that besides the ten thousand maravedies annuity their highnesses had promised the person that should first discover it, he would give a velvet doublet. Two hours before midnight, Columbus standing on the poop, he saw a light, and privately called Peter Gutierres, groom of the privy-chamber to the king, and bid him look at it; he answered, he saw it. Then they called Roderick Sanchez of Segovia, purser of the fleet, who could not discern it; but afterwards it was seen twice, and looked like a little candle raised up, and then taken down; and Columbus did not question but it was a true light, and that they were near land, and so it proved, and it was people passing from one house to another. Two hours after midnight, the caravel *Pinta* being always a-head, made signs of land, which was first discovered by a sailor, whose name was Roderick de Triana, but two leagues distant. But their catholic majesties declared, that the reward of ten thousand maravedies annuity belonged to the admiral, and it was always paid him at the shambles of Sevil, because he saw the light amidst darkness, meaning the spiritual light that was then coming into those barbarous people; God (says Herrea) so ordering it, that when the war with the Moors was ended, after they had been seven hundred and twenty years in Spain, this work should be taken in hand, to the end that the kings of Castile and Leon should be always employed in bringing infidels over to the light of the catholic faith.

When day appeared, they perceived it was an island fifteen leagues in length, plain, much wooded, well watered, and having a lake of fresh water in the middle of it, well stored with people, who stood full of admiration on the shore, imagining the ships to be some monsters, and with the utmost impatience to know what they were, and the Spaniards were no less eager to be upon land. The admiral went ashore in his boat armed, and the royal colours flying, as did the captains Martin Alonso Pinzon, and Vincent Yanez Pinzon, carrying the colours of their enterprise, being a green cross with some crowns, and the names of their catholic majesties. Having all of them kissed the ground, and on their knees with tears, given thanks to God for the goodness he had shewn them, the admiral stood up, and gave that island the name of San Salvador, or St. Saviour, which the natives called Guanaham, being one of those afterwards called the Lucayo islands, nine hundred and fifty leagues from the Canaries, discovered after they had sailed thirty-three days. Then, with the proper solemnity and expressions, he took possession of it, in the name of their catholic majesties, for the crowns of Castile and Leon, testified by Roderick de Escovedo, notary of the fleet, a great multitude of the natives looking on. The Spaniards immediately owned him as their admiral and viceroy, and swore obedience



to him, as representing the king's person in that country, with all the joy and satisfaction that so great an event deserved, all of them begging his pardon for the trouble and uneasiness they had given him by inconstancy and faint-heartedness. The admiral believing those Indians to be a gentle and simple people, and seeing them stand gazing on the Christians, astonished at their beards, white faces, and cloaths, he gave them some red caps, glass beads, and such like things, which they highly valued; the Spaniards no less admiring those people, their mien and shape.

The admiral returned aboard, the Indians following him, some swimming, and others in their boats, called canoes, made of one piece of wood, like trays. They carried along with them skins, and bottoms of cotton, parrots, and javelins, the ends whereof were armed with fish-bones instead of iron, and some other things, to truck for glass toys, hawk bells, and the like, which they were so fond of, that they received the broken pieces of earthen plates and porringers as precious relics. Being a people in their original simplicity, they were all stark-naked as they were born, men and women; and most of them were young, not above thirty years of age. They wore their hair down to their ears, and some few to their necks, tied to the head with a string, like tresses. They had good faces, and features, though their extraordinary high foreheads somewhat disguised them. They were of a middle stature, well shaped, fleshy, and their skins of an olive colour, like the natives of the Canaries. Some of them were painted with black, others white, and others red, most of them on their bodies, and some on their faces and eyes, or only the nose. They were not acquainted with our weapons, for when they shewed them naked swords, they simply laid hold of them by the edges. They knew nothing of iron, and to work wood, they made use of hard and sharp stones found in rivers. Some of them having scars about them, and being asked by signs, answered, that people from other islands went to make them prisoners, and they received those wounds standing upon their defence. They seemed to be ready of tongue and ingenious, for they easily pronounced the words they once heard. No other sort of creatures were seen there but parrots. The next day, being the 13th of October, many Indians came aboard the ships, in their canoes, most of which carried forty-five persons; yet some were so small that they held but one. They rowed with an oar like the peel of an oven, as if they had dug with a spade; and their boats are so artificially made, that though they overset, the Indians swimming, turn them up again, and empty the water with dried calabashes or gourds they had for that purpose. They carried cotton to barter, and some Indians for three ceutis of Portugal (worth about a farthing) gave as many bottoms of cotton as weighed a quarter of a hundred weight. No jewels, or other things of value, were seen, except some little plates of gold they wore hanging at their noses. They were never satisfied with gazing at the Spaniards; they knelt down, lifted up their hands, and gave thanks to God, inviting one another to go and see the heavenly men.

They were asked, whence that gold came? they answered, it came from the southward, where a king had very much of it, making signs with their hands. The admiral understanding, that there were other lands, resolved to go in quest of them. The ships were never clear of Indians; and as soon as they could lay hold of any trivial thing, though it were a bit of a broken earthen plate, they leaped over-board with much joy, and swam ashore, giving what they had for any thing that was offered them. The whole day was spent in this sort of bartering, their generosity  
not



not extending to give what they had, but for the value they put upon what they received in return, looking upon the Spaniards as men come from heaven, and therefore they would have something to keep as a memorial.

The 14th of October in the morning, the admiral with the boats took a view of the coasts to the north-west. The natives followed by land, promising provisions, and calling others to see the people come from heaven, and wondering, lifted up their hands, and some swimming, and others in canoes, went to ask them by signs, whether they came from heaven, and praying them to go and rest in their country. The admiral gave them all glass toys, pins, and other baubles, being very well pleased to see so much simplicity, till he came to a ridge of rocks, where there was a safe and spacious harbour, and where a strong castle might have been erected, because it was almost encompassed with the sea. In that place were six houses, with many trees about them, which looked like gardens; and because the men were tired with rowing, and he perceived the country was not proper to make any long stay in it, he took seven Indians to learn the Spanish tongue, and returning to the caravels, set out in quest of the other islands, above an hundred appearing, plain, green, and inhabited, the Indians telling the names of them. Monday the 15th he came to one that was seven leagues from the first, which he called St. Mary of the Conception, the side whereof next to St. Saviour, extends fifty leagues along the coast, but the admiral took the coast that lies east and west, being eighteen leagues in length, anchored on the west, and went ashore. The natives immediately flocked thither, in great numbers, with much amazement; and he perceiving that it was all alike, thought fit to proceed farther. A canoe being aboard the caravel Nina, one of the seven Indians of San Salvador, or St. Saviour, threw himself over-board, and went his way, and though the boat pursued, they could not overtake him. The night before, another made his escape. Another Indian came in a canoe to exchange cotton; the admiral ordered a red cap to be put upon his head, and hawked bells on his arms and legs, and so sent him away very joyful, without taking his cotton.

The next day, being Tuesday, he sailed away westward to another island, the coast whereof stretched along eighteen leagues north-west and south-east; where he arrived on Wednesday the 17th of October in the afternoon. On their way they met an Indian in a canoe, carrying a piece of such bread as they eat, and a calabash or gourd with water, a little black earth with which they paint themselves, and dry leaves of an herb they very much value, because it is wholesome, and has a sweet scent, and in a little basket a string of glass beads, and two vintains, a small Portuguese coin, by which they knew he came from San Salvador, had passed by the Conception, and was going to this island, which the admiral named Fernandina, in memory of the king. They understood that the said Indian was going to carry advice of the Spaniards, but the way being very long, and he tired with rowing, he went aboard the ships, where the admiral ordered him bread and honey to eat, and wine to drink; and as soon as he arrived at the islands, he ordered him to be set ashore, with some toys, which he gave him. The good account he gave, caused the people to go aboard to barter for such things as they had met with in the other islands, the inhabitants of them being all of a sort. When the boat went ashore for water, the Indians readily shewed it, and carried the little tubs to fill the pipes; but they seemed to be a more understanding people than the former, for they managed better in the exchange of commodities; they had cotton cloths in their houses, and the women covered their privities



privities with a little cotton clout, from the waist half way their thighs, and others with a swath of the same; and those who had no better, covered themselves with leaves, which the maids did not.

This island appeared to abound in water, having many meadows and groves, and some agreeable little hills, which there was not in the others, with an infinite variety of birds, that sung sweetly, and flew in flocks, most of them different from what Spain affords. There were also many lakes, and near one of them they saw a creature like a crocodile, seven feet long; they throwing stones at him, he ran into the water, where they killed him with their spears, admiring its largeness and frightful shape; but time afterwards made it appear, that those animals, being scaled and flayed, are good meat, the flesh of it being white, and most valued by the Indians; and in the island Hispaniola they call them Yvanas. In that island they saw trees that looked as if they had been grafted, as having leaves and branches of four or five different sorts, and yet they were natural. They also saw fishes of fine colours, but no land creatures appeared, except large, thick, and tame snakes, parrots, the alligators afore spoken of, and a sort of little rabbits, in shape like mice, but bigger, which they call Utias. Proceeding towards the north-west, taking a view of this island, they anchored in the mouth of a fine harbour, that had an island before it, but they went not in, because it had not water enough, nor would the admiral go far from a town that covered them; whereas they had not yet seen, in any other islands, any town bigger than of ten or twelve houses, like tents, some round, and others long, with an open portal before them, as is usual in the low countries, covered with leaves of trees, well fitted for the rain and weather, with vents for the smoke, and ridges at the top, handsomely made; and within them there was no other household stuff, or ornament, than what they carried aboard the ships to barter; but their beds were a net, made fast to two posts, which are called hammocks. They also saw some little dumb dogs. They found an Indian who had a bit of gold in his nose, with some characters on it, that looked like letters, and the admiral would have it taken from him, believing it had been a coin, but it afterwards appeared that there had never been any in the West Indies.

Finding nothing more in Fernandina than in San Salvador, and the Conception, he proceeded to the others that were nearest. The fourth island he came to was called Saomoto, and he named it Isabella, in honour of the catholic queen, and took possession of it, before witnesses, and the notary, as he had done in the others. He perceived the land was as beautiful as the rest, as it is in Spain about April, and the people like the former. They killed another alligator, and as they were going towards a town, the Indians fled, carrying away what they had; but the admiral having forbid meddling with any thing, they soon came to the ships to barter like the rest, and the admiral gave them some toys, and to qualify them, asked for water, which they carried to him in calabashes, or gourds. He would not lose time at the island Isabella, or others, as there were many; but resolved to go in quest of another, which they told him was very large, and called Cuba, pointing to the south; he believing it had been Cipango, by reason of the signs they gave of it, and the extraordinary way of crying it up. He steered west-south-west, making little way on Wednesday and Thursday by reason of the rain, and at nine in the morning he altered his course to south-east, holding it eleven leagues, and discovered eight islands, lying north and south, which he called Del Arena, or of sand, because there was shoal water  
about



about them. They told him, it was a day and an half's sail from thence to Cuba. He sailed from those islands on Saturday the 27th of October, standing south-south-west, and before night saw the land of Cuba, and by reason of the darkness, and it being night, would not draw near, but lay by.

Sunday the 28th of October he drew near the coast, gave it the name of Juana, or Johanna, and it seemed to be a better country than the others, by reason of the hills, rising grounds, and variety of trees, plains, and shores, that appeared. He anchored in a great river he called San Salvador, to begin with so good a name. The woods looked very thick, the trees tall, with blossoms and fruit different from ours, and abundance of birds. The admiral desiring to have some information, sent to two houses they spied, the people whereof fled, leaving nets and fishing-tackle behind them, and a dog that did not bark. He would not allow any thing to be touched, but sailed to another great river, which he called De la Luna, or of the moon. Another he saw, which he called De Mares, or of the seas, the banks of it well inhabited. The Indians fled to the mountains, which were covered with large and tall trees of several sorts. The Indians he carried with him signified to him that there was gold and pearls in Cuba, and he thought the same likely, because he saw mussels, and said it was not ten days sail from thence to the continent, according to the notion he had conceived, Paul, a physician of Florence, having writ about it; and though he was in the right, it was not the land he imagined. Believing that if many men went on shore, it would add to the fear of the Indians, he sent two Spaniards, with one Indian of San Salvador, and one of Cuba, who came to the ships in a canoe; the Spaniards being Rodrigo de Xeres, an inhabitant of Ayamonte, and Lewis de Torres, who had been a Jew, and spoke Hebrew and Chaldaic, and some say Arabic. He gave them things to barter, and allowed them six days to return in, with instructions how to speak in the name of their catholic majesties. He ordered them to go up the country, and enquire into all affairs, without doing harm to any body. In the mean time he refitted the ship, and they observed that from all the wood they burnt, there came a sort of gum, like mastic, being in the leaf and fruit much like the mastic-tree, but that it is much bigger. In this river of Mares, the ships had room to wind. It has seven or eight fathom water at the mouth, and five within, with two ridges of high ground on the south-east, and a fine cape to the west-north-west, plain, and running out, and this was afterwards the port of Baracoa, which the Adelantado, or lord lieutenant, Diogo Velasquez, called of the Assumption.

When the ship was ready to sail, the Spaniards returned on the 5th of November, with three of the native Indians, saying, they had travelled twenty-two leagues, and found a village of fifty houses, built like those before spoken of, and that they contained about one thousand persons, because a whole generation lived in a house, and that the prime men came out to meet them, led them by the arms, and lodged them in one of those new houses, causing them to sit down on seats, made of one solid piece of wood, in the shape of a beast with very short legs, and the tail held up, the head before, with eyes and ears of gold, and that all the Indians sat about them on the ground, and one after another went to kiss their feet and hands, believing they came from heaven, and gave them boiled roots to eat, which tasted like chestnuts, and intreated them to stay there, or at least, to rest them five or six days, because the Indians that went with them said many kind things. That abundance of women soon after coming in to see them, all the men went out, and they with the same admiration



ration kissed their feet and hands, touching them as if they had been some holy things, offering what they brought; and that many men would have come away with them, but that they would admit of none but the lord and his son, with one servant.

They added, that both coming and going they found many villages, where the same respect was paid them, but that none of them had above five or six houses together; and that by the way they met many people, each of them carrying a firebrand in his hand to light fire, and perfume themselves with some herbs they carried along with them, and to roast their roots, that being their principal food; and the fire was easily kindled, because they had a sort of wood, which if they worked one piece against another, as if they had been boring a hole, took fire. They also saw a multitude of several sorts of trees, such as they had not seen on the sea coast, and great variety of birds, much different from ours, and among them partridges and nightingales; but that they had met with no four-footed creature, besides the little cur dogs that do not bark. They had much ground sown with their roots, and that sort of corn called Mayz, well tasted, either boiled or ground into flour. They saw a vast quantity of spun cotton, in bottoms, and in only one house they believed there was above twelve thousand pounds weight of it, the same growing in the fields, without being planted; and as the roses blow of themselves, so does that when ripe, though not all at the same time; for upon the same plant some were open, and others still closed; and for a leathern thong, or a piece of glazed ware, or a bit of a looking-glass, they would give a little basket full of cotton; which they did not make use of to clothe themselves, for they all went naked; but in making nets for their beds, and little clouts to cover their privities; and that being asked about gold and pearls, they said there was abundance at Bohio, pointing to the eastward.

The Spaniards still enquiring of the Indians they had aboard the ships for gold, they answered Cubanacan, which they thought had meant the Great Cham, and that the country of Cathay was not far off; because they also pointed out four day's journey. Martin Alonzo Pinzon said, it must be some great city, that was four days journey from thence; but it was not long before they understood that Cubanacan was a province in the midst of the island of Cuba, for Nican signifies in the middle, and that there were mines of gold. Having heard thus much, the admiral would not lose any more time, but ordered some Indians to be taken to be carried into Spain, from several parts, that every one might give an account of his own country, as witnesses of the discovery. Twelve were taken, men, women, and children, without giving offence; and as they were ready to sail, an Indian, who was husband to one of the women, and father to two boys that were aboard, came to the ship, and desired they would take him along with his wife and children. The admiral ordered him to be taken aboard, and all of them to be well used; and because of the north winds, he was obliged to return to a port, which he called Del Principe, or the prince's, in the same island, but without it there were many islands near, and this place he called the Sea of our Lady, and the channels between the several islands were so deep, and so set off with greens and trees, that it was delightful to pass along them. The trees were different from ours, some looking like mastic, and some like lignum aloes-trees, and palm-trees, with the stock green and smooth, and several other sorts. And though those little islands among which they passed along in their small boats, were not inhabited, there were several fires of fishermen, for the people of Cuba were wont to go a fishing in their canoes, and to get whatsoever they could to eat, for they devoured  
many



many filthy things, as large spiders, worms breeding in rotten wood, and other nasty places, and fish half raw, for as soon as taken, before boiling, they pulled out their eyes, and ate them, which things any Spaniard would lothe. This fishing and seeking of vermin were their employment at several times of the year, sometimes in one island, and sometimes in another, like people that being weary of one sort of food, look for another. In one of the islands they killed with their swords, a beast that was like a wild boar, and in the sea they found many beads of mother of pearl, and among many other fishes they took in the net, there was one like a swine, with a very hard skin, and nothing tender but the tail. They observed, that the sea ebbed and flowed much more than in any other port they had seen thereabout, which the admiral ascribed to the many islands, and the tide was the reverse of what it is in Spain, and the reason thereof he thought to be because the low water was there, when the moon was at south-west and by south.

Sunday the 13th of November, he returned to Puerto del Príncipe, or the prince's port, and erected a cross at the mouth of it, made of two large pieces of timber. On Monday he stood to the eastward, in quest of the island of Hispaniola, which the Indians called Bohio, and some of them Babeque; but it afterwards appeared Babeque was not the island of Hispaniola, but the continent, for they called it by another name, Caribana. The wind being contrary, he spent three or four days plying up and down about the island Isabella, but would not go up to it for fear the Indians should make their escape. There they found some of the weeds they had met with during their voyage through the ocean, and perceived they were carried by the currents. Martin Alonso Pinzon understanding now that the Indians said there was much gold in Bohio, being covetous to enrich himself, left the admiral on Wednesday the 21st without any stress of weather, or other lawful cause, and his ship being a very good sailer, made the best of his way, till at night he quite disappeared. By the name of Bohio, which was the island Hispaniola, it seemed the Indians would signify that it was a land full of Bohios, that is, cottages. The admiral seeing, that notwithstanding all the signals he had made, Martin Alonso was not to be found, with the two ships; the wind being still contrary, he returned to Cuba, to a large and safe harbour, which he called St. Catherine's, because that day was her eve. There he wooded and watered; saw some stones with tokens of gold in them: on the land there were tall fir-trees, fit to make masts, and perceiving that all the Indians directed him to Hispaniola, he sailed along the coast more to the south-east, twelve leagues, where he found large and safe harbours, and among them a river, up the mouth whereof a galley could easily pass, though the entrance could not be perceived unless it were near. The conveniency of the river invited him to go in the length of the boat, where he found eight fathom water; and proceeding still farther, being allured by the clearness of the water, the delightfulness of the banks, and the great variety of birds, he saw a float of twelve oars on the shore, under a sort of arbour; and in some houses close by, they found a mass of wax, and a man's head hanging in a little basket at a post; the wax they carried to their catholic majesties, none being ever after found in Cuba, whence it was concluded to have been brought from Yucatan, either by stress of weather in a canoe, or some other way. They found no people to make any enquiry of, because they all fled, but saw another canoe ninety-five spans in length, which could carry fifty persons, made of one entire tree, like the rest, and though they had no iron tools to work them, the



instruments they made for that purpose of flints, were useful, because the trees were very large, and the heart of them soft and spongy, so that they easily hollowed them with flints.

The admiral having sailed one hundred and seven leagues to the eastward along the coast of Cuba, arrived at the eastern point of it, and set out from thence on the 5th of December for Hispaniola, being eighteen leagues over to the eastward, but could not reach it till the next day, by reason of the currents: when he entered the port he called it St. Nicholas, because it was that saint's day, and found it safe, spacious, and deep, encompassed with thick woods, though the land is hilly, and the trees not very large, like those in Spain, for they saw firs and myrtles, and a pleasant river ran into the harbour, and on the shore there were many canoes as big as brigantines, of twenty-five oars; however, finding no people, he proceeded farther to the northward, to the port he called the Conception, to the southward of an island he called Tortuga, ten leagues from Hispaniola, and finding that this island of Bohio was very large, and that the soil and the trees were like those of Spain; as also that at one draught of a net, among other sorts of fish, they had taken skates, soles, and other fish known in Spain, which till then they had not seen in those parts; and that they had heard the nightingale sing, with other European birds, which they admired, about December: he called the island La Espanola, (that is, the Spanish island, by us corruptly called Hispaniola) for having called the first island San Salvador, or St. Saviour, in honour of God; the second the Conception, with respect to our lady, the mother of God; the third Fernandia, for king Ferdinand; the fourth Isabella, for queen Elizabeth of Castile; and the fifth Juana, for the prince their son: he thought fit the name of Spain should have the sixth place; though some told him, it would be more proper to call it Castellana, because only the kingdoms of Castile and Leon were concerned in that conquest. As the Indians he had aboard gave him so good an account, he was earnest to see what truth there was in it, as to the wealth of that country, and to take a view of it; but the Indians flying, and giving one another notice by fires, he thought fit to send out six armed Spaniards, who having travelled far, returned without finding any people, saying wonderful things of the delightfulness of the land. Having ordered a great cross to be erected near the mouth of the harbour, on the west side; as three sailors were in the wood seeking for proper trees for that effect, they spied abundance of naked people, who fled as soon as they saw the Spaniards. The sailors running after them, took a woman, who had a little plate of gold hanging at her nose. The admiral gave her hawk's bells, strings of glass beads, and caused a shirt to be put upon her, and so sent her away, with three of the Indians he had brought with him, and three Spaniards to bear her company to her habitation.

The next day he sent nine Spaniards well armed, with an Indian of San Salvador, to the woman's village, which was four leagues distant to the south-east. They found a town or village of one thousand houses, scattered about, and abandoned, the inhabitants being fled. The Indian went after them and called, so much extolling the Spaniards, that they returned, and being astonished and trembling, laid their hands on the heads of the Spaniards, by way of honour and respect, and carried them provisions, desiring they would stay that night among them. Abundance of people then came up, carrying on their shoulders the woman to whom the admiral had given the shirt, with her husband, who was going to return them thanks. The Spaniards re-  
turned



turned with an account that the country abounded in provisions, the people whiter, and of better countenances than those of the other islands, more tractable, and that the country which produced gold was more to the eastward; that the men were not so large, but strong boned and gross, without beards, their nostrils very wide, and their foreheads smooth and high, disagreeable, and they made them so at their birth, reckoning it graceful; for which reason, and because they always went bare-headed, their skulls were so hard, that sometimes a Spanish sword would break upon their heads. Here the admiral observed the hours of the day and the night, and found that twenty half-hour glasses were run between sun and sun; but he believed there was some mistake, through the neglect of the sailors, and judged the day was somewhat above eleven hours. Having received the aforesaid relation, though the wind was contrary, he resolved to depart from thence, and turning it between Hispaniola and Tortuga, he found an Indian in a canoe, and admired, that being in a rough sea, it had not swallowed him up. He took him and his canoe into his ship; when come to land, he sent him out with some toys, and he so much commended the Spaniards, that many came aboard the ships; but they only brought some small grains of pure gold hanging at their noses, which they freely gave; and being asked where they had that gold, they answered by signs, that there was much of it farther on. The admiral enquiring for his island of Cipango, they thought he had meant Cibao, and pointed where it lay, being the place where most gold was found in that island.

The admiral was informed, that the lord of that territory, whom they called a Cazique, was coming, with above two hundred men, to see the ships; and though young, they carried him on a bier on their shoulders: he had a tutor and counsellors. When he came aboard, it was observed with admiration, how great respect they paid him, and how gravely he behaved himself. An Indian of the island Isabella went and talked to him, telling him the Spaniards were heavenly men. He went aboard, and when he came to the quarter dack, he made signs for those that were with him to stay behind, excepting two men somewhat advanced in years, who sat down at his feet, and were his counsellors. The admiral ordered to give him to eat; he took a little of every thing, and having tasted it, gave it to the other two, and afterwards carried it to the rest. They gave him to drink, and he only put it to his mouth. They all behaved themselves very gravely, and said little; his men looked at his mouth, and spoke to him; and the admiral by means of the Indian interpreter, gave him to understand, that he was commander for their majesties of Castile and Leon, the greatest sovereigns in the world; but neither the cazique nor the rest would believe any other than that they lived in heaven. They seemed to the admiral to be a more rational people than those of the other islands; and because it grew late, the king, or cazique, returned ashore.

The next day, though the wind was contrary, and blew hard, the sea did not swell, by reason of the shelter the island Tortuga affords that coast, and some seamen went a fishing, with whom the Indians were well-pleased. Some men went to the town, and bartered little plates of gold for glass beads, which much pleased the admiral, because he was very desirous that some gold might be found upon that discovery, to shew that his promises were not vain. The king came again to the shore in the afternoon, and then a canoe arrived from the island Tortuga with forty men, to see the Spaniards, at which the cazique appeared to be concerned; but all the Indians of



Hispaniola sat down on the ground, in token of peace, and those in the canoe went ashore; but the king stood up, and threatening them, they went aboard their canoe again, and he threw water and some stones at them, which was all his anger, and he gave the admiral's alguazil, who stood by him, a stone to throw at them; but he laughed, and did not throw it. Those of the canoe very submissively returned to Tortuga, and the admiral diligently endeavoured to learn where that place was, which they said had much gold.

This day, in honour of the conception of the blessed virgin, the admiral ordered the ships to be trimmed, all their colours flying, and firing the great guns, and the king came aboard at the time the admiral was dining. He went and sat down by him, without permitting him to rise, though it was wonderful with what respect those people behaved themselves before their lord. The admiral invited him to eat, and he took the meat as he had done the time before; and after dinner they laid before the admiral a gold girdle, that looked like those in Spain, though the workmanship was different, and some plates of gold. The admiral gave the king a piece of cloth that hung at his bed's head, and some amber beads he had about his neck, a pair of red shoes, and a glass bottle of orange-flower water, with which he was much pleased. He and his followers expressed much concern, for that they could not understand one another, and offered him any thing in his country. The admiral shewed him a piece of Spanish coin, which they called Excellent, with the faces of their catholic majesties, which he much admired, as also the colours, with the cross and the royal arms. He then returned to land, the admiral paying him much honour, and he went away to his town in his chair. There also went a son of his, attended by many people, and before him were carried the things the admiral had given him, one after another, that they might be seen by all the people. Afterwards a brother of the king went on board the ship, whom the admiral treated with much courtesy and generosity, and the next day he ordered a cross to be erected in the square of the town or village that was next the sea, (which the Indians honoured, as they saw the Christians do) because the town where the king lived was four leagues from thence.

On Tuesday night, the admiral being resolved to discover the secrets of the country, set sail, and during all Wednesday, the 19th of December, could not get out of that little bay between the two islands, nor put into a harbour that was there. He saw many mountains, woods, and groves, and a little island, which he called St. Thomas. He judged that Hispaniola had many capes and harbours, and he thought the temperature of the air most pleasing, and the soil delightful. Thursday the 20th, he put into an harbour, between the little island of St. Thomas, and a cape. Several towns appeared, as also fires, because the season being dry, and the grass there growing high, they burnt it, to make passages, by reason that being naked, the dry weeds hurt them, and also to hunt the Utias, which they took with fire. The admiral entered the port in the boats, and having viewed it, said, it was a very good one. He sent out to see whether there was any town near, and they found one at a little distance from the sea. They saw Indians, who kept aloof from the Spaniards; but the Indians that came aboard the ships bid them not to fear, and immediately so many men, women, and children came, that there was no seeing through the throng. They carried meat, calabashes with water, and good bread made of maize, or Indian wheat. They did not hide the women, as had been done in other parts, but all admired to see the Christians, and standing amazed, glorified God. They were whiter, and better shaped,



shaped, better natured, and more generous, and the admiral took special care that no offence should be given them. He sent six men to see the town, where they entertained them as believing they came from heaven. In the mean time there came some canoes with men sent by a king, who desired the admiral to go to his town, and was waiting for him with many people on a point of land. He went in the boats, though many had intreated him not to go, but to stay with them. As soon as the boats came, the king sent the Spaniards provisions, and seeing they accepted of them, they went to the town for more, and for parrots. The admiral gave the Indians hawks bells, glass baubles, and some of tin. He returned to the ships, the women and children crying out, that he should not go away. To some that followed him in canoes, he gave victuals, as he did to others that swam aboard from half a league distance. Though the shore was covered with people, they could see abundance going and coming across a large plain, which was afterwards called La Vega Real, or the Royal Plain. The admiral again commended the harbour, and gave it the name of St. Thomas, because he had found it on his day.

Saturday the 22d, in the morning, he designed to go in quest of the islands which the Indians said had much gold, but was hindered by the weather, therefore sent the boats a fishing; and then one came from king Guacanagari, to desire him to go to his country, and he would give him all he had, he being one of the five sovereigns of the island, possessing the greatest part of it on the north side, where the admiral then was. He sent him a girdle he wore instead of a purse, and a vizir with ears, tongue, and nose of beaten gold. The girdle was adorned with small fish bones, like seed pearl, curiously wrought, four fingers broad. The admiral resolved to go thither on the 23d, though to please others, there went before six Spaniards with the notary, because the Indians were so much delighted every where to see them. They gave them plentifully to eat, and they brought back some things made of cotton, and grains of gold, they had bartered for. Above an hundred and twenty canoes came to the ships with provisions, and earthen ware pitchers, handsomely made and painted, full of fresh water. They also gave a sort of spice, which they call Axi; they put it into dishes of water, and drank it up, to shew it was good. The foul weather detaining the admiral, he sent the notary to king Guacanagari to acquaint him with it. He also sent two of his Indians to a town, to see whether there was any gold, guessing by the quantity he had got by bartering those days, that there was plenty of it, and it was believed for certain that this day above a thousand went aboard the ships; every one of them gave something, and those who went not aboard from their canoes, cried, "Take, take." The notary went to Guacanagari, who came out to meet him. He thought that town more regular than any he had seen before. All the people gazed on the Christians with joy and admiration. The king gave them cotton-cloths, parrots, and some pieces of gold, and the people what they had, valuing the toys the Spaniards gave them like relics. Thus the notary and his companions returned to the ships, attended by Indians. Monday the 24th, the admiral went to visit king Guacanagari, the distance from port St. Thomas to the place where the king was, being about four or five leagues, and there he staid, till seeing the sea calm, he returned aboard, and went to bed, for he had not slept during two days and a night. The weather being so calm, the sailor that was at the helm left it to a boy, though the admiral had, during the whole voyage, forbid the steersman, whether the wind blew or not, ever to quit the helm; and in reality they were out of danger  
of



of shoals or rocks, for on Sunday, when the boats went to carry the notary to the cazique, they had surveyed all the coast, and the shoals that are from the point of land to the east-south-east, for above three leagues; and they had also observed which way they might pass, and finding themselves in a dead calm, they all went to sleep, and it happened that the current carried the ship along very gently, till it struck on a rock, with such a dreadful noise, that it could be heard a league off, and the fellow that was at the helm finding the rudder strike, cried out.

The admiral hearing the cry, was first up, and then came out the master, whose watch it was, and he ordered him, since the boat was out, to let fall an anchor at the stern, for by that means they might, with the help of the capstan, work out the ship; and when he thought they were doing what he had ordered, he perceived that some were making away in the boat to the caravel that lay to the windward, half a league from thence. Observing that the water ebbed, and the ship was in danger, he ordered the mast to be cut down, and lighten it, to see whether it might be saved; but it could not be done, because the water falling away all at once, the ship was every moment left dryer, and lay athwart the sea; and though it was not rough by reason of the calm, the ship sprung a leak between the ribs, and lay down on her side, opened near the heel, and was soon full of water, and if the wind had blown, or the sea been rough, not a man had escaped; but had the master done as the admiral ordered him, the ship had got off safe. The boat came again to their assistance, for those in the other ship understanding how the case stood, not only refused to receive those that had fled, but were coming with them to the relief of the distressed. There being no possibility of saving the ship, order was taken for saving the men, to which purpose the admiral sent James de Arana, and Peter Gutierrez, to acquaint Guacanagari, that by going to visit him he had lost his ship, a league and an half from land. Guacanagari lamented this misfortune, and immediately sent the canoes, which in a moment carried off all that was upon decks, and he came himself with his brothers, and took particular care that nothing should be touched, staying in person to guard the goods, and sent word to the admiral not to be concerned, for he would give him all he had: the goods were carried to two houses he appointed to lay them up in. The Indians so affectionately gave their help in this distress, that it could not have been better done in Spain, for the people were gentle and loving, and their language was easy to be pronounced and learnt; and though they went naked, they had some commendable customs, and the king was served with much state; he was very sedate, and the people were so curious in asking, that they would know a reason for every thing. They knelt down at the time of the Ave Maria, as the Spaniards did, and at that time it did not appear that they had any other religion besides adoring the heaven, the sun, and the moon.

On Wednesday the 26th of December, Guacanagari went aboard the caravel Nina, where the admiral was, in great affliction for the loss of his ship. He comforted him, and offered him all he had. Two Indians came from another town, bringing plates of gold to exchange for hawk's bells, which was what they most valued, and the admiral had a stock of those baubles, by reason of the experience he had learnt of the Portuguese in Guinea. The sailors also gave notice, that others carried gold, and gave it for ribbons and other trifles. Guacanagari observing what the admiral valued, said, he would cause some to be brought him from Cibao, and going ashore, he invited the admiral to go and eat axis and cazabi, which was their chief diet; and gave



gave him some vizirs with gold eyes, noses, and ears, and some other small things they wore about their necks. He also complained to him of the Caribs, who carried away his people, which was the reason of his flying at first, supposing that the Spaniards had been Caribs. The admiral shewed him his arms, and a Turkish bow, with which a Spaniard shot very dexterously, offering to defend him; but what he most admired was the cannon, for when they were fired, the Indians fell down as if they had been dead. The admiral having found so much affection, and such tokens of gold, and believing the country was fruitful and wholesome, judged that God had permitted the ship to be cast away, to the end that a settlement might be made there, and that the preaching and knowledge of his most holy name might begin in that island, which it is often his divine will should not only be extended out of zeal to his service, and in charity to our neighbours, but also for the sake of the reward men expect in this world, and in the next; for it is not to be believed, that any nation in the world would have undertaken the hardships the admiral and the Spaniards exposed themselves to, in so uncertain and dangerous an enterprise, had it not been in hopes of some reward, which has since continued the carrying on of this holy work; and it pleased God to deal with the Indians and the Spaniards, like a father that is about to marry a very unseemly daughter, and therefore makes amends for that defect with the portion; for had not the Indies been such wealthy lands, none would have ventured to endure all the hardships that will be hereafter spoken of, being such as no nation could have endured, though the hopes of the reward had been greater. The Indians went and came for hawk's bells, which was the thing they most delighted in, and as soon as they came near the caravel, they held up the pieces of gold, crying, "Chuque, chuque," that is, "Take, take." An Indian came to the shore with a piece of gold, weighing half a mark, (that is, four ounces) and holding it in his left hand, stretched out the right, and an hawk's bell being put into it, he let go the gold, and ran away, thinking he had cheated the Spaniard.

The admiral resolved to leave some men in that country to trade with the people, and acquaint themselves with the country, and learn the language, to the end that when he returned from Spain, there might be some capable to give directions for making of the settlements there, and many offered themselves for that purpose. He ordered a sort of tower to be built with the timber of the ship that had perished; and at this time advice came that the caravel Pinta was in the river, towards the eastern point, and Guacanagari sent to enquire into it. The admiral carefully attended the building, and the more, for that there were daily greater inducements to it; and because Guacanagari always shewed himself fearful of the Caribs, the more to encourage, and to shew him the effect of the Spanish arms, the admiral ordered a great gun to be fired against the side of the ship that had been cast away, and the ball passing clear through, fell into the water. He shewed him what harm our weapons did, and told him, that with them, those he designed to leave in his country would defend him, because he designed to return into Spain, to bring some presents for him; but so fond were they of the hawk's bells, that being afraid they would not hold out, an Indian came at night to the caravel to beg they would save him one till morning.

A canoe that had gone in quest of the caravel Pinta, carrying a Spanish seaman, with a letter from the admiral for Martin Alonso Pinzon, affectionately intreating him to come and join him, without taking notice of his having forsaken him, returned, with



with an account that they had gone above twenty leagues without finding him; but if they had advanced five or six farther, they had succeeded. Afterwards an Indian said he had seen the caravel at anchor in a river, but they did not regard him, thinking he had imposed upon them, because the others had not found it; and the Indian spoke the truth, as it afterwards appeared, for he might see it from some high place, and it was likely he made haste to acquaint his lord. The sailor that went in the canoe said, he had twenty leagues from thence seen a king who had two plates of gold on his head, as had many others that were with him, and that as soon as the Indians of the canoe spoke to him, he took them off. The admiral fancied that Guacanagari had forbid all others selling gold to the Spaniards, that it might all pass through his hands. He hastened the building of the fort, and to that purpose went ashore from the caravel, aboard which he always lay, on Thursday the 18th of December, and as he was going in the boat, he thought he had seen Guacanagari, who went into his house, perhaps for the more state, because he had contrived to perform the ceremony he afterwards did, which was sending one of his brothers, who received the admiral with much joy and courtesy, and led him by the hand to one of the houses that had been given to the Christians, being the largest and best in the town. In it they had provided for him a raised seat made of the inward bark of palm-trees, which were as large as a great calf's skin, shaped something like it, very clean and fresh, with one of which a man covers himself to keep him from the rain, as if he was covered with a calf's skin, or cow's hide; they serve for many uses, and they call them Yaguas.

They made the admiral sit on a chair the Indians used, with a low back, and very neat, polished, and bright, as if made of jet. As soon as the admiral was seated, the brother sent to acquaint the king, who presently came, and very joyfully hung a great plate of gold about his neck, and staid with him till it grew late, and the admiral went to lie aboard the caravel. He had several motives for leaving a colony in that place; the chief whereof were to the end that when it was known in Spain that men had been left there to settle, the people might be more inclinable to go over thither; and because they could not all be contained in the only caravel he had, without much uneasiness; as also because he found those that were to stay, very inclinable to it, to which they were much encouraged by the gentleness and affability of the people; and because though he had designed to carry to their catholic majesties some natives of that country, and other most valuable things there were in it, in token of the discovery, and for the more reputation of the enterprise, it was convenient it should be known that men had staid there of their own free will. The fort had a ditch round it, and though made of wood, it was very strong against the natives, there being people to defend it. It was finished in ten days, because a vast number of men worked at it, and he called it the town of the Nativity, because on that day he came into the port. The next day in the morning, being the 29th of December, a nephew of the king's, very young, and of good sense, went aboard the caravel, and the admiral being always solicitous to know where the gold was found, he asked all people by signs, and began to understand some words. Accordingly he asked the youth about the mines, and understood, that four days journey from thence there was an island to the eastward, which he called Guarinoex, and others Macorix, Mayonis, Fumay, Cibao, and Coray, in which there was a vast quantity of gold. The admiral immediately writ down those names, and by this it appeared that he under-



understood nothing of the Indian language; for these places were not islands, but provinces in that island, and lands belonging to several kings or lords: Guarinoex was the king of that great royal plain, one of the wonders of nature; and the youth meant to tell him, that in Guarinoex's country was the province of Cibao, abounding in gold. Macorix was another province, which afforded little gold, and the other names were, as has been said, provinces, which either want or have too many letters, the admiral not knowing how to write them, because he did not understand them, and he thought the king's brother, who was present, had reproved his nephew for having told him those names. At night the king sent him a large gold vizor, desiring he would send him a basin and an ewer, which it is likely were of brass or tin. He immediately sent them, and believed he asked for them, to have the like made in gold.

Sunday the 30th of December, the admiral went to dine on shore, and it happened to be at the time when five caziques, subjects to Guacanagari, were come, all of them with crowns of gold on their heads, and with great state. As soon as he landed, Guacanagari came to meet him, and led him by the arm to the same house he had been at before, where the raised place and the chairs were. He caused the admiral to sit down with great courtesy and respect, and then took the crown from his own head and set it on the admiral's, who took off a collar he had on, of fine beads of several beautiful colours, which would have made a good show any where, and put it about the king's neck; and took off an hood of fine cloth, which he had put on that day, and put it upon the king, and sent for a pair of coloured buskins, which he also drew on. He likewise put a large silver ring upon his finger, because the admiral had been told, that they had seen a sailor with one, and did all they could to get it of him; for it is certain that they put a great value on any thing that was made of white metal, whether it were silver or tin. With these gifts the king thought himself much enriched, and was highly pleased. Two of those caziques bore the admiral company to the place where he took boat, and each of them gave him a great plate of gold, and these were not cast, but made of many grains beaten together, for the Indians of this island had not the art of casting, but beat the grains of gold they found between two stones, and spread them.

The admiral returned to lie on board the caravel, and found that Vincent Yanez, the commander of it, affirmed he had seen rhubarb, and knew the sprigs of it and the root, which, they say, shoots out little branches above the earth, and the fruit of it is like green mulberries, almost withered, and the little stalk near the root is perfectly yellow: the root under ground grows like a great pear. The admiral sent for some of this, and they brought one frail full of it, and no more, because they had no spades to dig it up with, which was carried for a pattern to their catholic majesties, but it did not prove to be rhubarb. The admiral looked upon the pepper of this island, as good spice, which they call Axi, saying that it was better than the pepper and manigueta that they carried from the eastern parts; for which reason he fancied there were other sorts of it.

The admiral being now sensible of God's great goodness to him, in discovering so many, and such good lands; such multitudes of people, and tokens of gold, which seemed to promise immense wealth; and that affair now appearing considerable, and of great consequence, he coveted nothing so much as to acquaint the world with the mercies God had shown to him, and especially to their catholic majesties. The

fort



fort being therefore finished, he ordered all to be provided for sailing, wood and water to be taken in, and other preparations made. The king ordered as much as he would have of the country bread, called Cazabi, to be given him, as also of the spice called Axi, salt fish, and whatsoever he had besides. Columbus he would not willingly have gone away for Spain without coasting all that country, which he thought extended very far towards the east, that he might have discovered its secrets, and find the best passage from it to Spain, for the safer bringing over of beasts and cattle, he durst not then attempt it, thinking as he had but one caravel, he might run himself into danger, and therefore it was not reasonable to venture farther in unknown seas and land. He complained very much of Martin Alonso's forsaking him, as being the cause of those inconveniences. He made choice of thirty-nine men to stay in the fort, such as were most willing, chearful, and of good disposition, the strongest and best able to endure fatigues among all he had. He left with them for their commander James de Arana, a native of Cordova, notary and alguazil, with full power, as he had received it from their majesties; and in case he should die, he appointed for his successor in that post Peter Gutierrez, groom of the privy chamber to the king; and in case he died, the place to fall to Roderic de Escovedo, born at Seville. He left with them a surgeon, whose name was John: also a ship carpenter, a caulker, a cooper, and a good gunner, who was very skilful in fire works. There was likewise a taylor left: the rest were good sailors, whom he furnished with biscuit and wine, and the other provisions he had, for a year, leaving seeds to sow, and all the things he had brought, being a great quantity, to barter; as also all the great guns and other arms that were in the ship, and the boat that had belonged to it.

When all things were ready, and he was upon the point of departing, he called them together, and spoke to them to this effect. He bid them "offer up their prayers to God, and return thanks to him, for having carried them to such a country to plant his holy faith, and not to forsake him, but to live like good Christians, and he would protect them. That they should pray to God to grant him a good voyage, that he might soon return to them with a greater power: that they should love and obey their captain, because it was requisite for their own preservation, and he charged them so to do in the name of their highnesses. That they should respect Guacanagari, and give no offence to any of his people, nor offer violence to man or woman, that the opinion of their coming from heaven might be confirmed. That they should not part, nor go up the country, nor out of Guacanagari's dominions, since he loved them so well: that with his consent they should survey the coast in canoes or their boat, endeavouring to discover the gold mines, and some good harbour, because he was not well pleased with that where they remained, which he called Navidad, or the Nativity: that they should endeavour to barter the most they could fairly, without shewing covetousness, and endeavour to learn the language, since it would be so useful to them to gain the friendship of the natives, and very advantageous; and he promised to intreat their catholic majesties to reward them, since they had opened the way to that new world." They answered, they would punctually perform all he ordered

A. D. 1493. them.—Wednesday the 2d of January, he went ashore to take his leave, dined with Guacanagari and his caziques, recommended the Christians to him, whom he commanded to serve and defend him against the Caribs. He gave him a fine shirt, and said he would soon return with presents from the king of Spain. He answered with great tokens of sorrow for his departure. One of the king's



king's servants then said, he had sent canoes along the coast to seek for gold, and the admiral answered, that if Martin Alonso Pinzon had not left him, he would have ventured to sail round the island, and have carried a ton of gold into Spain; and would still do it, were he not afraid that the caravel Pinta would get home safe, and give some information against him, to conceal their own crime.

Friday the fourth of January, 1493, the admiral left the port he had called Navidad, or the Nativity, sailing eastward, toward a very high mountain without trees, but covered with grass, looking like a tent, which he called Monte Christo, and lies to the east, eighteen leagues from the cape he called Santo, that was behind, and four leagues from the port called Navidad. That night he anchored five leagues from Monte Christo. Saturday the fifth of January, he proceeded to a little island near by, where there were good salt pits. He entered the port, and was so much pleased with the soil, the plenty of the woods, and of the plains he saw, that he said it was probably the island of Cipango, and had he thought he was so near the mines of Cibao, whence so much wealth was drawn, he would have affirmed it more positively. Sunday the sixth, he sailed from Monte Christo, and soon after discovered the caravel Pinta sailing toward him before the wind. They thought fit to return to Monte Christo, where Martin Alonso Pinzon made his excuse for having parted company, and though there was no satisfactory reason for what he had done, the admiral winked at it, and understood he had bartered for much gold, and that he had taken one half for himself, and the other half for the seamen. A great river runs down into this harbour, which he called Rio de Oro, that is, river of gold, because the sand looked like gold, and there he watered. Wednesday the 9th of January, he hoisted sail, came to Punta Roxa, or red point, which is thirty-six leagues east of Monte Christo, and there they took tortoises as big as bucklers, when they went to lay their eggs ashore. The admiral affirmed he had thereabout seen three mermaids, that raised themselves far above the water, and that they were not so handsome as they are painted; that they had something like a human face, and that he had seen others on the coast of Guinea. He proceeded to the river De Gracia, or of grace, where Martin Alonso had been bartering, and was also called by his name; and caused four Indians that Martin Alonso had taken away by force, to be left there.

Friday the 11th of January, he sailed to a cape he called Belprado, from a mountain appearing, which being covered with snow, as if it had been silver, he called Monte de Plata, or the silver mountain; and a port that is at the foot of it, Puerto de Plata, or silver harbour, which is like a horseshoe. And proceeding along the coast with the currents and fair weather, above ten leagues, he discovered several capes, which he called Angel, Plunta del Hierro, or iron point; El Rodondo, or the round one; El Frances, the French; El Cabo de buen Tiempo, the fair weather cape; El Tajado, the craggy. Saturday the twelfth, he advanced thirty leagues farther, admiring the bigness of the island, and called one cape De Padre y Hijo, of father and son; and gave names to Puerto Sacro, or holy harbour, and Cabo de los Enamorados, or the lover's cape, and coming up with it, he discovered a vast bay, which was three leagues in breadth, and in the midst of it a small island. He staid there to observe the conjunction, which was to be on the 17th, and the opposition of the moon, and Jupiter with Mercury, and the sun in opposition with Jupiter. He sent the boat for water, and they found some men with bows and arrows. They



bought a bow and some arrows, and desired one of the Indians to go and speak with the admiral, which he consented to. He asked him for the Caribs, and he pointed that they were to the eastward; and for gold, he pointed to the island of St. John, saying there was guanin, that is, pale gold with a purplish cast, which the Indians valued very much. He ordered him something to eat, and to give him two bits of green and yellow cloth, and some glass beads, and ordered the boat to set him ashore. Fifty-five naked Indians with long hair, like the women in Spain, with feathers, bows and arrows, swords made of hard palm wood, and heavy spears, with which they gave heavy blows, lay in the wood. The Indian made them lay down their arms: they came to the boat, where the Spaniards bought two bows of them, by the admiral's order, and were so far from felling any more, that they began to concert to seize the Spaniards, who being but seven, fell upon them, gave one a great cut upon the buttocks, and another a gash on the breast, on which they fled, leaving their arms behind, and many might have been killed, if they would have pursued them. This was the first time that the Spaniards and Indians came to blows in this island: the admiral was sorry for it, though, on the other hand, it pleased him, that they might be sensible of the weight of the Spaniards hands.

Monday the 14th, in the morning, abundance of people appeared on the shore. The admiral ordered the boat's crew to be upon their guard; but the Indians came as if nothing had happened, and among them the king of the country, and the Indian that had been aboard the caravel, whither the king came with three Indians. The admiral ordered them to have biscuit and honey to eat, and gave them red caps, bits of cloth, and beads. The next day the king sent his gold crown, and provisions; the men were armed with bows and arrows. Four youths in canoes came to the caravel, and were men of such good sense, that the admiral resolved to carry them into Spain. They acquainted him with many particulars, and from thence shewed him the island of St. John. He sailed from that bay, which he called De las Flechas, or of arrows, on Wednesday the 16th of January, and would not make any longer stay, because the caravels were very leaky. He advanced with the wind at west-north-west, and when he had sailed sixteen leagues, the Indians he had aboard pointed to the island of St. John, that of Martinino, and the Caribs, where the Indians were that eat men; and though he was willing to take a view of those islands, for fear of disheartening the men, the wind freshening, he ordered to steer directly for Spain. Advancing successfully during several days, they saw many tunny fish and sea gulls; the air was very drying, and they met with abundance of weeds, but being acquainted with it, they were not afraid. They killed a tunny fish and a large shark, which afforded them something to eat, for they had nothing but bread and wine. The caravel Pinta was no good sailer upon a wind, as she had little benefit of her mizen, by reason that mast was not good, and the admiral being forced to lie by for her, they made little way. Sometimes when there were calms, the Indians leaped into the water, swam about, and diverted themselves. Having sailed several days, changing their course according to the winds, they endeavoured to keep their reckoning, and fancied they were to the eastward of the islands Azores, because they reckoned more leagues than they really sailed, being quite mistaken in the way they made to the northward, so that instead of any of the Azores, they would more likely have fallen in with Madeira, or Puerto Santo.

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The admiral being more skilful at reckoning, found their run one hundred and fifty leagues less than the others. Tuesday the 12th of February, the sea began to swell with great and dangerous storms, and he drove most of the night without any sail; afterwards he set a little sail. The waves broke, and the ships laboured. The next morning the wind slackened, but on Wednesday night it arose again, with dreadful waves, which hindered the ships way, so that he could not work them. The admiral kept under a main-top-sail reefed, only to keep the ship to the waves, but perceiving how great the danger was, he let it run before the wind, there being no other remedy. Then the caravel Pinta began to run, and disappeared, though the admiral kept his light abroad the whole night, and the Pinta answered. Thursday the 14th of February, after sun-rising, the wind blew fiercer, and they were more fearful of perishing, with the trouble of believing that the caravel Pinta was already lost. The admiral finding himself near death, to the end that some knowledge might come to their catholic majesties of what he had done in their service, he writ as much as he could of what he had discovered on a skin of parchment, and having wrapped it up in a piece of seer-cloth, he put it into a wooden cask, and cast it into the sea, all the men imagining it had been some piece of devotion, and presently the wind slackened. Friday the 15th of February, they saw land a-head, bearing from them east-north-east. Some said it was the island Madeira, others that it was the rock of Cintra, near Lisbon; but the admiral always said they were the islands Azores: they plied to and fro with much labour, but could not come up with the island of St. Mary. The admiral's legs being very uneasy, because he had been exposed to all the rain and cold, he slept a little, and on the 18th came to an anchor on the north side of the island, which they found to be St. Mary's. Presently three men made a signal to the caravel; he sent the boat for them; they carried the admiral refreshments of bread and fowl from the governor, whose name was don John de Castagneda. Tuesday the 19th of February, he ordered one half of the men to go out in procession to an hermitage there was near by, to perform their vow, and that when they returned, he would go out with the other half, and desired the Portuguese to bring him a clergyman to say mass. Whilst they were at prayers in their shirts, the whole town on horseback and on foot, with their commander, fell upon and made them prisoners. They staying very long, the admiral suspected either that they were detained, or that the boat was staved, because the island is inclosed with rocks, and because he could not see the hermitage, being covered by a point of land that runs into the sea. He therefore brought the caravel right before the hermitage, and saw abundance of people come into the boat, and make towards the caravel.

The commander of the island stood up and demanded hostages, and though they were offered him, the Portuguese would not venture his person. The admiral asked why he had sent him refreshments, and those Portuguese to invite him ashore, and afterwards, notwithstanding the two nations of Castile and Portugal were at peace, he had so basely detained his men; and that to convince him he was employed in the king of Spain's service, he would shew him his commission. The Portuguese answered, "We here know nothing of their majesties of Castile, nor their commissions, nor do we fear them." Some other words passed between them, and the Portuguese bid him carry his caravel to the harbour, for all he had done was by his king's order. The admiral took witnesses of what he said, and answered, that if he did not restore him his men and the boat, he would carry away an hundred Portuguese.



guese prisoners into Spain. This said, he returned and anchored where he was before, because the wind blew fresh. He ordered the casks to be filled with sea water, to ballast the vessel, and by reason of the foul weather, sailed towards the island of St. Michael, because there are no good harbours in those islands, and it is safest to keep out at sea. He was in a great storm all the night, and having missed of the island of St. Michael, he returned to that of St. Mary, and presently the boat came with two clergymen, a notary, and five seamen, and upon security given them, they came aboard the caravel, and required the admiral to shew them the king of Spain's commission, which he did, and they returned and released his men and the boat: the commander said, he had orders from the king of Portugal to seize the admiral, and would give any thing to have him.

Having recovered his men, and the weather being fit to sail for Spain, he ordered to steer their course east. The next day a large bird came to the ship, which the admiral judged to be an eagle. Saturday the 2d of March, there was so great a storm, that he ordered to cast lots for a pilgrim to go to St. Mary de Cinta en Guelva, and the lot fell upon the admiral, so that it looked as if God had followed him, that he might humble himself, and not grow proud, for the mercies he had shewn him. They drove with all their sails furled, in the greatest danger, till Monday, without hopes of escaping, but it pleased God that they discovered the land and rock of Cintra, and to avoid the storm, he resolved to put into the harbour, not being able to stay at Cascaes. He returned thanks to God for his delivery, and all admired how he had got into the port, affirming, they had not seen such dreadful storms. The king of Portugal was then at Valparayso, to whom he writ, signifying that their majesties of Spain, his sovereigns, had ordered him not to avoid entering his highnesses ports, to get what he wanted for his money, desiring he would give him leave to go up to Lisbon for the more security, and that his highness might know he came not from Guinea, but from the Indies. Bartholomew Diaz de Lisboa, master of a galeon, carrying many guns, who was there in an armed boat, went aboard the caravel, and ordered the admiral to go up with him, to give an account of himself to the king's officers and the captain of the galeon. Columbus answered, that he was admiral to their majesties of Spain, and was not obliged to give any man an account of himself, nor would he go out of his ship, unless he were compelled by force. The Portuguese answered, he might send the master of his ship; but the admiral would neither send him, saying he would not do it, unless compelled, and could not resist it, for he looked upon it much alike, to send another, or to go himself; and that it was the practice of the admirals of the kings of Castile, rather to die than deliver up themselves or their men. The Portuguese master replied, that since he was so resolved, he might do as he pleased; but that he desired he would condescend to shew him his commission from their majesties of Spain, if he had any such. As soon as he had seen it, he returned to the galeon and reported what had passed, and the captain, whose name was Alvaro Daman, went aboard the admiral's caravel with drums, trumpets, and hautboys, and offered to serve him in whatsoever he should command.

As soon as it was publicly known at Lisbon that the admiral came from the Indies, so many flocked to see him and the Indians, that it was wonderful to behold, and to observe how they stood in admiration. The next day he received a letter from the king of Portugal, by don Martin de Noronha, his servant, desiring him to come  
where



where he was, which he was obliged to do, to avoid shewing any mistrust. He went and lay at Sacavem, where he was well entertained, and the king had given orders that they should give him all he had occasion for at Lisbon, without money. The next day he came to the place where the king was, and the gentlemen of the household came out to receive, and bore him company to the palace. The king received him with much honour, bid him sit, and after having expressed much satisfaction for the success of his voyage, and asked some particulars about it, he said he was of opinion, that according to the articles stipulated with the kings of Castile, that conquest rather belonged to the kings of Portugal than to those of Castile. He answered, he had not seen those articles, nor knew any more than that their highnesses had commanded him not to go to the gold mine, nor to Guinea, and that the same had been proclaimed in all the ports of Andalusia, before he set out upon his voyage. The king graciously answered, he believed he would not stand in need of vouchers in that particular. He then ordered the prior of Crato to entertain him, he being the principal person present. The next day the king told him that if he wanted any thing he should have it, and making him sit, asked him many questions concerning the voyage, the new countries, the latitudes, the people, and other things relating to those parts; being much concerned for having missed of that good fortune; and there wanted not somebody who offered the king to kill the admiral, that what he had discovered might not be known, but he would not consent to it.

At length, on Monday the 11th of March, the admiral took his leave of the king, and all the gentlemen of the court attended him, and don Martin Alonso de Noronha was ordered to conduct him to Lisbon. He gave him a mule, and another to his pilot, and twenty espadines, which were about as many ducats. He passed through Villa Franca, where the queen was in the monastery of St. Anthony. He kissed her hands, and having given her an account of his voyage, departed, and a servant of the king overtook him, and told him from his majesty, that if he would go into Castile by land, he would order him to be attended, find him carriage, and all that he had occasion for. Wednesday the 13th of March, he sailed with his caravel for Seville. Thursday before sun-rising, he found himself off cape St. Vincent, and Friday the 15th off Saltes, and at noon he passed over the bar with the flood into the port from whence he had first departed, on Friday the 3d of August, the year before, so that he spent six months and an half upon the voyage. Being informed that their catholic majesties were at Barcelona, he had thoughts of going to them by sea in his caravel. He landed at Palos, was received with a solemn procession, and much rejoicing of the whole town, all admiring so great an action, which they never thought or imagined the admiral could have performed.

The admiral having concluded not to go by sea to Barcelona, sent advice of his arrival to their catholic majesties, with a summary of what had befallen him, reserving it to give a more ample relation by word of mouth. The answer found him at Seville, the purport whereof was, that they rejoiced at his safe return, and the success of his voyage, and therefore ordered him to make haste to Barcelona, there to confer about what was most convenient for advancing the discovery thus begun; and that in the mean while he should consider whether it were proper to leave any orders at Seville, that no time might be lost. There was no expressing the joy of their catholic majesties, and the satisfaction and admiration of the whole court, to see a thing happily brought to pass, of which most men had entertained no hopes.

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The superscription of the letter was, "To don Christopher Columbus, our admiral of the ocean, viceroy and governor of the islands that have been discovered in the Indies." In his answer, he sent a memorial of the ships, men, ammunition and provisions that were proper to return to the Indies, and then set out himself for Barcelona, with seven Indians; the rest died by the way. He carried with him green and red parrots, and other things, never before seen in Spain. He set out for Seville, and the fame of this novelty being spread abroad, the people flocked to the roads to see the Indians and the admiral. Their majesties having received the memorial, ordered John Rodriguez de Fonseca, archdeacon of Seville, brother to don Alonso de Fonseca, and to Anthony de Fonseca, lords of Coca and Alaexos, to apply himself out of hand to furnish what the admiral thought fit for the second voyage he was to make to the Indies.

The admiral arrived at Barcelona about the middle of April, where a solemn reception was given him, the whole court and city flocking out in such numbers, that the streets could not hold them, admiring to see the admiral, the Indians, and the things he brought, which were carried uncovered; and the more to honour the admiral, their majesties ordered their royal throne to be placed in public, where they sat, and with them prince John. The admiral came in attended by a multitude of gentlemen; when he came near, the king stood up, gave him his hand to kiss, bid him rise, ordered a chair to be brought, and him to sit down in the royal presence, where he gave an account in a very sedate and discreet manner, of the mercy God had shewn him in favour of their highnesses, of his voyage and discovery, and the hopes he had conceived of discovering greater countries, and shewed him the Indians, as they went in their own native places, and the other things he had brought. Their majesties arose, and kneeling down, with their hands lifted up, and tears in their eyes, returned thanks to God, and then the singers of the chapel began the Te Deum. Likewise, as the articles concluded with the admiral were only in the form of a contract, and he had performed what he promised, their majesties also, in the usual form, passed grants, making good what they had offered him at the town of Santa Fe, on the 17th of April, of the foregoing year, and the charters were passed at Barcelona on the 30th of the same month, 1493, and signed by their highnesses on the 28th of May. They also gave him the royal arms of Castile and Leon, to bear together with those of his family, with other additions, expressing his difficult and wonderful discovery; and their majesties bestowed some favours and honours on his brothers, don Bartholomew and don James, though they were not then at court. The king took the admiral by his side when he went along the city of Barcelona, and did him much honour other ways; therefore all the grandees and other noblemen honoured and invited him to dinner, and the cardinal of Spain, don Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, a prince of much virtue, and a noble spirit, was the first grandee, that as they were going one day from the palace, carried the admiral to dine with him, seated him at the head of his table, and caused his meat to be served up covered, and from that time forward he was served in that manner. The admiral also gained wonderful reputation among the people.



## CHAPTER III.

*The king and queen of Castile and Leon acquaint the pope with the new discovery. Grants made by the pope to those princes. Columbus prepares for a second voyage. Contest between the crowns of Spain and Portugal. Columbus sails: discovers several islands: arrives at Hispaniola: transactions there: sails and discovers Jamaica: returns to Hispaniola: builds forts. Complaints made against Columbus: he returns to Spain. Description of Hispaniola.*

SO great was the respect and deference their catholic majesties paid to the apostolic see, that notwithstanding the resolution they had taken of sending back Columbus to the Indies, to proceed in the discovery he had begun, and to enter upon the propagating of the Christian faith in those parts, they thought fit to acquaint the pope, Alexander VI. with what had happened. The ambassador was also directed to let him know, that the said discovery had been made without encroaching upon the crown of Portugal, the admiral having been positively commanded not to come within an hundred leagues of any port belonging to the Portuguese, which he had observed: and though, by reason of the possession the admiral had taken of those new countries, and for other causes, some very learned men were of opinion that there was no need of the pope's confirmation or donation, nevertheless their catholic majesties, as obedient children to the holy see, directed the ambassador to desire his holiness to grant to the kings of Castile and Leon the lands already discovered, or that should be discovered, and to expedite his bulls accordingly.

The pope was much rejoiced at this advice, and considering the great service their catholic majesties had done God, what he hoped they might do for the future, and for several other reasons, he granted their request, and gave them the sovereign dominion of the Indies, with supreme jurisdiction over all that hemisphere. Accordingly with the consent and approbation of the whole sacred college, A. D. 1493. the bull was passed in the usual form, on the 2d of May, with the formalities, prerogatives and powers that had been before granted to the kings of Portugal in relation to the East Indies, Guinea, and part of Africa; and by another bull of the 3d of May, of the same year, he granted them all the islands and continents already discovered, or that should be discovered, drawing a line from pole to pole, at the distance of an hundred leagues to the westward of the islands Azores, and those of Cape Verde; and that all that should be discovered beyond that line to the west or south, should appertain to the navigation and discovery of the kings of Castile and Leon, provided it were not in the possession of any Christian prince before Christmas-day, and that no person should pass over into those parts under penalties and censures.

The apostolic bulls being come, at the time when the admiral had been ordered all he desired for his voyage, a few days before he set out from Barcelona, their majesties ordered the Indians to be baptized, they being already instructed in the Christian doctrine, and asked to be christened; their catholic majesties thought fit to offer up to God the first fruits of those Gentiles, and the king, and his son prince John, were godfathers: the prince would have one of them to stay in his service, who died not



long after. To the end that the affair of the conversion might be managed as it ought, their highnesses sent with the admiral a monk of St. Benedict, whose name was Boyl, a Catalonian, with apostolical authority, and other religious men, and particular orders, that the Indians should be well used, and drawn over to religion by gifts and good behaviour, and that if the Spaniards abused them, they should be severely punished. They gave him vestments, and other things, for the worship of God. The admiral was ordered to expedite his departure, and to endeavour as soon as might be, to discover whether Cuba, which he had called Juana, was a continent or an island; and that he should behave himself very discreetly towards the Spaniards, treating the good affectionately, and punishing the wicked. He took leave of their majesties, and that day all the court waited on him from the palace to his own house, and so they did when he set out from Barcelona.

King John of Portugal was so much concerned for having let this new empire slip through his fingers, that not being able to disguise it, he pretended that the same belonged to him, and gave orders to fit out ships to carry men over to take possession of those new countries; and on the other hand, he sent Ruy de Sande to their catholic majesties with credentials, who told them how well he had treated the admiral, and that he rejoiced that his voyage had proved successful; and that he confided, that since lands and islands had been discovered, which belonged to him, they would deal by him as he would do in the like case; and as he understood that they designed to continue the discovery, from the Canary Islands directly west, without turning to the southward, he prayed them to command the admiral to observe that order, and he would direct his ships, when they went upon discovery, not to exceed to the northward. A report had reached the court, before Ruy de Sande came to it, that the king of Portugal designed to send his fleet the same way as the Spanish went, and, as has been said, take possession of those lands; as also there was advice that Martin Alonso Pinzon, having met with prodigious storms, was at length arrived in Galicia with his caravel Pinta. He died presently, and some said it was for grief of a reproof given him for having been disobedient to the admiral and parted from him, and because their catholic majesties would not see him, unless introduced at the request of the admiral.

Upon the advice received of what was doing at Lisbon, and of the king of Portugal's intention, their catholic majesties ordered John Rodriguez de Fonseca to furnish the fleet that was to carry over the admiral in such manner, that it might both defend itself, and offend, in case the Portuguese should make any attempt; and they sent Lope de Herrera, a servant of their household, to Lisbon, to return the king's thanks for his courtesy to the admiral, and to advise him not to permit any of his subjects to presume to go or send to those islands or continents newly discovered, because they belonged to him: in this he would act as became the brotherly affection that was between them; troubles would be avoided, and the advancement of the holy catholic faith, and the preaching among those new nations, would not be obstructed. Lope de Herrera was also instructed to represent how careful their catholic majesties had been in charging the admiral not to touch at the lands discovered by his predecessors, nor any other thing that belonged to him. Besides all this courtesy, he ordered him in private, that in case he found the king had sent his fleet, or designed to send it, he should not follow the method aforesaid, but that he should deliver the credentials he carried, and require him to put a stop to it, till it were caused to be



be proclaimed in his kingdom. Ruy de Sande having performed the aforesaid embassy, he asked leave to export some necessaries for an expedition the king of Portugal intended to undertake into Africa against the Moors, which was to palliate the report of the discovery he designed to make to the westward. He also requested that the Spaniards should be forbid to fish about Cape Bojador, till it should be decided by equity whether they might justly do it; and their majesties answered, it should be done.

Lope de Herrera being set out for the court of Portugal before Ruy de Sande arrived at the court of their catholic majesties, the king of Portugal understanding the purport of his embassy, sent Duarte de Gama to give notice of the commission Ruy de Sande was charged with, in relation to the discovery made by Columbus, and without permitting Lope de Herrera to use his credentials or make his demand: he answered him, that he would send no ship out upon discovery during the term of sixty days, because he designed to send ambassadors about it to their highnesses. Whilst this was in agitation, he had complained at the court of Rome against their catholic majesties, saying, they put a stop to the progress of his discoveries, and excepted against the bulls granted, alledging several wrongs; as, that they broke in upon his limits, and that it was requisite to set boundaries, to prevent the troubles that might happen between the subjects of the two crowns. The pope answered, that to prevent any occasion of complaint, he had marked out what belonged to each of them, ordering the line to be drawn from pole to pole, as has been said; and again granted to the kings of Castile all that should be conquered in the islands to the east, west, and south, the same not being in the possession of any other prince; and another bull was passed on the 26th of September, that same year 1493. However, the Portuguese did not rest satisfied, pretending they were wronged, and that the line of partition ought to be drawn much farther to the westward.

The sixty days the king of Portugal had prescribed being past, their catholic majesties sent Garcia de Herrera, a gentleman of their household, to advise and require him not to attempt any thing; and soon after they sent the protonotary, don Pedro de Ayala, and Garcia Lopez de Carvajal, brother to the cardinal De Santa Cruz, the substance of whose commission was, to return thanks to king John for his good intention to maintain the peace between them, and to remove the cause that might obstruct it, declaring that they were of the same mind, and did again offer it to him: and that as for the pretension that that part of the ocean belonged to him, both by apostolical concession, and by possession, and by the articles of peace; that they would be very ready to admit of any proper method for preserving the brotherly friendship that was between the two crowns; but that their highnesses were assured, that nothing in the ocean belonged to king John, besides the island of Madeira, those of the Azores, and of Cape Verde, and what more he then possessed, with all that had been discovered from the Canary Islands to Guinea, with the gold mines and trade; and that this was all that belonged to him by the articles of peace, wherein it was expressly declared, that they would not molest his trade, lands, and commerce with Guinea, with his gold mines, or any other islands or coasts discovered, or not discovered, from the Canary Islands downward towards Guinea, this being what he could say he had possessed, and no more: and that it evidently appeared he had understood it so, when he was informed that their highnesses were sending don Christopher Columbus upon discovery, and he was satisfied that he should sail through all the ocean,



provided he did not pass the Canary Islands towards Guinea, whither he used to send his fleets; and that when don Christopher returned, and went to visit him at Valparaiso, he seemed to be well pleased therewith.

Their catholic majesties depended so much upon these their allegations, as to say, that in case king John was not satisfied with them, they would be content that some persons should be named on both sides, who should decide it, and if they could not agree, he should himself name another person, or authorise the judges so to do, who should be umpire between them; and that if the king would have it tried without their kingdoms, in the court of Rome, or in any other indifferent place, they would consent, or that any other method might be found for deciding it speedily, according to justice; for it was not their design to possess themselves of any thing that belonged to another. And they ordered Lope de Herrera's requisition to be reiterated, that none should sail from Portugal to discover in those parts that belonged to their highnesses, but where the Portuguese had done so before, because if they should proceed into the parts of the ocean, they would come into that which did not belong to them; and therefore the king of Portugal should so order it to be proclaimed throughout his dominions, under severe penalties, since their highnesses were the first that had began to claim what they then possessed, by their having been the first discoverers: and the kings of Castile and Leon, ever since the Portuguese took that way, had never hindered them; for which reason he ought to follow the same method that their predecessors had observed towards one another: to do otherwise would be directly contrary to the peace concluded between them. When these ambassadors set out from the court of their catholic majesties, there were already come to it Peter Diaz, desembargador, or judge of the king of Portugal, and a gentleman of his household, whose name was Ruy de Pina. They proposed, that it would be a proper method to divide the ocean between the two crowns, by a line drawn directly from the Canary Islands to the westward, and that all the seas, islands, and countries, from that straight line to the northward, should belong to the kings of Castile and Leon, excepting the islands the king of Portugal was then possessed of in that part; and that all the seas, islands, and continents, from that line to the southward, should belong to the king of Portugal, saving the Canary Islands, which belonged to the crown of Castile. To which their catholic majesties answered, that what they proposed was no method, for as much as nothing in the ocean belonged to the king of Portugal but what has been above mentioned; and so the affair remained at that time, the king of Portugal forbearing to send upon discovery to that part which the king of Castile pretended did belong to him; but the king of Portugal contended to have these differences adjusted.

Their catholic majesties were willing to put an end to the difference, and when they were at Tordefillas, there came to them ambassadors from the king of Portugal. These persons had full power to adjust this difference, either by settling boundaries north and south, or from east to west, or such other limits, either by sea or land, as they should think fit. After many conferences, and hearing of several cosmographers, who were admitted into their assemblies on the 7th of June, 1493, they agreed, that the line for settling the boundaries should be drawn three hundred and seventy leagues farther than that mentioned in the pope's bull, from the islands of Cape Verde westward, and that all beyond that meridian westward should belong to the kings of Castile and Leon; and all to the eastward should appertain to the navigation, conquest and discovery.



discovery of the kings of Portugal; but that their catholic majesties might freely sail through those seas belonging to the king of Portugal, they holding on their direct course. Likewise, that whatsoever should be discovered before the 20th day of the said month of June, within the first two hundred and fifty leagues of the said three hundred and seventy, should remain to the kings of Portugal, and whatsoever should be discovered within the other one hundred and twenty leagues, should appertain to the kings of Castile for ever. These conditions being drawn up, their said catholic majesties signed them at Arevalo, on the 2d of July, and the king of Portugal at Eborá, on the 27th of February the next year. Though their catholic majesties on the 7th of May that same year, ordered the cosmographers and others that were to draw the line, to meet, and to do the same within ten months, if required, it does not appear to have been performed, yet it is certain, their catholic majesties endeavoured it. The Portuguese, who at this time had discovered very little beyond the island of San Tome, or St. Thomas, under the equinoctial, that they might not be behind hand with their neighbours, exerted themselves so vigorously, that they soon after passed that cape so dreadful among the ancients, now called De Buena Esperança, or Cape of Good Hope.

When the admiral came to Seville, the archdeacon, John Rodríguez de Fonseca, had fitted seventeen sail of ships, great and small, well furnished for the voyage, with great store of provisions, and spare ammunition, artillery, corn, feeds, mares and horses, and tools to work the gold mines, with abundance of merchandise to barter, and for the admiral to give to whom he thought fit. The fame of this novelty, and of the gold, drew together one thousand five hundred men, and among them several gentlemen, all of them in the king's pay, for there were not above twenty that went without it, and they were horse. There was a great number of labouring people to dig and cleanse the gold, and several handicrafts of divers sorts. Their majesties, by a new commission, appointed the admiral to command the fleet in chief, and to be captain-general in the Indies, and Antony de Torres, a discreet man, and of known ability, to command the ships that should return; Francis de Penalosa, the queen's servant, was appointed commander of the land soldiers; Alonso de Vallejo had the same post; Bernal Diaz de Piza, who was alguazil of the court, was made accountant of the Indies, and James Marques inspector. There went over also at this time Alonso de Ojeda, servant to the duke De Medina Celi, a little man, but well shaped, and of a handsome face, very strong and active; who, when queen Elizabeth was on the steeple of the cathedral church of Seville, went upon a piece of timber that runs out twenty feet beyond that steeple, and walked along it as fast as if he had been going in a chamber, and at the end of it, lifted up one foot over it, and returning with the same quickness, got again upon the steeple, though it was thought impossible but that he must have fallen, and beaten himself to pieces. All those above named, and every individual person that went aboard the fleet, took a solemn oath to be obedient to their majesties, and to the admiral in their name, as also to his justice, and to be careful of the royal revenue.

The admiral being come to Seville with his proper dispatches, his commission ascertaining the limits of his admiralship and government over all that the apostolical concession extended to, applied himself to pick out the ablest pilots, and in mustering the men that had been raised. All persons were forbid carrying any goods to  
barter,



barter, and it was ordered, that all that belonged to his highness and to private men, should be entered before they left Spain, and the same to be done when they arrived in the Indies, and that all that should appear not to have been so entered, should be confiscated. The admiral was ordered, as soon as he came to Hispaniola, to muster the men, and after that as often as he should think fit, and that they should be paid by his direction; and that he should appoint alcaldes and alguaziles in the islands and other parts, to try civil and criminal causes, and the appeals from them to be to him; and that in case it were requisite to appoint regidores, jurats, and officers, for the government of the people, or of any colony that should be planted, the admiral should nominate three persons to every employment, for their highnesses to chuse one of them, but that the first time he might name them. That all proclamations should be in the names of their highnesses: that all patents, orders, and commissions, should also be in the names of their highnesses, signed by the admiral, countersigned by the notary that writ them, with their highnesses seal upon the back. That upon his arrival, a custom-house was to be built, where the royal stores should be laid up, to be looked after and accounted for by the regal officers, the admiral still presiding every where, and he, or the person he should appoint, to manage the bartering, with the assistance of their highnesses comptroller and inspector. That he should have the eighth part of all that was gained, paying the eighth part of all that was carried over to be exchanged, first deducting the tenth part he was to have of the whole, pursuant to the contract made; and that if it were requisite to send ships and men to any parts, he might do it.

Whilst the admiral was at Seville, expediting his affairs, he received a letter from their majesties, dated at Barcelona, directing him before his departure to cause a sea chart to be drawn, with the rhumbs, and other particulars requisite for the voyage to the Indies, and to hasten his departure, still promising him mighty rewards, because that affair of the discovery daily appeared to be of greater consequence, acquainting him that nothing was yet concluded with the king of Portugal, though it was believed he would be brought to reason. The admiral caused many plants and trees to be put aboard, and, as was said before, wheat, barley, oats, rye, and all sorts of seeds; as also cows, lime, bricks, and all sorts of materials; and having embarked the men on Wednesday the 25th of September, before sun-rising, set sail in the bay of Cadiz. He ordered to steer south-west for the Canaries, and arrived at Gran Canaria on Wednesday the 2d of October, and Saturday the 5th, anchored at Gomera, where he staid two days, taking in water, wood, and cattle, as calves, goats, and sheep, and eight sows, at the rate of seventy maravedies a head, from which afterwards increased those that have been since in the Indies. They also took in hens, and other creatures, as also seeds for greens. There each pilot had his instructions given him, sealed up, how to steer his course to the dominions of king Guacanagari, which they were not to open, unless forced to separate from him by stress of weather, for he would not have them know that course without such necessity, lest the king of Portugal should be acquainted with it.

He sailed from Gomera on Monday the 7th of October, passed by the island Hierro, the farthest of the Canaries, and directed his course more to the southward than he had done the first voyage, till the 24th of the same month, when he reckoned he had run four hundred and fifty leagues: he saw a swallow come to the ships, and at some distance farther they met with heavy rains, whereupon he guessed the same  
might



might proceed from the nearness of some land, and therefore he ordered to slacken sail, and to look out sharp at night. Sunday the 3d of November, at break of day, all the fleet saw land, to their great joy, and it proved to be an island, which he named Dominica, because discovered on Sunday, in Spanish called Domingo. Soon after they saw two more on the starboard side, and then several others. They began then to have the scent of the herbs and flowers, and saw swarms of parrots, crying aloud, as they usually do. There did not appear to be any convenient place to the eastward, and therefore he struck over to the second island, which was called Marigalante, and he gave it that name, because the ship he went in was so called. He sent some men on shore, and took possession before a notary and witnesses. The next day, departing thence, he saw another island, which he named Guadaloupe. He sent the boats ashore, but they found no people in a little village there was on the shore; and there they took the first parrots, which they called Guacamayas, as big as cocks, of various colours. The inhabitants were fled to the mountains, and having searched the houses, they found that piece of timber belonging to a ship, called by seamen the stern post, which they much admired, not knowing in what way it came thither, unless carried on by tempestuous weather from the Canaries, or from the island Hispaniola, from the admiral's ship that was cast away there. Tuesday he sent men ashore again, who took two youths, who by signs gave them to understand that they belonged to the island of Borriquen, and signified that those of Guadaloupe were Caribs, and had them there to eat them. The boats returned for some Spaniards that had been left ashore, and found them with six women, who had fled to them from the Caribs. The admiral not believing it, to avoid offending the people of the island, gave them some hawk bells, and sent them ashore: the Caribs took away the bells, and other baubles he had given them, and when the boats returned to land, the women, two boys, and a youth, intreated the seamen to carry them aboard the ships. They gave them to understand that there was a continent thereabout, and many islands, every one of which they called by its name: being asked for the island Hispaniola, which in their language is called Ayti, they pointed towards that part where it lay.

The admiral would have proceeded on his voyage immediately, but was told that the inspector, James Marque, was gone ashore with eight soldiers, at which he was displeased; and because he had been long gone and did not return, he sent several parties of men to look for him, who could not find him by reason of the thickness of the woods, and therefore he resolved to stay a day for him. He sent men again, who fired some shot, and sounded a trumpet; and hearing no news, every day being an age to him, he resolved to leave them there; however, he armed himself with patience, and ordered the ships to wood and water, and resolved to send Alonso de Ojeda, who commanded a caravel, with forty men, to seek him out, and at the same time take a view of the country; but he returned without them, and said he had seen much cotton, haggards, kites, herons, daws, pigeons, turtles, geese, nightingales, and partridges, and that in the space of six leagues he had crossed twenty-six rivers, many of them up to his middle. Friday the 8th of November, the inspector came with his men, and said he had lost himself in the thick woods and brambles, and could not find his way back. The admiral ordered him to be taken into custody, and went himself ashore, and in some of the houses that were near, found some spun cotton, and not spun, and a strange sort of looms in which they wove it. They saw many men's heads hung up, and baskets full of human bones: the houses were good, and better.



better stored with provisions than those in the islands he had discovered the first voyage.

The 10th of November, coasting along this same island of Guadaloupe towards the north-west, in quest of the island of Hispaniola, he found a very high island, and because it looked like the rocks of Montserrat, he gave it that name. Next he discovered a very round island, every way upright, so that it looked to be inaccessible without ladders, for which reason he called it Santa Maria la Redonda, or St. Mary the Round. Another he called Santa Maria la Antigua, which extended fifteen or twenty leagues along the coast. Several other islands appeared to the northward, very high, wooded, and agreeable. He came to an anchor in one he called St. Martin. The 14th of November he anchored at Santa Cruz, where they took four women and two boys, and the boat returning, met a canoe with four Indian men and a woman, who stood upon their defence, and the woman shot her arrows as dexterously as the men. They wounded two soldiers, and the woman shot through a target. The Spaniards boarded the canoe and overset it, and one of the men shot with his bow smartly as he swam. Holding on their way, they discovered many islands together, which could not be numbered; the biggest of them he called St. Ursula, and the others the Eleven Thousand Virgins. The admiral coming up to another large one, called Borriquen, he gave it the name of St. John Baptist. In a bay on the west of it they found several sorts of fish, as skates, olive fish, and pilchards. There were many good houses, though built with timber and thatched, and a square in the midst of them, and a way down to the sea, very clean and plain, and the walls of canes interwoven, or wattled, with greens artificially wrought, as is used in Valencia. Near the sea was a gallery that would hold twelve persons, made after the same manner, but they saw no living creature, and suspected they were fled. Friday the 22d of the same month, the admiral came up with the first land of the island Hispaniola, that is to the northward, and the last of the island of St. John, about fifteen leagues distant.

The admiral being arrived at Hispaniola, set ashore one of the Indians he had brought back from Spain, who was of the province of Samona, that he might tell the Indians what great things he had seen in Spain, and induce them to be friends with the Spaniards. He promised to do it with a good will, but they never more heard of him, and it was thought he died. Proceeding farther to Cape Angel, some Indians resorted to the ships in their canoes, with provisions and other things to barter with the Christians. As they were about to anchor at Monte Christo, a boat went ashore near a river, and they found two men dead, one young, and the other old, who had a rope made of the weed or shrub used in Spain, called Esparto, his arms stretched out, and his hands tied to a stick across, but they could not discern whether they were Spaniards or Indians, which troubled the admiral, and gave him some jealousy. The next day, being the 26th of November, he sent more men to several parts, to hear what news there were of those he had left in the fort of the Nativity. Many Indians resorted very freely to talk with the Spaniards; they came close to them, touched their doublet and shirt, saying, "Jubon, camisa," (that is, doublet, shirt, in Spanish) to shew that they knew the names, which gave the admiral some satisfaction, believing that those he had left at the fort were not dead. Wednesday the 27th of November, he came to an anchor with his fleet at the mouth of the port of Navidad, or the Nativity. About midnight a canoe came aboard the admiral;  
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the Indians cried, "Almirante," that is, admiral: they answered, and bid them come aboard, for he was there. They would not till they saw and knew him, and then gave him two vizors, well shaped, and some gold, as a present from the cazique Guacanagari. He enquiring of them after the Spaniards, they said some had died of sickness, and that others were gone up the country with their wives. The admiral guessed that they were all dead, but was obliged not to take notice of it, and sent them back with a present of some tin toys, which they always valued very much, and some other baubles, for the cazique.

The next Monday all the fleet entered the port; the admiral saw the fort burnt down, whence he concluded that all the Christians were dead, which troubled him very much, and the more, because no Indians appeared. The next day he went ashore very melancholy, finding no body to enquire of: some things belonging to the Spaniards were found. He went up the river with the boats, and in the mean time gave orders for cleansing a well he had before made in the fort, but nothing was found in it, and the Indians fled from their houses, so that they could learn nothing, though they found some cloaths of the Spaniards. Near the fort they discovered seven or eight men buried, and others farther off, whom they knew to be Christians by their being clad, and it appeared that they had not been buried above a month. Whilst they were searching about, one of Guacanagari's brothers came with some Indians, who had learnt a little Spanish, and named all those that had been left in the fort; and by their means, with the assistance of another Indian the admiral brought with him from Spain, who was called James Colon, or Columbus, they were informed of the disaster. They said, that as soon as the admiral was gone, they began to fall out among themselves, and to disobey their commander, going about in an insolent manner to take what women and gold they pleased; and that Peter Gutierrez and Escovedo killed one Jacome; and that they two, with nine others, went away with the women they had taken, and their baggage, to the country of a lord whose name was Caunabo, who was lord of the mines, and he killed them all. That some days after, Caunabo went to the fort, with abundance of men, in which there were none at that time but the commander, James de Arana, and five that thought fit to stay with him to keep the fort, which Caunabo set fire to in the night, and those that were in it flying to the sea, they were all drowned, the rest being dispersed about the island. That king Guacanagari coming to fight Caunabo in defence of the Christians, had been wounded, and was not yet recovered. All this agreed with the account some Spaniards brought, whom the admiral had sent to enquire into the matter, and being come to Guacanagari's town, they found him ill of the wounds, which were his excuse for not going to see the admiral.

From what has been said above, and several other relations, it appeared that it was true that those Spaniards had been at variance among themselves, and that it was occasioned by the Biscainers; and that if they had agreed together, and done as the admiral directed them, they had not perished. Guacanagari sent to desire the admiral to visit him, because he did not go abroad by reason of his indisposition. The admiral did so, and the cazique, with a very melancholy countenance, told him all that has been related, shewing him his own, and the wounds of many of his people; and those wounds proved they were made with Indian weapons, being a sort of darts, the ends of them armed with the bones of fishes. After discoursing together, he presented the admiral with eight hundred small beads made of stone, which they highly valued,



and called them *cibas*, and one hundred of gold, a crown of gold, and three little calabashes, or gourds, which they call *ybueras*, full of grains of gold, all weighing about two hundred pesos. The admiral gave him several glass trinkets, knives, scissors, hawk bells, pins, needles, and little looking-glasses, which the king thought a great treasure. He waited on the admiral to his quarters, admiring the horses, and how the men managed them. The admiral also gave him an image of our lady, which he caused him to wear about his neck, and which before he had refused to receive. Many of the Spaniards, and particularly father *Boyl*, advised the seizing of *Guacanagari*, because the Spaniards had been left in his charge, till he could better clear himself of their death; but the admiral did not think fit to follow their advice, since there was no remedy for what was done, and it was not proper for him to enter the country punishing and making war, if it could be avoided; and the rather, for that he designed to secure and fortify himself, and settle a colony, and to enquire into that affair at leisure, and in case he found the *cazique* guilty, it would be always time enough to chastise him.

The admiral was now very thoughtful how to behave himself, to give a good beginning to his enterprise, and thinking that the province of *Marien*, where his ships were riding, was very low land, and had no stone, or other materials for building, though it had good harbours and fresh water, he resolved to turn back along the coast to the eastward, to find out a proper place to build a town. Accordingly, the 7th of December, he sailed out with all the fleet, and came to an anchor that evening near some small islands, not far from *Monte Christo*, and the next day, being Sunday, close under that mount; and fancying that *Monte de Plata* was nearer to the country of *Cibao*, where he had been informed the rich gold mines were, which he imagined to be *Cipango*, as has been said before; he was desirous to draw near that place. The wind proved so contrary after he departed from *Monte Christo*, that he was very much perplexed, because the men and horses were much fatigued, and he could not proceed to *Puerto de Gracia*, or *Port Grace*, where *Martin Alonso Pinzon* had been, which is now called *Martin Alonso's river*, and is five or six leagues from *Puerto de Plata*, or *Port Plate*; he was forced to turn back three leagues, where a great river falls into the sea, and there is a good harbour, though exposed to the north-west. He landed at an Indian village there was in that place, and discovered a very delightful plain up the river, and observed that there might be trenches drawn from the river into the town, for erecting mills, and other conveniences for building. Resolving to make a settlement there, he ordered the men and horses to be landed, the latter being almost spoiled, and the former quite tired. In this place he began to build a town, which was the first in the Indies, and he thought fit to call it *Isabella*, in honour of queen *Elizabeth*, whom he highly respected; and having met with proper necessaries of lime and stone, and all he could desire, the soil being extraordinary fruitful, he used the utmost diligence in building a church, a magazine, and an house for himself. He marked out plats for houses, with streets and squares. The public structures were built with stone, the rest of timber thatched, as every one was able.

The men being fatigued with so long a voyage, most of them not used to the sea, and the toil of that work ensuing upon it, being stinted in their allowance, and none liking the country bread, they began to sicken apace, the change of air contributing to it, though the country of itself is very healthy, and they died for want of conveniences,



niences, all being equally employed in the work. Nor were they less afflicted for being so far from their native country, without any hopes of relief, or of that gold and immense wealth, they had conceived they should meet with immediately. The admiral did not escape, for as he had much fatigue at sea, the whole fleet depending on his care, so was his toil no less on shore, providing to order all things in such manner that they might answer the hopes conceived of him in this important affair; and though he kept his bed, he pressed on the work of the new town, and to the end that no time might be lost, nor the provisions consumed without any advantage, he was desirous to know the secrets of the country, and to find where his Cipango was, which so much misled him, because the Indians affirmed that Cibao was near by. He therefore sent Ojeda with fifteen soldiers to view all parts, and in the mean time applied himself to send back twelve ships into Spain, keeping with him five of the largest, being two ships, and three caravels.

Alonso de Ojeda travelled eight or ten leagues over a desert country, and having gone through a pass, he came into a beautiful plain, in which were several towns, where he was well received and entertained. He arrived at Cibao in five or six days, though it is but fifteen or twenty leagues from the place where he left the admiral; but could not make more haste, because the Indians entertained him, and there were many rivers and brooks in those parts. The inhabitants and the Indians that went with Ojeda as guides, gathered gold in the presence of Ojeda, and he returned with such specimens as he thought sufficient to prove the great plenty there was of it, as afterwards appeared, which highly pleased the admiral, and all the rest of his men. This, and what he had received from king Guacanagari, he sent away to their catholic majesties, with a particular relation of what he had found, in twelve ships, under the command of Antony de Torres; and thus ended the year 1493.

A. D. 1494. The ships being gone, and the admiral recovered of his indisposition, he was informed, that some who repented of their undertaking that voyage, taking Bernal de Piza for their chief, contrived to steal away, or take by force the five ships that remained, or at least part of them, to return into Spain. He ordered Bernal de Piza to be secured, and having drawn up the proceedings against him, to be put aboard a ship to be sent to the king. Some of the others he caused to be punished, and though he did it not with the severity that the case required, his enemies slandered him as a cruel man. For this reason he ordered the great guns, ammunition, and naval stores belonging to the four ships, to be all laid up aboard the admiral's ship, under the guard of such persons as he confided in. This was the first mutiny contrived in the Indies, and the source of all the opposition the admiral and his successors met with in the those parts, in relation to their prerogative. As soon as Bernal de Piza was secured, an information drawn up against the admiral was found concealed in a buoy of one of the ships, which the latter also thought fit to send to their majesties.

This affair being settled, he resolved to go with the best men he had to survey the province of Cibao, and to carry labourers and tools to dig for gold, as also materials to build a strong house, if requisite. He marched with colours flying, in rank and file, drums beating, and trumpets sounding, and in that manner, to gain the more reputation among the Indians, he went into and departed from their towns; those people being astonished at it, and no less to see the horses. He set out from the Isabella on the 12th of March, leaving his brother don James Columbus, whom he had carried over with him,



him, to command in the town, he being a gentleman of a peaceable temper and exemplary behaviour. That day he advanced three leagues, and at night lay at the foot of a craggy pass on the mountains; and the Indian roads being only paths, he sent pioneers, under the guard of some gentlemen, to open the pass, and therefore it was called the Gentleman's Pass. On Thursday, from the eminence of the pass, they discovered the great plain, which is one of the most wonderful things in the world, for it extends eighty leagues, and is twenty-five or thirty leagues over; and the prospect was so pleasant, green, and beautiful, that the men thought they had been in Paradise, for which reason the admiral called it the Royal Plain. They went down the mountain, traversed five leagues, which is the breadth of it in that part, passing through many towns, where they were well received.

They came to the great river, which the Indians called Yaqui, as considerable as the Ebro at Tortosa, and the admiral called it Rio de la Canas, or the River of Canes, not remembering that at his first voyage, when he was at the mouth of it, he called it del Oro, or of Gold, for it empties itself at Monte Christo. They all lay joyfully on the bank of that river. The Indians they carried with them from the territory of Isabella, went into the houses of the towns they passed through, and took what they found, as if it had been in common, with much satisfaction of the owners, who went to the quarters of the Spaniards, and took what they liked, thinking that was the custom among them. Having the next day passed the river in canoes and on floats, and the horses at the ford, a league and half from it they met with another river, which they called Del Oro, or of Gold, because they found some grains of gold in it; but the natives called it Nicayagua, into which three other brooks fell. The first of them Buenicum, which the Christians called Rio Seco, that is, Dry River; the second Coatenicù; the third Cibù, all which proved extraordinary rich, and yielded the greatest treasure of Cibao. Having passed this river, they proceeded to a great town, most of the inhabitants whereof fled, and those that staid, placing some canes athwart their doors, thought themselves safe enough within. The admiral seeing their simplicity, ordered that no harm should be done them, by which means they took courage and came out. He advanced to another river, which, for its agreeableness, he called Rio Verde, or the Green River, the bottom and sides of it were full of smooth pebble stones, almost round. Saturday the 15th of March, they passed through other towns, where they also thought it a sufficient defence to set canes across the doors. They came to a pass, which they called of Cibao, because at the top of it the province of Cibao begins on that side.

Pioniers were sent before to clear the pass, and from thence the admiral sent sumptures to Isabella for provisions, because the men could not yet accustom themselves to those of the country. When they came up to the top of the pass, they again had a view of the most beautiful plain, for above forty leagues on both sides. They entered upon Cibao, an uncooth soil, full of high rocky mountains, called Cibao from Ciba, a stone. In it are a vast number of rivers and brooks, and gold is found in them all. There are few pleasant woods, the country being very dry, except only in the bottoms where the rivers run. It abounds in tall spreading pine-trees, which bear no pine-apples, so orderly placed by nature, that they look like the olive-trees of Axarase at Seville. All the province is healthy, the air pleasant, the water sweet and thin. In every brook they found small grains of gold; for the gold of Cibao is small, though some large grains have also been found. At all the towns they came out to receive the  
admiral



admiral with provisions and gold dust they had gathered, when they understood that it was acceptable. The admiral was then eighteen leagues from Isabella, and discovered several mines of gold, one of copper, another of fine blue, and one of amber, which proved of little value, as did the blue; for which reason, and because the country is very uncouth, and the horses could not travel through it, he resolved to build a strong house, for the security of the Christians; and that they might subdue the province, he made choice of a spot of ground on an eminence, almost encompassed by a river called Xanique; and though that affords not much gold, there are many about it that do. The fort was built with clay and timber, and they made a ditch on the side where the river did not encompass it. He called it the Fort of St. Thomas, because the men would not believe that there was gold in the island till they saw it.

In the foundations of this fort, they found nests of straw, which looked as if they had been placed there a few years before, and there were in them three or four round stones like oranges, as if they had been eggs. It is possible that the mineral virtue might have converted the eggs into stones, and that they might afterwards grow by the same virtue. Don Pedro Margarite, a Catalonian gentleman, was left governor of that fort, with fifty-six men, and the admiral returned to the Isabella, and arrived there the twenty-ninth of March. He found the men much fatigued, many of them dead, and those that were in health very disconsolate for fear they should not long survive: they sickened the faster as the provisions declined, and their allowances were shortened, which was partly occasioned by much of it being spoiled, through fault of the captains of the ships; and those that landed safe could not be long preserved, because of the dampness and heat of the country. The flour being almost spent, it was necessary to build a mill to grind the corn; and the labouring people being sick, the better sort were obliged to work, which was as bad as death to them, especially having little to eat. This misfortune obliged the admiral to have recourse to force, that the men might not perish for want of doing the public work. This gained him ill-will; and from hence father Boyl began to be incensed, reproaching him with cruelty, though others say his aversion proceeded from the admiral's not allowing him and his servants as much as he thought fit. Thus their subsistence hourly failed, not only of those that were in health, but even the sick; for among five that were under cure, they sometimes had not above an egg apiece, and a kettle of boiled Garvanços, (a sort of Spanish peas, much unlike the English) besides which there was a want of medicines; for though some had been carried over, they did not agree with all constitutions; and what was still worse, they had nobody to help and nurse them. Being thus out of hopes of any relief, starving with hunger, and sick, many of them, being persons of distinction, who had never undergone such hardships, died very impatient, and almost desperate.

Whilst the admiral was under this perplexity, advice was brought from fort St. Thomas, that the Indians abandoned their towns; and that the lord of a certain province, whose name was Caunabo, was providing to go and reduce the fort. The admiral immediately sent thither sixty of the most healthy men, and the horses, with provisions and arms. He also sent all the other men that were able to go, leaving behind only the mechanics, and appointed Alonso de Ojeda to command them, with orders for him to go into the fort, and don Pedro Margarite to take the field with most of the men, to range about the country, and make the Indians acquainted with the power of the Spaniards, that they might learn to fear and obey them, and particularly about the Vega

Real,



Real, or Vale Royal, where there was an infinite multitude of people, and many caziques, or lords, as also that the Spaniards might inure themselves to feed upon the provisions of the country, since those that came from Spain were almost spent.

Alonso de Ojeda set out from Isabella with above four hundred men, on the 9th of April, and as soon as he had passed the river Del Oro, secured the cazique of a town, with his brother and nephew, and sent them prisoners to Isabella, and caused the ears of an Indian to be cut off in the midst of a public square. This he did because three Spaniards going from fort St. Thomas to Isabella, the cazique gave them five Indians to carry their baggage over the river, and as soon as they were in the middle, they left them, and returned to the town with their baggage, and the cazique was so far from punishing them, that he took and kept what they brought. The cazique of another town, seeing those above-mentioned carried away prisoners, went along with them, flattering himself, that because he had done the Spaniards some kindnesses, his intercession for them would prevail with the admiral; but as soon as the prisoners came, he ordered their heads to be struck off, but at the request of the other cazique he forgave them. That very moment an horseman came from the fort, with advice, that in the prisoner cazique's town they had hemmed in five Spaniards to kill them, and that he with his horse had rescued them, above four hundred flying before them, whom he had pursued, and wounded several of them with his spear. Thus the troubles that were apprehended in the island Hispaniola were quelled for that time, and the admiral resolved to go out upon discovery, as their catholic majesties had ordered. To the end that the government of the island might be well settled, he resolved to appoint a council, of which his brother don James Colon, or Columbus, was appointed president; and the counsellors were father Boyl, Peter Fernandez Colonel, head alguazil, Alonso Sanchez de Carvajal, and John de Luxan. He ordered don Pedro Margarite to march about, with above four hundred men he had under him, to survey the whole island. He gave them all such instructions as he thought most convenient, and leaving two ships in the harbour to serve upon any occasion that might offer, he sailed away to the westward, with one large ship and two caravels, on Thursday the 24th of April. He sailed to Monte Christo, and to the port of the Nativity, where he enquired for Guacanagari, and though they said he would soon come to visit him, he did not stay for him, but sailed to Tortuga, and the wind proving contrary, came to an anchor again in the river he called Guadalquivir. The 29th of April he arrived at port St. Nicholas, from whence he descried the point of the island of Cuba, which he called Alpha and Omega, but the Indians called it Bayatiquiri.

He crossed the channel between Hispaniola and Cuba, the distance between them from one point to the other being eighteen leagues, and beginning to coast along Cuba on the south side, he saw a spacious bay, which he called Puerto Grande, or Great Harbour, the mouth of it being one hundred and fifty paces over. He anchored there, and the Indians came in canoes, with abundance of fish. Sunday the 1st of May, he proceeded farther, frequently discovering excellent harbours. He saw high mountains, and rivers running out into the sea; and keeping near the shore, a vast number of Indians came to the ships in their canoes, carrying provisions gratis, believing they were come down from heaven, and the admiral always ordered toys to be given them, with which they were wonderfully pleased, because the Indians he had aboard, who had been in Spain, gave them a good account. He resolved to take a turn to the south-east, because he there spied an island, which was Jamaica, and



and some are of opinion it is that which the Indians of the Lucayo islands so much talked of by the name of Babeche, or Bohio. Monday the 14th of May, he arrived at Jamaica, which he thought the most beautiful of all he had seen, and a prodigious multitude of canoes resorted to the ships. When he sent the boats to sound and find out some harbour, many armed canoes came out to hinder the Spaniards from landing. The admiral went on to another place, which he called Puerto Bueno, or Good Port, where they met with the same opposition, for which reason they gave them a flight of arrows out of their cross-bows, and five or six of them being wounded, they returned in a peaceable manner to the ships. Next Friday he sailed along the coast to the westward, so near the shore, that many canoes followed the ships, giving what they had, and receiving what the Spaniards gave them, with much satisfaction. The wind all the while proving contrary, he resolved to return to Cuba, designing to be satisfied whether it was an island or continent. This day, being the 18th of May, an Indian youth came to the ships, who begged they would carry him along with them; and though his parents and kindred intreated him not to go away, they could not prevail, but to avoid seeing them weep, he hid himself in a private part of the ship.

The same 18th of May, he arrived at the cape of the island of Cuba, which he called Cabo de Cruz, or Cape Cross, and holding on his course along the coast, with heavy rains, thunder and lightening, he met with many shoals, which brought him into much danger and trouble. The farther he proceeded along the coast, the more small islands he found, some all sand, and covered with trees, and the nearer he was to Cuba, the higher, greener, and more agreeable they appeared, being a league or two, or more, in compass. The first day he discovered them he saw many, and the next day many more; in short, there was an infinite number of them, and because there was no giving each of them a particular name, he called them El Jardin de la Reyna, the Queen's Garden. There were channels between them that the ships could sail through. In some of them they found birds like red cranes, which are only to be found in Cuba and these little islands; they feed on salt water, and something they find in it; but when any one of them is kept in the house, it feeds on cazabi, which is the Indian bread, put into a pan with water and salt. There were abundance of large tortoises, as big as a target. They saw cranes like those in Spain, crows, and several sorts of singing birds; a very pleasant scent came from the islands, and they observed a canoe of fishermen, who stood still, without shewing any fear, waiting for the Spaniards. They fished on, and took some fishes they called *reves*, the biggest of them about the size of a pilchard, having a roughness on the belly, with which they cling so fast, wherever they first take hold, that they must be torn in pieces before they can be drawn off again. They tied these by the tail with a small thread, about two hundred fathoms, more or less, in length, and the fish swimming away on the surface of the water, or but little under it; when it came where the tortoise was in the water, it clung to the under shell thereof, and then the Indians drawing the thread, took a tortoise that would weigh an hundred weight, or upwards. After the same manner they took sharks, which devour men. When they had done fishing, the Indians went aboard the ships; the admiral ordered some toys to be given them, and was informed that there were many more islands farther on. He held on his way to the westward among the islands, with heavy rains, thunder and lightening, every evening till the rising of the moon, and notwithstanding the utmost care he used, the

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ship several times touched and struck, and it was a prodigious toil to get her off again. He found an island larger than the rest, which he called Santa Marta, and there was a village in it, with much fish, dumb dogs, great swarms of red cranes, parrots, and other birds, and the people fled for fear.

Being in want of water, the admiral resolved to leave the little islands, and draw near to Cuba, but by reason of the thickness of the woods, they could not see whether there were any towns. A sailor going ashore with a cross-bow, met thirty men armed with spears and *maçanas*, which are the wooden swords they use. The sailor said, he saw one among them with a white tunick down to his feet, but he could not be found, though they looked for him, because they all fled. Advancing still about ten leagues to the westward, they spied houses, from which people came in canoes, bringing provisions, and gourds full of water, for which the admiral gave them toys. He desired they would let him take an Indian along with him, to shew him the way, and some other things; which they granted, though with some reluctance. By this man he was almost assured that Cuba was an island, and that the king of that part along the western coast forward, did not speak to his people any otherwise than by signs, and was obeyed. Proceeding farther, the ships came upon a sand-bank, where there was one fathom water, and about the length of two ships. Here they were in much anguish and trouble, being obliged to ply all their capstans to bring them into deeper water. The sea appeared covered with extraordinary large tortoises. There passed over a cloud of cormorants, that darkened the sun, coming from the sea, and flying over to Cuba: there also passed over pigeons, sea cobs, and other sorts of birds, in vast multitudes. The next day so many butterflies came to the ships that they darkened the air, and this continued till night, when the great rain dispelled them. Being informed by the Indian that there was a continued course of islands that way, and finding the dangers and trouble increase, and provisions growing short, the admiral thought fit to return to the island of Hispaniola, and went to wood and water at an island that was about thirty leagues in compass, which he called the Evangelist, and is supposed to be the same that is now called *Isla de Pinos*, or the Island of Pines, so that there was not much to discover to the end of Cuba, being only about thirty-six leagues; and upon this discovery he sailed about three hundred and thirty-three leagues: then computing his voyage by astronomical rules, since his departure from Cadiz to the westernmost part of the island of Cuba, he found he had sailed seventy-five degrees of longitude, which are five hours in the difference of time from Cadiz to the westernmost part of the island of Cuba.

Friday the 13th of June, he stood about to the southward, and attempting to pass through the channel he liked best, found it impracticable, which discouraged the men, seeing themselves in such danger, and scarce of provisions; but with the assistance of the admiral's courage and industry, they got out the same way they came in, and returned to the island of the Evangelist. He sailed thence to the north-west, to take a view of some small islands that appeared at about five leagues distance, and somewhat farther they came into a sea, that was in spots of green and white, looking as if it had been all shoals, though there were above two fathoms water. At seven leagues distance they came into a very white sea, like milk turned. Seven leagues farther the sea looked black as ink, having five fathoms water, through which they sailed till they came to Cuba, the seamen being in a great consternation to see such different seas.



feas. This is concluded to proceed from the bottom being of that colour, and not the water, as the Portuguese affirm, who have seen it in the Red Sea; and such spots have been seen in the south, and in the north sea. Among the windward islands there are other white spots, because the bottom is white, so that it proceeds from transparency. He departed from Cuba to the eastward with scant winds, through channels that were full of shoals; and on the 30th of June, the admiral's ship struck, so that not being able to bring her off sternwise with anchors and cables, they at last, by the admiral's industry, brought her off a-head. He proceeded, holding no regular course, but as the shoals and channels would permit, through a very white sea, and every afternoon had great rains. He drew up to the land of Cuba, the way he had begun that voyage to the eastward, and the men smelt a most fragrant odour, as if it had been of storax, which proceeded from the wood the Indians burned. The 7th of July he went ashore to hear mass, and whilst it was saying, an old cazique came, who attentively observed all the motions of the priest, with what reverence the Spaniards assisted, and the respect they paid the admiral in giving him the pax to kiss: supposing him to be the superior of them all, he presented him with some of the fruit of the country in a calabash or gourd, called in those parts ybuera, being used there like a porringer, and sat down by him on his hams, for so they do when they have not their low stools, and then discoursed him as follows:

“ You are now come into these countries, which you never saw before, with a great power, and have caused much consternation. Be it known to you, that according to what we here believe, there are two places in the other world, to which souls go; the one bad, and full of darkness, for those that do ill; the other pleasant and good, where those are to be placed who love the peace of all people; and therefore, if you think you are to die, and that every one is there to be rewarded according as he has acted here, you will do no hurt to those that do you none. What you have done here is good, because I believe it is a way of returning thanks to God.” He said he had been in Hispaniola, in Jamaica, and in the island below Cuba, and that the lord of that place was clad like a priest. All this the admiral understood by his interpreters, and was much surprised at the wise speech of the old Indian. He told him, he was glad that he and the inhabitants of that island did believe the immortality of the soul, and informed him, that he was sent by the monarchs of Castile, his sovereigns, to be informed of those countries, to know whether there were any men that did harm to others, as he understood the Canibals did, and to correct them, and procure that all should live in peace. The old Indian heard these words with tears, affirming, that if he had not a wife and children, he would go away with him into Spain, and having received some toys of the admiral, he knelt down with motions of admiration, often asking whether it was heaven or earth where such men were born.

The admiral departing from that place where the old Indian talked to him, it looked as if all the winds and rains had conspired to torment him, and among the rest, there fell upon him such a spout as beat his ship almost under water. They made much water at the flower, or bilge, so that the pumps could scarcely discharge it; and it was none of the least misfortunes, that every man had no more allowance than a pound of rotten biscuit, and about half a pint of wine, besides which they had nothing, unless they took some fish. Amidst all these hardships he arrived at Cape Cruz, or Cross, on the 18th of July, where he rested three days, because the Indians received



received him kindly, and carried him fruit and provisions. Tuesday the 22d, the winds being contrary, he stood off to the island of Jamaica, which he called Santiago. He kept along the western coast of it, much admiring its delightfulness, and the harbours he found at every league's distance: many Indians followed him in canoes, who gave their provisions, which the Spaniards thought better than those of other islands; but the heavy rains never left him in the afternoons, which he said was occasioned by the many woods on the coast. He saw a very fine bay, with seven small islands near the shore; one of them very high land, and full of villages. The admiral believed it to be very large, but it afterwards appeared to be the island of Jamaica, which was only fifty leagues in length, and twenty in breadth. When the weather grew better, he tacked about to the east, towards the island Hispaniola, and the utmost land of it, being a cape that runs out towards Jamaica, which he named Cabo del Farol. On Wednesday the 20th of August, he saw the western cape of the island Hispaniola, which he called St. Michael, and is now called Cape Tiberon, about twenty-four or thirty leagues distant from the island of Jamaica. Saturday the 20th, a cazique came to the ships, crying, "Almirante, almirante;" whence he concluded that cape must be of the island Hispaniola, for he knew it not before. At the latter end of August he came to an anchor at a small island, which looks like a sail because it is high, and therefore he named it Alto Velo: it is twelve leagues from that called La Beata. Having then lost sight of the other two ships, he sent some men to the highest part of Alto Velo to look out for them, and the sailors killed twelve sea wolves, that slept securely on the sand: many birds they knocked down with cudgels, and some they took with their hands, for that island not being inhabited, they did not fly from men.

Six days after the other two ships that had been missing came up: they proceeded to La Beata, which is a small island, and then coasting Hispaniola, they went on to a place where there was a delightful plain, well inhabited, which they now call Catalina, or Catherine, because it belonged to a lady of that name. The Indians came in their canoes, and said that some persons had been there from Isabella, and that they were all well. He held on his course to the eastward, where a great town appeared, and he sent the boats thither for water. The Indians came out armed with poisoned arrows; they threatened to bind the Spaniards with the cords they brought: this was the province of Higüey, the inhabitants whereof were the most warlike people of the island of Hispaniola, and poisoned their weapons; but when the boats came up to the shore, the Indians laid down their arms, asked for the admiral, and carried provisions. He held on his course eastward, and they saw a great fish, like a middling whale, which had on its neck a large shell, like that of a tortoise, little less than a target: the head it held above water, was like a pipe or butt; the tail like that of a tunny fish, very large, and two vast fins on the side. By the token of this fish, and other observations in the sky, the admiral perceived there was likely to be a change of weather, and endeavoured to get within a little island, which the Indians called Adamanoy, and the Spaniards Saona, which makes a strait a little above a league over, with the island Hispaniola, and is about two leagues in length. There he came to an anchor, and the other two ships not being able to get in, ran the greatest hazard. That night the admiral observed the eclipse of the moon, and affirmed that the difference between that place and Cadiz was five hours and twenty-three minutes. He continued there by reason of the storm eight days, and the other ships being come, he sailed thence



on the 24th of September, and came to Cape Engano in Hispaniola, which the admiral named St. Raphael. They next touched at the island Mona, which is ten leagues from Hispaniola, and eight from the island of St. John, being six leagues in compass, and on it grow most delicious melons, as big as a jar of oil that will hold six quarts. Being gone from Mona, and near St. John's, the admiral was seized with such a fit of a lethargy, that he lost all his senses, so that it was thought he could not live; for which reason the seamen used the utmost diligence, and arrived with all the ships at Isabella on the 29th of September, without any farther certainty of Cuba being an island than what the Indian had said. As soon as arrived, the admiral understood that his brother, don Bartholomew Columbus, was there, and that the natives of the island were in arms against the Spaniards.

It is impossible to express how much the admiral was pleased to see his brother; and it will be proper here, before we proceed any farther, to give an account of what befel him from the time that his brother sent him to propose the undertaking of those discoveries to the king of England. He was a long time going to that kingdom, and then learning the language, the methods of the court, and gaining access to the ministers, occasioned another delay, so that after seven years, when he had articulated and agreed with king Henry VII. of England, he returned into Spain to look for his brother, who having heard nothing of him during all that time, concluded he was dead. At Paris he heard of his having made the discovery, and that he was declared admiral, being told it by king Charles, whom they called the Courteous, who gave him one hundred crowns towards his journey; and though he made all the haste he could, his brother was gone on his second voyage with the seventeen ships, but he had an instruction that had been left by the admiral, delivered to him. He went to kiss their majesties hands, and to visit his nephews, don James and don Ferdinand, at Valladolid, where the court then was, they being pages to prince John. Their catholic majesties did him much honour, and ordered him to go away to the Indies with three ships that were sending to carry provisions to the admiral. He arrived there in April, 1494, and found his brother was gone upon the discovery of Cuba. The admiral thought he had some comfort in his brother, gave him the title of adelantado, or lord lieutenant, which their catholic majesties very much resented, saying, it was not in the admiral's power so to do, but that it belonged to them to give that title; yet some years after they confirmed it. Don Bartholomew was a very wise man, and as expert in sea affairs as his brother; somewhat harsh in his temper; very brave and free, for which some hated him. He had other very commendable qualities, becoming a discreet and resolute man.

To return to the affairs of the island Hispaniola, the admiral having left don Pedro Margarite commander of the four hundred men, to the purpose that has been before mentioned, that commander went away with them to the Vega Real, or Vale Royal, ten leagues from Isabella, and quartered them in the towns there, where they lived without any order or discipline, ruining the Indians, for a Spaniard will eat more in a day than one of them in a month. The council reproving don Pedro Margarite because he did not check the licentiousness of the soldiers, he began to cavil with them, refusing to obey them either in this particular, or in marching about the island, as the admiral had ordered him; and fearing to be punished for those disorders, he thought fit to embark aboard the three ships that had gone over with don Bartholomew Columbus and return to Castile, and father Boyl with him, besides some more  
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of his party. Being come to the court, they gave an account that there was no gold in the Indies, and that all the admiral said was untrue. The soldiers being left without their commander don Pedro Margarite, dispersed themselves about the country, living like men without a chief, whereupon a cazique, whose name was Guatiguana, who had a large town on the bank of the great river, killed ten Christians, and privately sent to set fire to a house where some sick men lay; and the Indians in several parts of the island killed six more: the ill report of the Spaniards being spread abroad every where, in such sort, that all the people hated them, even those who had not seen them, and particularly the four principal kings, Guarinoex, Caunabo, Behechico, and Higuanama, and all that followed and obeyed them, being an infinite multitude, were desirous to turn the Spaniards out of the country; only Guacanagari, king of Marien, did not stir, but on the contrary, kept one hundred Christians in his country, giving them part of what he had, and treating them affectionately.

Some days after the admiral's arrival, Guacanagari went to visit him, expressing sorrow for his sickness and troubles, and said, he had not known any thing of the killing of those Christians; that he was his friend, and for that reason all the natives bore him ill will, and particularly those that were in arms in the Vale Royal, and other places: and calling to mind the Christians that had been left in the town of the Nativity, he wept, because he had not been able to preserve them alive till his return. The admiral resolving to take the field, in order to disperse those people, and reduce the island to peace, Guacanagari offered to bear him company with his subjects; but before he went out in person, he sent to begin the war with Guatiguana, who had killed the ten Christians, that the punishment might not be delayed, and to prevent his growing bolder. They killed several of his men, and took many prisoners, but he fled: some of the prisoners were sent into Spain. Caunabo was the most potent lord of the island, brave in his person, and had three valiant brothers; he was king of the province they called Maguana. The admiral had his eye more particularly on him, and thinking it would be best to subdue him by policy, because to do it by force would be difficult, he contrived to send Alonso de Ojeda with only nine Spaniards, under colour of carrying him a present. The Indians valued brass more than gold, and rejoiced when they got any of it, or of the other metals they carried from Spain, thinking they came down from heaven; and when the bell at Isabella rung, and the Spaniards in consequence went to church, they thought it spoke: the fame of it had reached Caunabo, who had often thought of begging it of the adelantado, that he might see the turey of Biscay, so they called the tin, for turey signifies heaven, and they so highly valued tin, and other metals, that they called it turey; the Spaniards added, of Biscay, and therefore they said, the turey of Biscay.

Ojeda being come to the province of Maguana, which was about sixty or seventy leagues from the colony of Isabella, the Indians were in a consternation to see him on horseback, believing that the man and horse were all of a piece: they told Caunabo that some Christians were come, being sent by the admiral, whom they called Guamiquini, and that they brought him a present of that they called turey de Biscay, which very much rejoiced him. Ojeda being introduced, kissed his hand, as the rest did, and then shewed him the present, being fetters and manacles, very bright and well polished, that looked like silver. He told him, the kings of Spain wore them, because they came from heaven; that they were wont to put them on at the areitos,



areitos, so the Indians called their dancing matches, and that it would be proper for him to go with them to bathe himself in the river Yaqui, which was half a league off; that he would there put them on him, and he should come back on horseback, and then would look like the kings of Spain. Accordingly he went one day, attended by a few servants, with Ojeda to the river, little imagining that nine or ten men should have a design upon him, in a place where he was so powerful. He washed and refreshed himself, and being very earnest to try on the present, having ordered the Indians to keep at a distance, though they always avoided being near the horses, they set him up behind Ojeda, and put on the fetters and handcuffs, the king observing all very attentively. Ojeda took two turns about, the better to palliate his design, and the third time made off, with the Spaniards about the horse, till the Indians lost sight of them: then they drew their swords, and threatened to kill him, if he did not sit still whilst they tied him with cords to Ojeda, and travelling with much expedition, they arrived at Isabella, and delivered him to the admiral, who kept him in his house fettered and handcuffed; and when the admiral came in, he never paid him any respect, but did to Alonso de Ojeda. Being asked why he did so, he answered, that the admiral durst not go to his house to seize him, and Ojeda did. The admiral resolved to send him into Spain, and being embarked with other Indians, there arose so great a storm that the ship was cast away, and Caunabo and the Indians perished: the admiral ordered two caravels to be immediately provided, that he might not be left without ships.

The return of Antony de Torres with the twelve ships into Spain, was very pleasing to their majesties, which they signified to the admiral by his brother, don Bartholomew Columbus, giving him thanks for the toils he underwent, promising always to support him, expressing much concern for the disrespect shewed him; ordering him to send away Bernal de Piza with the first ships, and to put into his place any one that he and father Boyl should think fit. And for as much as their catholic majesties were willing to please the admiral, and that this affair of the Indies should prosper, they ordered the dean, John Rodriguez de Fonseca, to fit out four ships with expedition, furnished with such things as the admiral required; and they appointed Antony de Torres to return with them, by whom they writ to him, their letter dated at Segovia the 16th of August, again repeating their thanks for his good service, promising to promote him to the utmost, because all he had said and proposed had proved as true as if he had seen it before he went upon the discovery; and though they had received the account he had sent them, yet they desired he would particularly acquaint them what islands he had discovered, the names of them before, and those he had given them, with the distance from one to another, what he had found in every one of them, what sort of weather there was in those parts every month, and how the things that were sown came up, because some had said there were two winters and two summers; and that he should send all the hawks that could be had, and several sorts of birds. That all the several things he had asked for in his memorial were sent him; and to the end that they might often hear from him, it was thought expedient that a caravel should go from Spain every month, and one return from the Indies, the affairs with Portugal being adjusted: and as to the manner of his behaviour there towards the people, their highnesses approved of what he had done till then, and so he should continue, endeavouring to give them all possible satisfaction, without allowing any disorders; and that as for the colony he had planted, there



was nothing to say to it, for if their highnesses had been present, they would have asked his advice, and therefore they left it to him; and that they had sent him a copy of the articles concluded with Portugal, that he might know and observe them on his part. That as for the line of partition which was to be drawn, that being a matter of much difficulty and great trust, their highnesses could wish, if it were possible, the admiral should be present at, and draw it, together with those that were to be employed about it by the king of Portugal; and that in case he should not come himself, he should send his brother, don Bartholomew, or some other proper person, with draughts and relations, and his opinion concerning what ought to be done in the case, which he was to do with the utmost expedition, that it might come in time, and not disappoint the king of Portugal.

The seizing of Caunabo very much incensed his brothers, who resolved to make war upon the Spaniards with the utmost of their power. The admiral perceiving that abundance of men drew together, and all the country armed, he took the field with two hundred foot, twenty horse, and twenty wolf dogs, which, as the Indians were naked from head to foot, made terrible havock among them. There were no more soldiers than the above, because the rest were sick. The admiral set out on the 24th of March, taking along with him his brother the adelantado, don Bartholomew Columbus, and king Guacanagari with his men. He entered the royal plain, and discovered the enemy's army, in which king Manicateg had a great number of men, and the whole seemed to amount to one hundred thousand. The adelantado gave the charge, and the men, the horses, and the dogs, played their parts so well, that they were soon routed, and a vast number of them killed and taken, the latter being adjudged to be slaves, and many of them were sent into Spain, aboard Antony de Torres's four ships. The admiral continued ranging about the island nine or ten months, severely punishing those he found guilty, having some encounters with Caunabo's brothers, who all made the greatest resistance they were able, but finding their power too weak, they and Guarinoex being the chief kings in the island, resolved to submit themselves to Columbus.

The admiral having thus reduced all the people under the obedience of their catholic majesties, ordered that they should all pay tribute after this manner: the inhabitants of the province of Cibao, those of the royal plain, and those near the mines, above fifteen years of age, to pay a small hawk's bell full of gold quarterly; all other persons a quarter of an hundred weight of cotton each, and only king Manicateg gave every month half a gourd full of gold, being worth one hundred and fifty pesos, or pieces of eight. A certain sort of coin was made of copper or brass, with a figure on it, and was changed upon every payment of the tribute, that every tributary Indian might wear it about his neck, thus to shew who had paid. Upon this occasion Guarinoex, king of the great royal plain, offered the admiral to sow corn through all the country from Isabella to Santo Domingo, which is from sea to sea, being full fifty-five leagues distance, which would furnish all Castile with bread, provided he would not require any gold of him, because his subjects did not know how to gather it; but the admiral being a stranger, alone, and envied by the ministers of their catholic majesties, and like a discreet man, being sensible that the wealth he sent must be his support, pressed for gold; though in other respects he was a good Christian, and feared God, and accordingly he moderated the tribute, being sensible that



that it could not be paid; for which reason some fled to the mountains, and others wandered away into other provinces. This oppression, and the Indians seeing there was no likelihood of the Spaniards leaving the country, because there were no ships in the harbour, and they built houses on the land with stone and timber, became melancholy, and they asked them whether they ever designed to return home; and having found by experience that the Spaniards, compared with them, were very great eaters, they thought they had gone thither only to eat; therefore observing that many of them were sick, and that the provisions brought them from Spain were spent, many towns conspired to contrive some method to make them all perish, or depart the island.

The expedient the Indians thought best to rid themselves of the Spaniards, was to forbear sowing, that there might be no corn, and to retire themselves to the mountains, where there are many good roots to eat, that grow without being planted, upon which they might feed, and help out with hunting utias, a sort of rabbit, whereof there is a vast plenty on the hills and in the dales. This contrivance little availed them; though the Spaniards suffered very much through hunger, they went not away: the calamity fell upon the Indians themselves; for they ranging about the mountains with their wives and children, endured much hunger, and a pestilential distemper reigned among them; so that what through this, and the wars till the year 1496, one-third of the inhabitants perished. Father Boyl, and don Petro Margarite, as they agreed (as was said before) to go away together without leave, so they combined in speaking ill of the Indies, and misrepresenting that enterprize, because they had not found gold laid up for them to plunder in chests, or growing on the trees. They also gave an account that the admiral did not behave himself well, not having been in the island from his return thither the second voyage till he came back from the discovery of the island of Cuba, full four months; and there being letters also that gave an ill character of the admiral, and of those that went aboard the four ships under the command of Antony de Torres; for there are always malecontents. Their catholic majesties, almost at the same time when the admiral took the field against the Indians in the royal plain, sent away John Aguado, a native of Seville, groom of the bedchamber, to go and observe what was doing in the island of Hispaniola, taking with him four ships laden with provisions and other necessaries, for the relief of the people there.

John Aguado carried with him credentials to this effect: "Gentlemen, esquires, "and others, who by our command are in the Indies, we send to you John Aguado, "our groom, who will discourse you in our name: we command you to give entire "credit to him. Madrid, April the 9th, 1495." John Aguado arrived at Isabella about October, at the time when the admiral was carrying on the war against Canabo's brothers, in the province of Maguana. At Isabella, he by words and outward actions, pretended to have extraordinary power and authority, interposing in matters of government, seizing some persons, and reproving the admiral's ministers, shewing little respect to don Bartholomew Columbus, who had been left governor there during his brother's absence. John Aguado thought fit to go after the admiral, and took horse and foot along with him; and those who went with him by the way gave out that another admiral was come, who would put the former to death; and the natives being discontented on account of the wars, and of the tribute of gold, they were much pleased with such news, and some caziques met privately in the house



of a king called Manicateg, whose lands were near the river Yaqui, where they agreed to give in their complaints against the admiral, and to seek some redress from the new minister. The admiral being informed that John Aguado was going in quest of him, resolved to return to Isabella, where, in the presence of the people, he received their highnesses letter, with sound of trumpet, and the greatest solemnity. John Aguado could not forbear very soon discovering his indiscretion, thrusting himself into many affairs without any respect to the admiral, which gave an ill example to others.

His example being so pernicious to the admiral, by reason of the bold threats he made, and the people being discontented on account of the troubles and distempers, for they had nothing to eat but the allowance given them out of the king's stores, which was a porringer of wheat, by some ground in an hand-mill, and by others eaten boiled, and a slice of rusty bacon or rotten cheese, with a few beans or Spanish peas, but no wine; and the admiral obliging them, as they were in the king's pay, to work at the fortifications, his own house, and other structures; they, like men in despair, complained to John Aguado, and these were chiefly the sick, for those that were in health, ranging about the island, fared better; and he thought these complaints sufficient for him to lay before their majesties. At this time the four ships that had carried over John Aguado perished in the harbour, in one of those great tempests which the Indians call hurricanes, and there was nothing left to carry him back but the admiral's two caravels, who observing his presumption, and being informed that others had misrepresented him at court, where he had nothing to support him but his own merit, resolved to appear before their majesties, to clear himself of all those slanders, and at the same time acquaint them with what he had found upon his second discovery on the island of Cuba, and his opinion touching the partition that was to be made of the ocean between the two crowns of Castile and Portugal. And to the end that all things might be thoroughly settled, he would first leave other forts in a good posture, which he had begun, besides that of St. Thomas, for the security of the country, being the Magdalen, called the lower Macorix, in the royal plain belonging to the cazique Guanacón, three or four leagues from the place where the town of Santiago now stands, in which Lewis de Artiaga was left governor; another called St. Catherine, was committed to Ferdinand Navarro, a native of Logrono; another on the bank of the river Yaqui, on the side of Cibao, called Esperanza; another in the kingdom of Guarinoex in the royal plain, called the Conception, commanded first by John de Ayala, and then by Michael Ballester. The caziques being much oppressed by the burden of the tribute, discovered to the admiral that there were good gold mines on the south side, and he might send the Spaniards for it. Now as it concerned the admiral to discover much of that metal to support his own credit, and this coming at the time when he was resolved to return to Spain, he sent Francis de Garay and Michael Diaz, with some men, and Indian guides. They went from Isabella to the fort of the Magdalen, and thence to the Conception, all the way over the royal plain; they next made through a pass, two leagues in length, which led them into another plain, the lord whereof was called Bonao. They advanced some leagues farther along the ridges of Bonao, and came to a great river called Hayna, very fruitful, and where they were told there was much gold, as there was in all the brooks; which they found true, for digging in several places, they met with such plenty, that one labourer in a day could get above three pesos, or pieces of eight.

These



These they called the mines of St. Christopher, from a fort the admiral ordered to be there built; and afterwards they were called the old mines. At this time some inhabitants of Seville were at the court of Spain, petitioning for license to make new discoveries.

When the caravels were finished and provided, the admiral appointed his brother, don Bartholomew Columbus, his lieutenant and captain-general, he being a person capable of a greater command; and he likewise departing, his brother James; earnestly charging the people to be obedient to him. He went aboard one of the caravels, and John Aguado in the other; and as their catholic majesties had ordered that the most sickly and needy, and others whose wives and kindred complained that the admiral would not permit them to return into Spain, should have leave, their number amounted to two hundred and twenty, or better. He set sail on the A. D. 1496. 10th of March, went to take a view of Puerto de Plata, and carried his brother, don Bartholomew, along with him, because he designed to settle a colony there. Don Bartholomew returned by land, and the admiral, by reason of the contrary winds and the currents, made to the eastward, with much difficulty, as far as Cape Engano, and Tuesday the 22d of the same month, he lost sight of it. The 9th of April he came to an anchor at Marigalante, and the next day at Guadaloupe, where many women came out with their bows and arrows to hinder their landing; and because the boats could not come near the shore by reason the sea ran so high, they sent out two Indians swimming, having thirty aboard from Hispaniola, who told the women that they would do them no harm, but only take in provisions. They answered, they should go to the other side of the island, where their husbands were; and when they came, a great multitude of men appeared, shooting great flights of arrows, but they fell short, and the boats firing some small guns, which did some harm, they fled to the mountains.

The Spaniards went upon the island, where they found many of the large sort of parrots, honey, and wax, though it is believed to have been brought from the continent, as also much cazabi to make bread. The admiral sent forty men to take a view of the country, who returned with forty women and three boys. One of these women was the lady of the place, and a native of the Canaries, who was extraordinary light of foot; pursuing her, she ran like a stag, but perceiving that he was likely to overtake her, she turned, and clasped him in her arms, and had not others come to his assistance, she would have strangled him. Staying there nine days, the admiral furnished himself with wood and water, and plenty of bread. He sent the women ashore with some Spanish toys to please them, because that island lay in the way; though it was said, that the lady and her daughter staid of their own accord with the Spaniards. The 20th of April he held on his voyage, in about twenty-two degrees latitude, little over or under, as the winds would permit him, for as yet they were not acquainted with the nature of that voyage, because the winds generally blowing fresh at east most part of the year, the ships should have gone up into at least thirty degrees latitude, to meet with the cold and fresh gales. Experience afterwards taught this way of failing; but that not being then known, the admiral had a more tedious voyage, which was the reason that the men suffered much by hunger, there being so great a number aboard. As they failed in this distress, they discovered land; the pilots affirmed it was one of the Azore islands, but the admiral said it was Cape St. Vincent,



Vincent, and so it proved. He came into the bay of Cadiz on the 11th of June, having spent three months on the voyage. At Cadiz he found three ships laden with provisions for Hispaniola, and cleared: having seen the royal dispatches, he writ to his brother, don Bartholomew, what he should do with Peralonso Nino, master of the two caravels, and they sailed four days after the admiral's arrival.

The admiral went away immediately to the court, which was then at Burgos, but the king was at Perpignan, in the war against France, and the queen at Laredo, sending away to Flanders the infanta, donna Juana, who was married to the archduke Philip, son to the emperor Maximilian, who were afterwards king and queen of Castile. When the fleet, which consisted of one hundred and twenty sail, was gone, their majesties staid at Burgos to wait for the lady Margaret, sister to the archduke Philip, who was to be married to prince John. The admiral was well received by their majesties, who shewed themselves very well pleased and gracious; though they signified to him that he ought to have used less severity. He acquainted them with the condition of the island, and the discovery of Cuba and the mines; he made them a good present of gold uncast, as it was found in the mines, among which there were some grains as big as peas, others like beans, and some like walnuts. He also gave many parrots, vizors with eyes and ears of gold, and several other things of the Indies, which they received with satisfaction, doing the admiral much honour, and returning him thanks; and he fully answered all the questions they asked, and the doubts they started: and for as much as they little regarded the informations brought by John Aguado, either because the admiral refuted them, or because they appeared to have been made with very little judgment, it will be needless to say any more of them.

The admiral in the account he gave their catholic majesties of the affairs of the Indies, having said much relating to the description of the island Hispaniola, of the religion he could find practised among those people, and many other particulars, it will not be improper, before we proceed any farther, in this place to mention what is most material. The natives called this island Ayti and Quisqueya, signifying uncouthness, and great country. The shape of it is like a chesnut leaf: it lies in nineteen degrees and an half of north latitude, and seventy-six of west longitude from the meridian of Toledo, the distance from which city to it is about one thousand two hundred and forty-seven leagues, being about five hours in the course of the sun. It is somewhat above four hundred leagues in compass, being one hundred and fifty leagues in length from east to west, and in breadth from north to south, in some places thirty, and in the midst sixty. It produces much Yuca, of which the natives make their bread, but no wheat, or wine; though some corn has grown in the coldest parts of it. It abounded in gold mines, which are now either exhausted, or not wrought for want of hands; but still it produces abundance of cotton and indigo, besides other things. The climate is so good, and the soil so fertile of all that is necessary, that it might vie with the best countries in the world. As for religion, no sort of idolatry, nor any kind of sect could be discovered among these people, though it plainly appeared, says Herrera, at the very first, that the devil had entire possession of them, and led them blindly into errors, talking with and showing himself to them in several shapes. All the caziques had each of them an house at some distance from their towns, where there was nothing but some odd images made of stone, or wood, or painted, which they called cemís; and in those houses nothing was done but what tended to the service of those



those cemís, with certain ceremonies and prayers they said there, as we do in our churches. There they had a small board, well wrought, and round, in which was some powder, which they laid on the heads of the images, with a certain ceremony, and then with a sort of cane of two branches which they put up their nose, they blew up the powder, and the words they said no Spaniard understood, and when they had taken up that powder, they remained besides themselves, as if they had been drunk. They gave names to those statues, being those of their grandfathers, in memory of them, and they usually bore more devotion to one than to another. The caziques and the common sort valued themselves upon having better cemís than others, and they always endeavoured to hide them from the Spaniards, refusing to let them into those their places of worship, and it was usual among them to steal those cemís from one another. It happened that the Spaniards being desirous to see into the secret of those cemís, they rushed on a sudden among the Indians into one of those houses, and immediately the cemi cried out, and spoke in their language, by which it appeared to be artificially made; for the statue was hollow, and behind it was a hollow cane that reached to the corner of the house, which was garnished, and covered with greens, where the person was hid who spoke what the cazique would have the cemi say. The Spaniards being sensible of this fraud, pulled all that in pieces, and the cazique seeing the secret discovered, earnestly intreated the Spaniards not to tell the Indians, because by that artifice he kept them in subjection.

This may be said to have some resemblance of idolatry, at least as to those that knew not the secret, because they believed it was the cemi that spoke, and they were in general deceived; only the cazique was sensible of their false belief, by which means he drew what he would from his subjects. Most of the caziques had also three stones, to which they paid much devotion; the one, they said, was good for the growth of the land; another for women with child to bring forth with ease; and the third for rain and sunshine, according as they had occasion. Three of these the admiral had sent their catholic majesties by the commander, Antony de Torres, and three others he carried himself. When a cazique died, they opened and dried him at the fire, that he might be preserved intire; then they laid him in some cave, or other hollow place, and left with him bread, liquor, and his arms, and the wife that would shew she loved him best above all the rest, was shut up with him, where she died, and sometimes two of them. Among the common sort, they only kept the heads of those that died, strangling them when they were at the point of death, as was also generally done with the caziques. Some they carried out of their houses, and some they laid in hammocks, which were their beds, and setting some bread and water at their heads, left them alone, never returning to see them. Others, when they were very sick, were carried to the cazique, and he ordered whether they should strangle them, so great was their submission to these lords. Their opinion was, that after death they went into a valley, which every great cazique believed was in his own dominions, and there they said they should find their parents and predecessors, and that they had wives and did eat, enjoying all sorts of pleasures.

They thought their idols were immortal, and that their dead appeared to them, all which, and much more, they learned of their forefathers, for they could neither write nor read, nor count beyond ten. Nothing to be depended on could be learned of them concerning their antiquities, about which they varied very much. They told chimerical tales and fables about the creation of the world, and about the earth, the sun.



sun and moon, and woman. As to this point, they said that the men went one day to wash themselves, at a time when it rained very much, and being very desirous to have women, because those they had before were gone away to other islands, they saw the shapes of human persons drop among the trees, being neither men nor women, and they going about to take them, they fled as swift as eagles; however, they caught four of them, and then held a council how they should make them women; to which effect they looked out for a bird that makes holes in trees, which we call a woodpecker, and that tying those persons hands and feet, they applied the bird to them, the which taking them to be wood, pecked in that part where the difference of the sexes is, and so they were made women. This absurdity the most ancient of them told as very certain, besides many others too tedious to relate. They said the sun and moon came out of a cave, which they called Jovobaba, and held in great veneration, keeping it always much adorned with two stone idols, their hands bound, and looking as if they sweated. They paid them great devotion, went to them to beg rain for their fields, and carried them many offerings. This cave was in the country of the cazique called Mauciatibel, and they believed that when they offered up their prayers before those cemís, it rained. Some said, that the dead went to a place called Coaybay, in a part of the island called Soraya; that in the day time the dead were shut up, and at night they went out to divert themselves, and appeared to the living in the shape of men and women; that an Indian offering to fight with a dead man, he vanished, and the living man found himself grasping a tree. They added, that the dead did eat of a sort of fruit that was as big as quinces, and by reason that they appeared only at night, every Indian was much afraid to go any where alone.

Those that persuaded the commonalty to believe the afore said extravagances, were those they called Buutios, who pretended they conversed with the dead, and knew their secrets: these were their physicians to cure them with charms, and other hellish arts. These men had many stone cemís, and others of wood, which they carried about with them, some to obtain rain, and others to make the product of the earth thrive, and others for the winds to blow. When any prime man was sick, they carried the physician to him, who was obliged to diet himself, and purge as the patient did, snuffing an herb up the nose till he was out of his senses, talking very extravagantly, pretending to speak with the idols; then they daubed their faces with soot, and when the patient was purged, the physician sat down, all the company observing strict silence in the dark, and he took a sort of herb to vomit up what he had eaten: then they brought light, and the physician took two turns about the patient, pulled him by the legs, went to the door of the house and shut it, saying, "Be gone to the mountains, or where you will:" then he blowed, joined his hands, which he shook, shut his mouth, blowed his hands again, sucked the patient's neck, back, stomach, and other parts, coughed, made faces, and spit out into his hand something he had before put into his mouth, telling the patient he had taken it out of his body, and that it was the distemper his cemi had given him, because he had not been obedient to him. For the most part they were stones they took out of their mouths, which they much valued, as good for women in labour, and other uses, and kept them as relics. They observed certain festivals, or holy days, and when any solemn day came, they carried meat to the cemi, and the next day they took it away, and the priests eat it. If a patient happened to die, knowing that the physician had not observed the diet



diet exactly, in order to find out whether he died through his fault, they took the juice of a certain herb, pared the dead man's nails, and cut off the hair on his forehead, which they reduced to powder, and mixing it with the juice, poured it in at the dead person's mouth and nose, and then asked him several times, whether the physician had observed the strict diet, till the devil speaking, answered as plain as if he had been alive, and said, the physician had not dieted himself: then they returned the body to its grave, and the dead person's kindred secured the physician, beating him till they broke his arms and legs; they also put out the eyes of some, or else cut off their privy members. Thus they punished those forcerers, who had a thousand artifices to keep those people in their blindness. Of their antiquities those men knew nothing but what was in some songs, which they sung to an instrument made of a hollow thin piece of wood, about two feet long, and one in breadth; that part on which they struck was made like a smith's pincers, and the other end like a club, with a long neck: this instrument had so great a sound, that it could be heard almost a league, to which sound they sung their ballads. The prime men played upon it, being taught from their childhood; as also to sing to it at their dancing bouts, when they made themselves drunk.

The cemís, or idols they had, were very various, and among the rest was a cazique, who had one made of wood, with four feet, like a dog, which, they said, went away many nights into the woods, and they brought him back bound, because he loosed himself, and got away again: when the Spaniards came into the island, they said, he fled to a lake, sunk in it, and was never seen again. They had many more devilish inventions, which they observed in their barbarous blindness. They also fasted, after the example set them by a great lord they once had, who, they said, was in heaven, which they observed, shutting themselves up six or seven days, without eating any thing whatever but the juice of herbs, with which they washed themselves, and after that they began to eat something substantial, being weakened with the fast: they said they had seen something of what they desired, because the fast was always in honour of their cemís, to know whether they should be victorious over their enemies, or to acquire wealth, or have plenty, or such other things as they affected. It was looked upon as a certain truth, that an ancient cazique told another that was known at the time of the discovery of the island, those that survived him would not long enjoy their dominion, because a people that was cloathed would come and subdue them, and they would all perish with hunger. Most of them thought that these people would have been the Caribs; but they only robbing, and then going off, they concluded they must be some others, and afterwards they found the admiral, and those that came with him, to be the people. This prophecy was immediately put into a song, which they sung like their other ballads, playing on their tabor upon festivals, at weddings, and other solemnities, holding one another by the hands one after another, the foremost singing and roaring, and all the rest, both men and women, answering; and sometimes the men and women apart, drinking of the liquor made of mayz, or Indian wheat, and other ingredients, till they dropped down drunk, which was much practised among them; this diversion generally lasted from morning till night.

They had other pastimes, as playing at ball, for which purpose they had a house apart, joining so many on each side, like the Spanish game of bandy, and they would touch the ball with all the parts of their body, in a very active and dexterous manner:



the balls were made of the gum of a tree, and though heavy, would fly and bound better than those filled with wind in Spain. One thing the admiral did at the very beginning, (very advantageous for the conversion of those people) was his taking special care that both the priests and the laymen should apply themselves to learn the Indian language, which varied in several parts of the island, though they generally understood that which may be called the courtly language, spoken in the province of Guarinoex, whither the admiral sent father Roman, of the order of the Eremites of St. Jerom, and father John Borgonon, of the order of St. Francis, to learn the same. They continued there some time, instructing the cazique and all the people in the Christian doctrine. At first the cazique shewed a good inclination, and learnt the Christian prayers, but afterwards he fell off, and at the persuasion of some Indians, desisted from his good purpose, they telling him that the Christians were wicked, and held his lands by force, for which reason it were better to kill them; on which the friars went away to another place. Two days after they were gone, some Indians were building a house near another where the friars had some images, and were wont to pray; those the Indians stole, and buried them in a field that was sown, saying, "Now you will produce much fruit." This was told to don Bartholomew Columbus, who, as has been said, was in the island of Hispaniola as the admiral's lieutenant, and having formally convicted them, he burnt the offenders. The field in which they buried the images was planted with axi, being roots like turnips, and some like radishes, and it appeared that in the place where the images had been buried, two or three roots had come up in the form of a cross, a thing never before seen in that country, for which reason it was looked upon as a miracle, and they were found by the mother of Guarinoex, who was a perverse woman, and carried them to captain Ojeda.— These Indians of the island Hispaniola were so submissive to their caziques, that it depended on them whether their subjects should believe or disbelieve, as they pleased.

More shall be said in another place of the customs of those people, who had but one woman in matrimony, whom they honoured; but they kept many others to commit several beastly and abominable sins with them, and there was never any discord among them. They were addicted to sodomy, which the women abhorred, and were continent with the natives, but lewd with the Spaniards. The men forbore using their mothers, sisters, and daughters, but had no regard to any other degrees of consanguinity. It plainly appeared, says our author, that the devil was entirely possessed of those people, and led them blindfold into error, talking and shewing himself to them in several shapes; and that they were naturally of a mean capacity, given to change, and incorrigible.



## CHAPTER IV.

*Account of Americus Vesputius: he sails from Cadiz: discovers part of the continent of America. Description of the people and their customs. Returns to Cadiz.*

**A**MERICUS Vesputius, who has had the good fortune to give his name to the vast western continent, was a native and merchant of Florence; being a man of an enterprising genius, he made four voyages on discovery, the first of which we are now about to relate.

Americus is accused of having used arts unworthy of a man of honour, and to have falsified dates, to gain the praise of being the discoverer of the new continent, at which Herrera, the Spanish historian, is very much offended. Whether he is really guilty of what is laid to his charge, we will not undertake to determine, and shall therefore insert his voyages under the date he has affixed to them.

These voyages are to be found in the collections of Grynæus and De Brye, and in a separate work, intitled, “*Navigaciones quatuor Americi Vesputii*,” all in Latin. The two first voyages we shall translate from the former, being the only language we have been able to find them in. They are dedicated to Renault, king of Jerusalem and Sicily, and duke of Loraine and Bar. They certainly contain the oldest and best account we have of the manners and customs of the Americans.

“We sailed from Cadiz on the 20th of May, with four armed  
A. D. 1497. ships, to make discoveries in the western ocean. We arrived without  
once altering our course, the wind blowing constantly S. S. W. at the  
Canaries, formerly called the Fortunate Islands. They are situated at the extremity of the  
habitable west, in the third climate, in twenty-seven degrees two-thirds north latitude,  
and distant from Lisbon (where the present work was written) two hundred and eighty  
leagues. Here we spent about eight days in laying in store of water and provisions,  
and above all, in imploring the protection of divine Providence on our undertaking.  
On the 9th of June we set sail, steering W. S. W. and arrived in less than twenty-seven  
days at what we conjectured to be main land, distant from the Canary Islands nearly a  
thousand leagues. It is inhabited, though it lies within the torrid zone; for by the  
most exact observation, we found it to be in sixteen degrees north latitude, and seventy-  
five degrees more westerly than the great Canary Islands. Here having cast anchor  
about half a league from the land, we hoisted out our boats, and went ashore with  
part of the crew, well armed. We observed with extreme satisfaction, a multitude  
of the natives, walking naked on the shore; they appeared to be astonished at sight  
of us, wondering no doubt at our dress, features, and complexion, different from their  
own. As soon as we approached the shore, they fled to a neighbouring hill, from  
whence we tried in vain to invite them to us by every sign of peace and friendship  
we could think of. Night mean while came on, and fearing to remain longer in a  
place which, in case of a storm, afforded no shelter to our shipping, we agreed to sail  
early next morning in quest of a station where we could anchor with more safety,  
We



We accordingly made sail, and after coasting for the space of two days along shore, always in sight of land, and in view of a crowd of people who followed us, we discovered at length a place adapted to our purpose. Here we cast anchor about half a league from land, and again went ashore in order to effect an interview with the natives, who covered the beach with their multitudes. In vain, however, we tried to make them approach us, except a very few, whom we allured with great difficulty, and whom we dismissed highly delighted with the nails, mirrors, drinking-glasses, and other baubles, which we gave them. Night coming on, we returned to our ships. Next morning, however, by day break, we beheld again on the shore a great number of men and women, carrying their little ones with them; and we learned that they brought with them all their chattels, as shall be mentioned in its proper place. Several of them threw themselves into the sea (for they are most excellent swimmers) and met us about a bow shot from the shore: they received us with much affection, and mixed with us with as much security and confidence as if they had been a long while acquainted: a circumstance that gave us no small satisfaction. I shall now proceed to give some account of their manners and customs, so far at least as they came within our observation.

“ They go all, women as well as men, as absolutely naked as when they came from their mother’s womb. They are of a middling stature, extremely well formed; their skin is of a dun or red colour; but I believe if they wore cloaths they would be as fair as we are. They have no hair, except the hair of their head, which is black and very long, and the women especially take great delight in that ornament; but on no other part of the body do they permit any hair to grow, plucking out even that on the eye-brows and eye-lashes; for they esteem it highly beastly and unclean to have hair on any part of the body. Their features are by no means comely, for they are broad-faced like the Tartars. They are all, men and women, exceedingly light and nimble, either in walking or running, insomuch that even the women make nothing of running one or two leagues, without once stopping; and in that particular they are far superior to us. Their dexterity in swimming surpasses all belief, and in that exercise the women excel the men; we have often seen the women swim a couple of leagues in the sea without any adventitious help whatever. Their arms are the bow and arrow, which they fabricate with much ingenuity. They are destitute of iron and other metals; but instead of iron, they point their arrows (which they harden in the fire) with the teeth of fish or wild beasts. They are excellent archers, and can hit whatever they please with their arrows; and in some parts of the country even the women handle the bow with great dexterity. Besides the bow they have a variety of other weapons, such as spears, pointed poles and clubs, whose heads are most elaborately wrought. They are frequently at war with a bordering people of another language, with whom they carry on a mode of war the most cruel that can be imagined, sparing none but those whom they reserve for the most acute torments. When they go forth to battle they take their wives along with them, not to assist them in fight, but to carry their necessaries; for one woman, as we have often witnessed, will carry on her back, for the space of thirty or forty leagues, a greater load than even a strong man can lift from the ground. They have no chiefs or generals to conduct the war, they observe no order or regularity in their march, for they do not fight to extend their dominion, nor to gratify the ambition of any man, but merely to revenge the injuries which they received from their enemies.



enemies. When we enquired what was the cause of that enmity, they replied, that the blood of their ancestors slain in battle called aloud for vengeance. They live in the most perfect freedom, having no king nor master. They prepare and animate each other to battle with the greatest alacrity if any person of their nation is slain or taken prisoner by the enemy: when that happens, the eldest and nearest relation of the person killed or taken prisoner, runs through the villages or public places, crying, inviting and persuading all he meets to help him to revenge the death of his kinsman: moved by compassion, they follow him to battle, and rush suddenly on their enemies. They observe no laws, no form of justice whatever; they have no punishment for malefactors; nay, so little are they acquainted with severity, that even parents never correct nor instruct their children. To our utter astonishment, we never knew them to quarrel among themselves. They are simple in speech, but withal cunning and acute: they speak seldom, and in a gentle tone of voice, and in accents similar to ours; but the formation of their words is different from ours, being effected chiefly between the lips and teeth. They have a great diversity of dialect among them; for every hundred leagues we discovered a people who spoke a language unintelligible to their neighbours. Their manner of eating is quite barbarous, for they observe no stated meals, but eat night or day, as often as they are prompted by appetite: they eat sitting on the ground, and have no table cloths nor towels, for they are totally unacquainted with linen, or any similar manufacture. Their victuals they place in earthen vessels, which they make themselves, or in the shell of the calabash or gourd. They sleep in a kind of large net made of silk, and suspended above the ground---a mode, which though it may appear strange and uncouth to those who are unacquainted with it, is yet, as I have often experienced, more pleasant and healthy than our manner of sleeping in beds. They are extremely clean in their persons, and smooth skinned, which is occasioned by frequent ablution; and when they go to ease nature, they take every possible precaution that they may be seen by no body. Their modesty in that respect can only be equalled by their immodesty in making water, in doing which the men and women are equally shameless.

“ They know of no law nor form of matrimony in the intercourse of the sexes, but every man takes as many wives as he desires, whom he dismisses when he pleases, without being subject to reproach, or supposed to commit an injury; and in this respect both sexes act with equal freedom. Ignorant of jealousy, they are libidinous in the highest degree, more especially the women, whose artifices to satisfy their insatiable lust, it were scandalous to relate. They are extremely prolific, nor does pregnancy hinder them from prosecuting their labour as usual. They bring forth with so little pain, that they generally walk about vigorous and in good health the day after delivery; especially after they have been to bathe themselves and infant in some river, from which they rise as clean and sprightly as a fish. They are much addicted to cruelty and revenge, insomuch, that if at any time their husbands should irritate them, immediately urged by anger, they swallow a certain drug, which causes an abortion, and by this means a great many children are murdered in the womb. They are formed so exquisitely elegant, that it is impossible to find fault with any part of their body. The women shewed themselves extremely fond of an amorous intercourse with us. Those people observe no sort of law whatever, nor can we call them Moors or Jews, for they are worse than the very Pagans; and we could not perceive that they offered up sacrifice, or had any place of worship. Their manner of life, which is

entirely



entirely voluptuous, may be termed epicurean. Each habitation is possessed by several families, who live in common: their houses are of a bell form, firmly constructed with large trees, covered at top with palm-leaves, and rendered extremely secure against winds and storms. In some places they are so large, that one of them will contain six hundred persons. Eight of the largest of these houses were so spacious as to hold ten thousand souls. Every seventh or eighth year they change their habitations and place of abode. When we enquired of them the meaning of this emigration, they gave us a physical reason, telling us, that they did it on account of the vehement heat of the sun, which exhaling the filth created by their long residence in the same place, infected the air, and occasioned among them a variety of disorders; and indeed there appeared to us a great deal of good sense in the reason they alledged. Their riches are the plumes of various coloured birds, or amber stones, the bones of fish, or green and white pebbles, which they suspend by way of ornament to the lips, cheek, and nose. They have a great number of other baubles, which they esteem as riches, but which we reckon of no value. Perfectly satisfied with that which nature spontaneously produces, they have no idea of commerce, nor of buying or selling: gold, jewels, and trinkets, which in Europe we reckon wealth, they pay not the least regard to. They are naturally so liberal, that they give freely whatever a person asks, and are equally ready in asking, and glad to receive. The greatest mark of friendship among them consists in giving or lending their wives and daughters to each other, and either parent esteem themselves highly honoured when any person takes their daughter, though a virgin, to his bed, and in this manner chiefly their friendships are conciliated. Their funeral ceremonies and modes of disposing of the corpse are various: some inter the deceased, placing victuals at his head, which he is supposed to eat and drink, making no lamentation for the dead, nor performing any other ceremony. But there are others who bury in a manner the most inhuman and barbarous that can be imagined; for when they suppose any of their family to be at the point of death, his relations carry him into an immense forest; there they lay him in one of those nets in which they sleep, suspended above the ground between two trees; for the space of a whole day they sing in chorus round him, suspended in this manner; when night comes on they place at his head meat and drink sufficient to sustain him for three or four days, and then they leave him, and return to their habitations: if after that the sick man should eat and drink, and recover strength, and return to his house, his friends and relations receive him with much ceremony. But very few survive the trial, for nobody ever after goes near them; nor have they any other burial than what I have just mentioned. They have also a great many other barbarous rites, which, to avoid prolixity, I omit.

“ In curing their distempers and diseases, they make use of a great number of medicines, and modes of treatment so different from, and indeed so opposite to ours, that it is a miracle how they can escape from the experiment with life. To mention, for instance, a fact which we have often observed: when a person is taken ill of a fever, they take him at the moment when the fit is upon him, plunge him into cold water, and bathe him; then they lay him for the space of two hours before a large fire, till he perspires most copiously; after which they make him run up and down till he is quite fatigued, when they consign him to repose; and by this means we have seen a great many people restored to health and vigour. They frequently enjoin abstinence from meat and drink for three or four days. They let blood often, not in the arms, but in  
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the loins, and calf of the leg. They make frequent use of the emetic, which they provoke by means of certain herbs which they hold in their mouth; and, in short, they employ a number of other remedies and antidotes, too tedious to mention.— They abound much with blood and phlegmatic humour, occasioned by their food, which consists of roots, herbs, fruits, and fish of various sorts. Of wheat they are totally destitute, and of every other kind of grain. Their most common food is a certain root, which they grind into a kind of flour, of no unpalatable taste, and this root is by some of them called jucha, by others chambi, and by others igrane. Of flesh they seldom eat, except it be human, which they devour with a cruel voracity hardly to be found in the most ferocious of the wild beasts, for they eat without distinction of age or sex, whatever they kill in battle or take captive; and when we beheld with the utmost horror their beastly repasts, they, on their side, expressed their astonishment that we also did not devour our enemies in the same manner. And of this your majesty may be assured, that they have many customs of the most barbarous nature, which cannot here be sufficiently described. And because in the four several voyages which I made to those parts, I had occasion to remark a scene of manners, customs, and opinions, so strikingly different from the face of things in our world, I have therefore written, but not yet published a book, intitled, “Four Journals, or Voyages,” in which, according to the measure of my humble capacity, I have marked down, with tolerable perspicuity, the most interesting facts and remarkable things to which I was a witness: and as in the above-mentioned book I have given a more detailed account of my voyages, I shall in this place only touch slightly the principal matter.

“I return from this digression, to finish the account of my first voyage. For some time after our arrival among those people, for want, I believe, of understanding their language, we could not perceive any thing from which any material advantage might be derived, except that from some appearances in the earth, we discovered that the country produced gold. But with regard to the situation and fertility of the soil, it is so excellent, that it is hardly possible to find a better. We now agreed to leave this place, and to stretch our navigation farther. Having unanimously adopted this resolution, we set sail, and running along shore, doubling many points of land, and holding from time to time a conference with the natives, we arrived, after a lapse of several days, at a certain port, where it pleased the Almighty to deliver us from great danger. On entering this port, we discovered one of their towns or villages, built like Venice, upon water, and in this village there were about twenty habitations, in the shape of bells, as we have already described, and firmly constructed on a solid circumvallation of wood: before each gate was a draw-bridge, by which you passed from one habitation to the other. As soon as the inhabitants saw us, they were seized with fear, drew up their bridges instantly, and hid themselves in their houses. While we were looking with wonder at what was going on ashore, about a dozen of their boats (which are only the trunks of trees excavated) began to row towards us, and hovering around us, admired at a distance our strange features and appearance. As soon as we observed them approaching us, we made them every demonstration of our friendly intentions which we could devise, in order to encourage them to come along side, but to no purpose. We then began to row towards them, but instead of waiting till we came up with them, they fled directly towards shore, making signs to us at the same time to wait a little for them, and that they would return to us directly. They then ascended a certain hill, and driving from thence eighteen bullocks; they



embarked with them in the forementioned boats, rowed towards us, and run along side us. They then sent aboard each of our vessels four of those bullocks; a ceremony which, your majesty may easily suppose, surprised us not a little. And now they mixed among us with the utmost frankness, and conversed with us in so pacific a manner, that we concluded their intentions to be of the most friendly nature. Meanwhile, however, a considerable number of the natives came swimming towards us from shore, and began to approach our ships, without exciting in us the least apprehension of danger; but turning our eyes towards the village, we beheld standing at the doors a number of old women, loudly lamenting, and tearing their hair; a circumstance which gave us suspicion of some intended treachery. Then on a sudden the cattle which they put aboard of us, jumped into the sea, and the men who were in the boats began to make off to a distance, and bending their bows, galled us exceedingly with their arrows. Those who came swimming from shore, manifested their foul intentions by the lance which each of them carried in his hand, and which they attempted to conceal under water. Then we began to repel, and to revenge the attack of the natives with so much effect, that in a short time we destroyed and sunk several of their boats, with considerable slaughter of the natives, who deserting their canoes, swam ashore, with the loss of about twenty killed and more wounded. Of ours only five were hurt, and these, by the blessing of God, were soon afterwards restored to health. We picked up two of the above-mentioned cattle, and three men: we then went ashore, and entered into their houses, but found nothing except two old women and a sick man; but we would not set fire to their houses, fearing to offend against our conscience.

“After this we returned to our ships with the above-mentioned five captives, whom we put in irons, and detained the cattle; but the next night the cattle and one of the male captives made their escape from us with much subtlety. On the following day we agreed to leave that port, and sailing accordingly along shore, at the distance of eighty leagues, we discovered an island, in language and conversation totally different from the former: here we agreed to anchor our fleet, and to go ashore in our boats. We observed on the sea shore a crowd of people, to the number of four thousand, or thereabout, who fled on our approach, and leaving every thing they had, took refuge in the neighbouring woods. We jumped ashore, and walking about a cannon shot into a path leading into the wood, we found several tents which they had pitched there for the conveniency of fishing, several large fires lighted to dress their victuals, and a great variety of beasts and fish ready roasted. Amongst the rest we saw an animal which, except that it had wings, very much resembled a serpent, and had the most savage and horrid appearance that can be conceived. Walking, however, among the tents, we discovered several of these kind of serpents alive, with their feet tied, and their mouths bound tight with ropes, just as among us, dogs and other wild animals are muzzled, to prevent their biting. And, in short, they had so horrid an aspect, that concluding them to be animals of a poisonous nature, we did not dare to approach them. They are equal to a goat in height and substance, and about a yard and an half in length. Their long and thick feet are armed with hoofs; their colour is extremely various; from their nostrils to the extremity of their tail, a kind of bristle extends itself; their head and face is exactly that of a serpent, insomuch that we concluded they were really a species of serpent; and yet those people dare to eat them.

They



“ They also make from fish a kind of bread, in this manner : they first parboil the fish, then they beat it into a kind of flour, mix it with water, and make it into bread, which they bake on live embers. We have tasted this kind of bread, and found it very good. They have also a great variety of other food, as well of the animal as vegetable world, which it were tedious to enumerate. Finding that the fear of us had caused them to fly into the woods, we determined not to carry away with us the smallest article that was theirs ; but in order to inspire them with confidence, we left in their tents a number of little presents, and towards night we returned to our ships. On the following morning, at sun-rise, we observed on the shore a vast number of people. We went ashore in our boats. The natives at first approached us with diffident hesitation, but by little and little they became more familiar, and gave us the warmest assurances of their friendship. They informed us, that they did not reside there, but had only come down for the opportunity of fishing, and they begged of us to accompany them to their habitation up the country, where they would receive us as their best friends. We had, it seems, acquired their friendship by the sight of the two captives, who were of a tribe inimical to theirs. They importuned us at last into a consent with their request, and we agreed that twenty-three of our number, well armed, in good array, (and determined, should necessity require it, to die like men,) should accompany them to their village. After they had remained with us for the space of three days, we departed with them, and at the distance of three leagues from the shore, we arrived at one of their villages, consisting of nine houses, such as we have already described. There they received us with so many barbarous ceremonies, that it were impossible for any one to describe them ; with songs and chorusses, with expressions of grief mixed with bursts of merriment and gladness, and also with abundance of good cheer. Here we remained for that night ; the natives brought us their wives with the utmost prodigality, and indeed the ladies were so exceedingly importunate that it was not without the greatest difficulty we could resist the temptation of their caresses. After we had remained with them that night and part of the succeeding day, a vast concourse of people came, without fear, to inspect us, and their elders requested us to accompany them to others of their villages farther up the country : we agreed with their request. It were hardly possible to describe the high honours they paid us in the course of our journey. We visited several of their villages, travelling with the natives from one habitation to another, for the space of nine days, a delay which filled our comrades aboard with anxiety and fear. After having traversed about eighteen leagues of the country, we proposed to return to our ships. Our regress was honoured by the convoy of an immense multitude of men and women, who accompanied us to the sea-shore ; and when any of us happened to be fatigued by the march, they put him into one of the nets, in which they sleep, and carried him with the greatest attention to his ease. In passing rivers also, which in that country are frequent and very large, they ferried us over with so much ingenuity and safety, that we had no danger to apprehend. Not a few of them attended us, laden with the presents they had made us, such as rich plumes, an infinite number of bows and arrows, and also a great variety of various coloured parrots, which they carried in the nets in which they sleep. Many of them carried with them their whole stock of furniture, leading with them also their domestic animals. It was wonderful to see with what alacrity they served us, and how happy they thought themselves in carrying us on their backs in the passages of rivers or other water. When we reached the shore, and began to embark in our boats, such was the pressure  
of



of the vast concourse of natives striving to embark with us, and desirous of examining our ships, that we had like to have been overset with their weight. We took into our boats as many as we could stow : a vast number attended us, swimming all the way to our ships, which they entered in prodigious numbers, but naked and unarmed. They were struck with the greatest astonishment at the magnitude of our vessels, as well as by the strange ingenuity of our apparatus. In the midst of their wonder, we discharged, at a signal given, several of our guns : terrified with the explosion, the greater part of them dived under water like frightened frogs, while those who remained aboard were convulsed with terror, insomuch that we began to condemn ourselves for trying so imprudent a frolic. We succeeded however in allaying their fears, and relieved them from a state of stupid astonishment, by informing them that with such arms we destroyed our enemies. After having entertained them aboard with our best cheer for the whole course of that day, we admonished them to depart, for we intended to set sail that very night. On hearing this they left us with the warmest demonstrations of friendship and good will.

“ I observed among this tribe a great many very curious customs, which at present I shall not insert at much length, since your majesty will sometime hence have an opportunity of learning their manners and local rites, in a book entitled “*Four Journals*,” in which I have given a geographical description of the country, as well as a particular and minute account of their more remarkable customs, but which I have not yet sufficiently corrected for the press. The country is extremely populous, and abounds with an immense number of various animals, many of which are not to be found among us. There are lions, boars, stags, swine, goats, and deer, but distinguished by some deformities from ours. As to horses, asses, mules, dogs, and the lesser cattle, such as sheep and the like, there are none to be found in that country, nor even any species of the cow whatever ; but yet they have abundance of other unknown animals, which I cannot easily describe, but which are all wild and unsubjected to the human will. The woods abound with the most amazing multitudes of birds, various in form, feather, and colour. The face of the country is covered with forests, which are green all the year round, and which never cast their leaves. They produce fruits in the greatest plenty, but totally different from ours in shape and flavour.

This region is situated in the torrid zone, directly under the parallel which describes the tropic of Cancer, in twenty-three degrees latitude, at the extremity of the second climate. While we remained among those people, we were visited daily by immense numbers of the natives, wondering at our features and the whiteness of our skin ; they were also curious to know from whence we came : to which we replied, that we had descended from heaven to visit the earth, and this they readily believed. We consecrated at this place a number of baptismal fonts, in which a great many of the natives caused themselves to be baptised, calling themselves in their language Charaibi, that is, men of great wisdom. The country is by them called Parias.

“ After we left this place we run along shore about eight hundred and seventy leagues, doubling many capes and points of land, and from time to time holding a conference with the natives. In most places we discovered gold, but in no great quantity ; for it was sufficient for us to discover the country, and to know, in general, whether it produced that metal ; and as we had now been thirteen months at sea, and our naval stores and apparatus almost consumed, and the seamen worn out with toil, we agreed unanimously to repair our vessels, which let in water at all quarters, and to return



return to Spain. When we formed this resolution, we were near a port the very best in the whole world, which we entered, and found on the shore an infinite number of people, who received us with much friendship. Here we built with the relics of our small craft a little vessel, and disembarking our cannon, which was nearly destroyed by rust, occasioned by the leakiness of our ships, we unloaded our vessels, hauled them ashore, and gave them a thorough repair. In effecting this we were greatly assisted by the natives. They also of their own accord supplied us most abundantly with provisions, by which means we consumed very little of our own stock, which was indeed sufficiently slender for our passage home.

“ We remained in this port thirty-seven days, frequently visiting the habitations of the natives, who paid us the greatest respect; but when we were preparing to set sail, the natives came to us, complaining that there was a certain ferocious and destructive nation, who at a certain season of the year, coming by the way of the sea, landed clandestinely on their coast, and carried away by force or fraud a great many of their tribe, whom they killed and devoured, excepting some, whom they kept as slaves: they represented to us that they were hardly able to defend themselves against those invaders, who inhabited, they said, an island distant from their shore an hundred leagues, or thereabout. Moved by their distress, and the pathetic manner in which they implored our assistance, we promised to vindicate them from such inhuman barbarity. Rejoiced by the promise of our aid, they offered voluntarily to attend us on the expedition, which for many reasons we refused, and only consented to take with us seven of their number, on condition that they should go and return in their own boats, for we would not take upon ourselves the care of returning them to their native country; and to this condition they very gladly agreed. We now departed, leaving the natives in the most friendly disposition towards us. For the space of seven days we continued our course N. E. by E. in open sea, sailing before the wind. We then fell in with several islands, some of which were inhabited, others desert. We stood in to one of them, called Ity by the natives, and observing on land a great number of people, we manned our boats and small craft with able men, and three pieces of cannon.

“ On approaching pretty near the shore, we remarked on the beach about four hundred men, and a great number of women, all naked, like those already described: the men were strong in body, and warlike in appearance; they were all armed with bows, arrows, and lances; many of them had also shields of a square form, with which they defended themselves so dexterously as not to be in the least impeded by them in the use of the bow and arrow. When we were within the flight of an arrow to the shore, they rushed suddenly into the sea, and pouring on us a thick shower of arrows, endeavoured to prevent our landing. Their bodies were painted with various colours, and decorated with feathers of every dye, which when those who came with us from the main land perceived, they informed us that it was their practice to adorn themselves in that manner whenever they prepared for battle. They defended themselves with so much vigour, that we were obliged to discharge upon them our stone-vomiting engines\*. Struck with the explosion, the velocity of the shot, and the havoc made by them, they retired to the land. We agreed that forty-two of our number should

\* By this expression, Vesputius must mean the cannon.



land and engage them courageously: we accordingly jumped ashore; the natives met us, and for the space of almost two hours we maintained a constant fight, and gained at length over the enemy a complete victory in close combat, except that some few of them were killed by our musqueteers, which was done because they had a practice of evading with much subtlety the point of our swords and spears. At last, however, we rushed upon them with so much violence, that they could no longer play with the point of our weapons. When they saw this, they turned their backs, and fled into the wood, leaving on the field a considerable number of killed and wounded. We declined to pursue them that day, because we were very much fatigued, and returned aboard with those seven men who had followed us from the main land, and who could hardly contain themselves for joy.

“On the morning of the following day, however, we observed a large body of the enemy marching towards us, to the sound of horns and other warlike music; and like those whom we had fought the preceding day, they were decorated with paint, and various coloured feathers. After deliberating some time among ourselves, we agreed that if they should come down upon us in an hostile manner, we should in the first place endeavour, as much as lay in our power, to make peace with them; but that if they refused our friendship, we should then treat them like enemies indeed, and make slaves of all whom we took prisoners. We then formed our ships in a semi-circle round the shore. Deterred, however, I suppose by the fear of our cannon, they did not attempt to prevent our landing. We then landed in four divisions, fifty-seven men in each division, and began a long and close engagement with the enemy; but after an obstinate and bloody resistance, we put them to flight, and pursued them to their village, where we took twenty-five captives, set fire to their habitations, and returned to our ships. The enemy had a great many killed and wounded: of ours only one was killed, but we had twenty-two men wounded, who were all, by the blessing of God, restored to health.

“Having now determined to return to our native country, we made a present of a boat which we took on the island, together with seven captives, that is, three men and four women, to the seven natives of Parias who accompanied us, and who returned home with much joy, and a most exalted opinion of our power. Pursuing our course to Spain, we arrived at length at Cadiz, with two hundred A. D. 1499. and twenty-two captives, on the 15th day of October. There we were most gladly received, and sold our slaves. And this is the substance of the most remarkable occurrences of our first voyage.”



## C H A P T E R V.

*Preparations made for a third voyage, under the command of Columbus: powers granted to him. Transactions in Hispaniola during his absence. Peter Alonso Nino arrives from thence. Columbus sails from St. Lucar: touches at Port Santo, Madeira, and Hierro discovers Trinidad: arrives at Hispaniola: endeavours to reduce the mutineers. Complaints made against him to the king and queen: is recalled, and reconciled.*

THE admiral offering to discover many provinces and the continent, demanded eight ships, two of them to carry provisions to Hispaniola, and the other six to go with him. It was resolved, with the advice of the admiral, that there should always be three hundred and thirty men in the island of Hispaniola, in the pay of their highnesses, all volunteers; and that among them should be forty esquires, one hundred foot for soldiers and pioneers, thirty sailors, thirty boys, twenty workers in gold, fifty husbandmen, one hundred gardeners, twenty handicrafts of all sorts, and thirty women, each of them to receive six hundred maravedies pay monthly, and a bushel of wheat, and twelve maravedies more a day for diet. They ordered some persons to be found that would carry provisions to the island, the king advancing money for that purpose, setting a fixed price upon the provisions they were to sell. They ordered religious men to be sent over to administer the sacraments, and endeavour to convert the Indians. They also directed the sending of a physician, medicines, and a surgeon; and music to make the people merry. Their highnesses gave the admiral commission, in case he thought fit, to carry five hundred men, provided that all above the aforesaid three hundred and thirty should be paid some other way, and not out of the king's revenue. They directed care should be taken to till the land, and breed cattle, lending the husbandmen what was requisite to that effect; and that sufficient provision of all things should be made in the archbishopric of Seville.

Their majesties likewise granted to all those that would with leave go to the Indies, not receiving their pay, to have to themselves the third part of all the gold they should get out of the mines, provided it was not procured by way of exchange or trade, and that they should carry the other two to the king's officers; and that of all other things they should find, of which an advantage might be made, excepting gold, they should only pay the tenth to their highnesses. And because the admiral considered how hard it was to please the Spaniards, and that it was requisite they should continue in the Indies; fearing also that their majesties might grow weary, alledging that they spent more than they received, or that they should lessen the pay, he obtained leave to transport all criminals into the Indies, to serve there a certain number of years. They also gave the admiral power to divide lands, mountains, waters, and plots for houses, in the island of Hispaniola, among such as would settle their dwellings there. Their majesties reserved for themselves all the gold, silver, or other metals, and brasil wood, that should be found in those countries, and ordered that he should not dispose of any of them, or other things belonging to the crown. The admiral was allowed for this expedition six millions of maravedies, four for the provisions to be put aboard the fleet, and two for the pay of the men; which he found much trouble to receive, by reason of the scarcity of money on account of the marriages of the king's children,



and the wars. And it was now also provided that none of any nation but Castile should go over to the Indies, that being her catholic majesty's will; to the end that since the Castilians bore the burden and the fatigue, they should reap the benefit. Some affirm, that the admiral asked it of the queen, with whom he was in special favour.

The three ships from Cadiz arrived at Isabella the beginning of A.D. 1496. July, to the great joy of the people on account of the provisions they brought, and the news of the admiral's safe arrival in Spain. Bartholomew Columbus dispatched them back with three hundred Indian slaves; for their majesties being informed that some caziques had killed the Spaniards, they ordered that all who were found guilty should be sent to Spain.

And as the admiral had acquainted their majesties that as he sailed along the south coast of Cuba, it appeared to him a beautiful country, with many fine inlets, which he judged might be good harbours, and were near the mines he had called St. Christopher, their majesties directed him to do as he thought best in that case. He writ therefore to his brother, ordering him to go over to the south side and find a convenient harbour, and if the place was good, to abandon Isabella, and carry all with him. Bartholomew leaving his brother James, set out with the ablest men for the mines of St. Christopher, and arrived at a river called by the Indians Ozama, very agreeable, and inhabited on both sides. He sounded, and found that ships of three hundred tons might come into it; he therefore resolved to build a fort of earth on the east side, at the mouth of the harbour. He sent for men from Isabella to begin the settlement, and called it St. Domingo: the admiral always called it New Isabella, but the former name prevailed. There remained at old Isabella the people who were building two caravels, and some few others.

The work being begun, don Bartholomew took a progress to view the kingdom of Bohechio, (called Xaragua) of whom, and his sister Anacoana, he had heard much talk. That prince met him with an army, but after he was informed he came with a peaceable intention, he received him with great honour. Bartholomew told the king and his sister, that his brother, the admiral, was gone to Spain, to visit his sovereigns, to whom many lords of the island were become tributary, and required them also to own and pay tribute to them. Bohechio answered, that he had no gold in his dominions, and could not pay tribute. Bartholomew told him, his design was that they should pay tribute only in what their country afforded, to which Bohechio consented.

Don Bartholomew having settled this, returned to the mines of Cibao, to the royal plain, and to the colony of Isabella: he found near three hundred men sick, and no ships were arrived with provisions. The sick he distributed among the forts and the Indian towns, and went on towards St. Domingo, gathering the tribute as he passed.

This tribute the Indians bore with impatience, and the cazique Guarinoex was persuaded to begin a war with the Spaniards. Bartholomew advanced against him with all his Spaniards, defeated and took him prisoner, but above five thousand Indians following and soliciting the release of their king, it was granted.

After this don Bartholomew resolved to go to Xaragua, to gather the tribute; though the soldiers were in such want of cloaths, and other things, from Spain, that they grew very uneasy. Bohechio, his sister, and thirty-two lords, who had been summoned to that effect, came out to meet don Bartholomew, and they had ordered many loads of cotton spun, and unspun, to be brought, with abundance of utias, and



and roasted fish. A large house was filled with cotton, for which don Bartholomew returned many thanks, and they offered to give him as much cazabi as would fill another house or houses. He sent orders to Isabella for one of the two caravels to come to the port of Xaragua, to carry it away, that harbour being a large bay, or inlet of the sea, dividing the island into two parts; one of which forms Cape St. Nicholas, stretching out thirty leagues; the other, which is much larger, ends in the cape called Tiburon, which the admiral had named St. Raphael; and the bottom of the bay reached within two leagues of Bohechio's palace. Those at Isabella sent the caravel with much joy, and when it came into the port, Anacaona persuaded her brother to go to see the Spanish canoe, as she called it. They lay that night at a little village about half way, where Anacaona had many things made of cotton; as also chairs, vessels, and other things of wood, wonderfully wrought, of which she made don Bartholomew a present: the chairs were of such fine wood, that it looked like jet: and among the rest, four bottoms of cotton, so big, that a man could scarce lift one of them. Though Bohechio had two very fine canoes, Anacaona would not go aboard in them, but in the pinnace. The cannon was fired, which put the Indians into such a consternation, that they were ready to leap into the water with the fright, but seeing don Bartholomew laugh, they composed themselves. When they were aboard, the seamen played on a tabor and pipe, and other instruments, which very much pleased the Indians. They looked all about the head and stern, went aboard the caravel, into the hold, and were amazed. Don Bartholomew ordered the sails to be spread, and the caravel to take a turn about the sea, and return to the same place; the cazique admiring that so great a vessel should make way without oars, and go forward and backward with the same wind. When they returned to Xaragua, the caravel was loaded with cazabi and cotton, and the other things, and went away to Isabella, as don Bartholomew did by land.

Whilst don Bartholomew was at Xaragua, Francis Roldan, the head alcalde, a turbulent man, desiring to get into authority by raising commotions, and using for his pretence don James Columbus's having ordered the caravel which had carried bread and wine to Isabella, to be laid dry, to prevent its being stolen by some malecontents and carried to Spain; began to talk among the labouring men where he had some reputation, because he had been their overseer, with the seamen, other mean people, and those that were most discontented, saying, that the caravel would be better in the water, and ought to be sent into Spain with letters to their catholic majesties, since the admiral was so long away; that their wants might be relieved, and they not perish with hunger, or be destroyed by the Indians. That the adelantado don Bartholomew, nor his brother don James, would not send it, because they designed to revolt, and secure the island to themselves, keeping them all as slaves, employing them in building their houses and forts, to attend them in gathering the tributes, and enriching themselves with gold. The men finding themselves encouraged by a man in authority, such as the chief alcalde, had the impudence to say those things in public, which before they scarce durst utter in corners. Francis Roldan perceiving that the men had declared their minds, required they should all sign a paper, importing that it was for the public good that the caravel should be set afloat, thus to engage them farther, and because he was very sensible it was not fit that their catholic majesties should know he had been the ringleader of such a mutiny, he sought plausible pretences to ground his designs. He proceeded farther to persuade the people that the best way to



secure the friendship of the Indians to the Spaniards, was to quit them of the tribute; and advice being brought that Guarinoex's Indians did not pay the tribute, and that they gave tokens of uneasiness, don James Columbus, thinking to put Roldan out of the way of advancing his design, sent him with a considerable part of the men to the Conception, where he better carried on his mutiny, and abused and disarmed those that would not follow him. Returning to Isabella, having by force taken the key of the royal magazine, he broke the locks in pieces, and crying, "Long live the king," took all the arms and provisions he thought fit for his followers.

Don James Columbus came forth with some honest men, to appease the mutiny, but Francis Roldan behaved so insolently, that he thought fit to retire into the fort; and every time he had occasion to talk to him, when he was at Isabella, Roldan was to give him hostages. The mutineers went away where the king's cattle was, and having taken what cows, mares and colts they thought fit, they went about the Indian towns, giving out that they had quarrelled with the admiral's brothers on account of the tribute they exacted, persuading them not to pay any, and they would defend them. Many causes are said to have moved Roldan to that insolence, but the chief was ambition of command, and to be subject to no man, nor to the rules observed at Isabella; and believing that the admiral would not return because of the informations John Aguado had carried against him, he had a mind to place himself in authority. He had with him seventy men well armed, with whom he posted himself in a town of the cazique Marque, who had taken the name of James Marque, two leagues from the fort of the Conception, designing to make himself master of it, and then to get don Bartholomew Columbus into his hands, and to kill him, being more afraid of him than of any other, because he was a man of singular valour. From Marque he drew near to the town where Guarinoex lived, whose wife he was said to have debauched; and because captain Garzia de Barrantes, who was there with thirty soldiers, shut himself up in a house, that he might not talk to them, and bid him to go about his business, for those thirty men were in the king's service, and he ranged about as he thought fit. Roldan threatened to burn him and his men, and seizing on his stores of provisions, went away to the Conception, which was less than half a league distant.

The alcalde or governor, Michael Ballester, shut the gates against him, and don Bartholomew Columbus, who about this time came to the fort of the Magdalen, where he heard of Roldan's insurrection, went away to Isabella, where he kept himself close, perceiving that the number of Roldan's men increased, being afraid that they were all of the same mind, because James de Escobar, alcalde or governor of the Magdalen, Adrian de Mexica, and Peter de Valdivieso, principal men, had already joined the rebel; but the alcalde Ballester advising him to go away to the Conception, that they might not kill him, he got into it, the same being about fifteen leagues from Isabella. He thence sent Malaber to bid Roldan consider the confusion he put the island into, the disservice he did their majesties in it, and in obstructing the payment of the tribute, as also the danger he brought the Christians into by encouraging the Indians against them. The effect of this message was his having an interview with don Bartholomew at the Conception, upon security given. They spoke to one another at a window, and don Bartholomew asking him, why he led about those people in such scandalous manner, to the obstructing of their majesties service; he answered, he only drew them together to defend himself against him, because it was reported,



reported that he designed to kill them all. The adelantado answered, that he had not been truly informed. Roldan replied, that he and his companions were in the king's service, and he might say, where he would have them serve him. Don Bartholomew ordered him to go to the towns of the cazique James Columbus. He answered, he would not, because there were no provisions. Don Bartholomew commanded him to quit the office of chief alcalde, and required him not to act as such, or bear the name, since he did the king disservice. Hereupon Roldan went away haughtier than he had been before, to the lands of the cazique Manicotex, from whom he drew the three marks of gold and upwards, he was to pay to the king, and called him brother; and to keep him the more submissive, he led about with him a son and a nephew of the cazique, allowing all that followed him to live lewdly, in a libertine, arrogant manner, because the Indians dreading them, were ready at their command. Roldan had now got some horses, and ever since John Aguado went away, had provided many horse-shoes, which had not been necessary till then; whence it was inferred, that Aguado's indiscretion, and his ill behaviour towards the admiral, were the occasion of this revolt, and that Roldan had intended it ever since that time.

Men daily resorting to him, he grew more haughty and obstinate, resolving to get don Bartholomew into his hands, and intending to besiege him in the Conception; of which Gonzalo Gomez Collado gave him notice, by means of Gonçalo de la Rambla, who adhered to don Bartholomew. Don Bartholomew received advice that Peter Hernandez Coronel, chief alguazil of the island, who went into Spain with the admiral, was arrived in the port, with the two caravels of provisions, on A. D. 1498. the 3d of February, which the admiral had sent, of the eight he had demanded of their majesties; wherein he had been expeditious to relieve the want he judged there was in the island.

The adelantado resolved to repair to Santo Domingo, to secure the caravels, and Francis Roldan being informed of it, he also resolved to go with his men to that city, but being afraid of don Bartholomew, because the inhabitants of the place were well affected to him, and with those he had in the caravels, he might be able to oppose him, he halted five leagues from Santo Domingo. As soon as don Bartholomew received his dispatches, he published the honour their majesties had done him, in confirming to him the title of adelantado, or lord lieutenant of the Indies, conferred on him by his brother, and the many favours their majesties had conferred on the admiral, who was preparing to come over with six sail, which gave much satisfaction to all those that continued in the service of their majesties. The adelantado being desirous that the admiral, at his return, should find the island in a peaceable condition, sent Peter Hernandez Coronel to persuade Roldan to submit himself to their majesties, and to offer him a pardon for all past crimes and offences. At his arrival, those who were upon guard presented their cross-bows, and stopping him, said, "Stand off, traitors, for if you had staid away one week longer, we had been all alike." He conferred with Roldan, represented to him the mischiefs he occasioned, the danger he was in, and how much better it was to live in peace; but was sent away with haughty and scandalous answers, and Roldan with his gang went away to the province of Xaragua, where, by reason of the deliciousness and fertility of the country, they had the opportunity of living in a licentious manner.

The adelantado finding Roldan incorrigible, proceeded against him in due form of law, made proclamation for him and all his followers to come in and submit themselves,



selves, and in conclusion declared them rebels and traitors. The two caravels had brought over ninety labouring men to work in the mines and cut brazil wood, of which there was thought to be a great quantity, upon condition that they should pay to the king a certain proportion every day of the gold they found, and the rest should be for themselves; and of that number fourteen were appointed to sow and till the land. The Indians of the plain, though they were much molested by the rebels, and had some vexations from those that continued loyal, (the adelantado being obliged to connive a little, for fear they should desert) bore all patiently, without making any commotion, notwithstanding they were encouraged to it by the mutineers: because Guarinoex was naturally of so peaceable a disposition, that he rather chose to leave his country, and retire with many of his people into the lands of Mayobanex, who gave Guarinoex, his wife and children, a good reception: those of the Conception missing him, sent word to Santo Domingo that he was revolted. Don Bartholomew on this went away with ninety of the ablest men, and some horse, to the Conception, and found out that he was among the Ciguayos. He marched thither, and having passed the great mountains, came down into the vale, through which a great river runs, where he understood that a mighty army of those Indians were ready to engage him. Soon after they appeared shouting in an hideous manner, and shooting vast flights of arrows; but the horsemen wounded so many with their spears, that they fled into the mountains.

The Indians losing no courage, lay about the mountains, and when they thought the Spaniards were not upon their guard, shot at and wounded some with their arrows; but the Christians pursuing, killed many, and took some prisoners. By one of them don Bartholomew sent word to Mayobanex, that he was not come to make war on him, but if he would deliver up Guarinoex to him, he would be his friend, otherwise he would ruin him. The answer Mayobanex returned was this: "Tell the Christians, that Guarinoex is a good and virtuous man; that he has never done harm to any man, and therefore deserves compassion; and that they are wicked usurpers of the lands of others, and therefore I do not value their friendship, but will protect Guarinoex." Upon this answer, the adelantado did much harm in the country. He then again sent to acquaint Mayobanex, that as he was not willing quite to destroy him, he should send some persons to treat of peace. He sent a prime man, attended by two others. Don Bartholomew told him, he required nothing but Guarinoex, who was guilty of an offence, in having absconded, and refusing to pay the tribute to the king of Spain, and that he would be his friend if he delivered him into his hands. Mayobanex acquainted his people with this demand, who answered, that he should deliver up Guarinoex, to avoid a war. He replied, it was not reasonable to deliver him up to his enemies, since he was a good man, and had wronged no body, had always been his friend, and he was much obliged to him, for having taught him and the queen his wife to make the areyto of the maguá; that is, to dance the dance of the plain, where Guarinoex's kingdom was, which was highly valued; and above all, because he had fled to him and his kingdom for protection, and he had promised to defend him, so that whatever the consequence might be, he would not abandon him. He called Guarinoex to him; they both wept; he comforted, and promised to protect him, though he should lose his kingdom by it. He then ordered spies to lie on the ways, and posted guards to kill all that should offer to pass.

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The adelantado again sent two messengers to Mayobanex, following them himself some way with ten foot and four horsemen, and soon found them both killed, which much grieved him: he thereupon resolved to ruin Mayobanex, and proceeded accordingly to fight him; but, as soon as he came up, all the Indians forsook their king, being unwilling to expose themselves to the cross-bows, spears, and swords. When Mayobanex perceived none would stand by him but some of his friends, kindred, and relations, he thought fit also to betake himself to the mountains. The Ciguayos being incensed against Guarinoex, because he had been the occasion of their ruin, they resolved to deliver him up; but he being sensible of it, fled also into the mountains, where the Spaniards were not at their ease, for they endured much hunger and thirst during three months they spent in this war; for which reason they importuned the adelantado to permit them to return to the plain, since the Indians were routed. He gave them leave, and staid himself with thirty men, with whom he went about seeking after those two caziques from town to town, and from hill to hill. He accidentally met two Indians, who were going to get some provision for Mayobanex, and though they wonderfully kept the secret they were entrusted with by their lord, after having been much racked, they confessed where he was, and twelve Spaniards offered to fetch him. They stripped, and anointed their bodies with a sort of black dye, and some part red, being the fruit of a tree they call bifa, which is practised by the Indians when they are in war, or about the country, to preserve themselves from the sun by the crust it makes on them. They took guides, and came to the place where Mayobanex lay very securely with his wife, children, and small family. Thew drew their swords, which they carried covered with the leaves of those palm-trees they call yaguas, and took him, his wife, and children, whom they carried to don Bartholomew, and he went away with them to the Conception. With Mayobanex was taken a very beautiful kinswoman of his, whom he had given in marriage to a lord of a certain part of the province of the Ciguayos. When her husband, who was also absconded on the mountains, heard of it, he was so much concerned, that he went and with many tears intreated don Bartholomew to give him his wife, which he very freely did. The Indian was so thankful, that he brought four or five thousand Indians with coas, which are staves hardened in the fire, used by them instead of spades, for him to appoint where he should sow corn for him. The place was accordingly appointed, and they made such a plantation as would be then worth thirty thousand ducats. All the Ciguayos conceited that since don Bartholomew had set that lady at liberty, she being very famous in the country, they might obtain the same for their king. Many of them went with presents of utias and fish, which was what their country afforded, to beg him, promising that he should ever after continue in obedience. He set the queen, the children and servants at liberty, but would not release the king. Guarinoex being distressed with want in the place where he lay hid, went out to seek something to eat, and being seen by the Ciguayos, they going to visit Mayobanex, acquainted don Bartholomew, who immediately sent some men, and they conducted him to the Conception.

Peter Alonso Nino, who sailed from Hispaniola with three ships freighted with slaves, arrived at Cadiz the 29th of October, and writ to court that he had brought much gold. This being believed, the six millions of maravedies that had been appointed for fitting out the admiral, were applied to some other use, and he was ordered to take up that sum out of the gold Peter Alonso Nino said he had brought. Upon  
this



this notion things continued till the end of December, when he arrived at court with the letters, and they were undeceived, that by the gold he meant the slaves he had brought. Just as the admiral was upon the point of being dispatched, happened the death of king John II. of Portugal; he was succeeded by don Emanuel, duke of Beja: and soon after died don John, heir to the crown, to the extraordinary affliction of the whole kingdom, and all people from the highest to the lowest, clad themselves in white serge, which was the last time that sort of mourning was worn in Spain. These and some other accidents, obstructed the admiral's dispatch.

At length he sailed over the bar of Sanlucar on Wednesday the 30th of May, with six ships, designing to discover new lands; and as there was intelligence that a Portuguese fleet lay in wait for him at Cape St. Vincent, giving them the slip, he stood away for the island of Madeira; touched at Puerto Santo on the 7th of June, and found it in an uproar, imagining that his ships had been French. He heard mass, wooded and watered, and then proceeded to Madeira, which is fifteen leagues distant, where he was joyfully received. Tuesday the 19th he arrived at La Gomera, where he found a French ship, with two Spanish it had taken. He retook one of them, and sent after the Frenchman; and six Spaniards that were aboard the other, seeing their relief at hand, drove the French that guarded them under hatches, and sailed away to the admiral. He resolved to send directly from Gomera the three ships with provisions for Hispaniola, believing the people there must be in want, and appointed Alonso Sanches de Carvajal, of Baeça, a worthy man, captain of the first of them; Peter de Arana, a native of Cordova, a discreet person, kinsman to captain Arana, who had been left governor of the fort of the Nativity at the first discovery, commander of the second; and over the third he placed John Antony Columbus, a relation of his own, of much capacity and judgment. He gave them their instructions, and ordered that each of them should command a week in chief, as to the sailing part, and carrying the light: that they should sail west and by south eight hundred and fifty leagues, and then they would fall in with the island Dominica, whence they should steer west-north-west, to fetch the island of St. John; then keep along the south side of it, that being the true course for the new Isabella.

The admiral being furnished with what he wanted, set sail on the 12th of June for the island of Hierro, which is fifteen leagues from Gomera, and one of the Canary Islands, the farthest to the westward. He designed, in the name of the most holy Trinity, as he always was wont to say, to sail to the southward of them, till he came under the equinoctial, and so proceed to the westward till the island of Hispaniola should bear north-west from him, to see what islands or continent were in that part. He said it was his opinion, that no man had ever sailed that course, and that the sea there was utterly unknown. Having passed the island Hierro, he dismissed the three ships, and with one ship and two caravels stood away for the islands of Cape Verde, which he said bore a false name, for he had always found them dry and barren. Wednesday the 27th of June, he discovered the first of them, called De la Sal, or of salt, which is small: he proceeded to that of Buena Vista, and that is extraordinary barren. He anchored close by a small island, whither all the lepers in Portugal went to be cured, by eating the flesh of the tortoises, and frequently washing with their blood; for in the months of June, July, and August, abundance of them resort thither from the continent, which is the country of the blacks, to lay their eggs in the sand, where they scratch a hole, and leave above five hundred eggs, as big as a hen's, which being covered



covered with sand, are hatched by the sun, and the little tortoises run into the sea. The men there wait for the tortoises, turn them on their backs, and then they cannot recover themselves.

The healthy people living on this island did not exceed six or seven, whose whole employment was to kill wild goats, and send their skins salted to Portugal: sometimes they killed so many in a year, that the skins were worth two thousand ducats. Those creatures were so much increased from only eight head of them: those men that killed them were sometimes four or five months without drinking any wine, or eating bread, or any other thing besides the flesh of those goats, some fish, and tortoises. The admiral sailed from thence on the 30th of June, for the island of Santiago, where he arrived on Sunday, being twenty-eight leagues distant; it is the chief of them. He thought to have taken cows aboard, to carry to the island Hispaniola, because their majesties had ordered him so to do, but was obliged to desist, for the air of that island being very unhealthy, the men began to sicken. Besides that he resolved to sail to the southward, to find out whether king John of Portugal had been mistaken, who affirmed that there was a continent that way. Wednesday the 4th of July, he gave orders to steer south-west, having never seen the sun or stars since his arrival at the islands of Cape Verde, the sky being continually covered with a thick fog. He also said, he designed by holding that course, to find out the truth of what the Indians of the island Hispaniola reported, viz. that there had come thither from the south and south-east, a black people, who had the heads of their javelins of a sort of metal which they call guanin, some of which he had sent to their majesties, and the assay of it being taken, it appeared, that of thirty-two parts, eighteen were gold, six silver, and the other eight copper.

Holding on his course south-west, he found some of those weeds he had met with in the direct way to Hispaniola. Having sailed one hundred and twenty leagues, as soon as it was night he took the latitude, and found the north star was in five degrees; and Friday the 13th of July, the heat was so violent, that he was afraid the ships would take fire, and the men perish: the wind ceased so suddenly, and the excessive heat ensued, that no man durst go down between decks, to take care of the casks of wine and water that were falling in pieces, the hoops flying off them. The wheat burnt like fire; the bacon and salt meat fried, and was spoiled. This heat continued eight days; the first of them was fair, so that the sun parched them; the other seven it rained, and was cloudy, yet they found no relief, but were almost melted. Saturday the 14th of July, he found himself in seven degrees of north latitude, and they saw some black and white daws, being birds that do not go far from land. The 15th the admiral fell ill of the gout for want of sleep, and yet he still watched. This day they saw some fishes they call botos, which have very short chubby heads. Thursday the 19th, the air was so burning hot, that they thought they should have been burnt in the ships; but immediately there ensued a fair gale that delivered them from that heat, and they sailed seventeen days to the westward, designing to turn again to the south, so that Hispaniola might bear north, where the admiral believed he should find land, either before or after he came to that point; and there he hoped to refit his ships, which were very leaky, occasioned by the late heat, and to recover the provisions in order to carry them to Hispaniola, though they were already damaged.

Sunday the 22d of July, a vast multitude of birds was seen flying from the west-south-west towards the north-east, and the like on Monday following: soon after a



gull came aboard the admiral, and by these tokens he hoped to see the land very soon: but the 31st of July being come, no land appearing, and water growing short, he resolved to alter his course, and stood to the westward, still inclining to the right hand, to come in upon Dominica, or some one of the islands of the canibals, now called Caribbee Islands, ordering to steer north and by east, which course he held till noon. A sailor, being a servant to the admiral, whose name was Alonso Perez, born at Huelva, went up to the round top, and spied land to the south-east, about fifteen leagues distant, and seemed to be three mountains. They immediately sung the hymn *Salve Regina*, with other devotions to the blessed virgin. Having thus spied land, he altered his course from the Caribbee Islands, where he designed to have watered, and stood for a cape that appeared to the westward, which he called *De la Galera*, or the galley point, on account of a great rock on it, which at a distance looked like a galley under sail. When they came to land, they found a good port, but could not enter, because it had not water enough. He passed on to the point he had seen, being seven leagues to the southward, without finding any harbour, and observed that the woods reached down to the sea, all along the coast. Some men were seen in a canoe at a distance, but they fled, and it appeared that this was an island, which he called *La Trinidad*, or the Trinity, having promised to give that name to the first he should discover. The land was high, pleasant, and well cultivated. Wednesday the 1st of August, the admiral advanced five leagues along the coast to the westward, and came to a point, where he anchored with his three ships, and took in water from springs and brooks, to the great satisfaction of the men. They found the track of people, fishing tackle, and the footsteps of goats, as they thought, which proved to be of deer, there being many in that island. Having seen many towns in this island, they saw another island to the southward, which seemed to be twenty leagues long, and he called it *Isla Santa*, or holy island. All the way from *Punta de la Galera* to the point where they watered, which he named *Punta de la Playa*, or the point of the strand, though the land was good, there was no harbour, but there were many rivers and thick woods, very agreeable: the length of the holy island seemed to increase still. Seeking out for a harbour, on Thursday the 2d of August, he arrived at the point of the island of the Trinity, which he called *Punta del Arenal*, or sandy point, being to the westward, and he was then got into the bay he called *De la Ballena*, or of the whale, without knowing that he was near the continent.

He guessed that the island of Trinity extended in length from *Cape de la Galera* to *Punta del Arenal*, thirty-five leagues, though it is above forty-five; but the admiral proceeding along it at several times, could not make an exact computation. At *Punta del Arenal* he ordered the men to go ashore to refresh themselves, because they were much tired and fatigued. A cazique of the island was come thither, and observing that the admiral had a cap on of crimson velvet, he paid him great respect, took off a circle of gold he had on his own head, and put it on the admiral's, and with the other hand took off his cap, and put it on his own, being very much pleased with it. This day a great canoe, carrying twenty-five men, came from the eastward towards the ships, and being about musquet shot from them, they gave over rowing, and cried aloud, uttering many words, which the admiral supposed imported to ask who they were, as usual among those people. By way of answer he shewed them some little brass basons, and other glittering things, to entice them to come near the ships; but they advancing very little, the admiral ordered his men to play on a tabor and



and pipe, and the youths to dance, thinking to please them, which proved quite contrary, for they took it for a signal of war, and quitting their oars laid hold of their targets and bows, and shot a great flight of arrows. The admiral directed the music to cease, and some cross-bows to be brought, but only two of them to be shot; on which the Indians immediately laid down their arms, and ran in close under the stern of another caravel, the pilot whereof went into the canoe, entertained them, and gave one that seemed to be a principal person a red cap. They desired him to go ashore, and they would give him such as they had; but as he was going in his boat to ask leave of the admiral, because it was not the direct way, the Indians went away. They were all young, well adorned after their way, of agreeable countenances, and whiter than the Indians of the islands. Their hair was long and smooth, cut after the Spanish manner. About their heads they tied a cotton cloth, curiously wrought, and of several colours, and another about their waist to cover their nakedness. The admiral wondered, that being there so near the equinoctial, he felt cold every morning, though it was in the dog days; as also, that the water ran stronger to the west than the river of Seville, that the sea-water ebbed and flowed above sixty-five paces more than at San Lucar de Barrameda, and that the current set so strong between the islands of Trinity and Santa, by him afterwards called Gracia, which are two leagues asunder, not knowing as yet that it was the continent, and that the stream run like a rapid river.

They found the same sorts of fruits as in Hispaniola, and the trees, soils, and climate were alike. They also found very large oysters, an infinite quantity of fish, parrots as large as pullets, of a light green, some whitish, and others with some red and yellow, besides others all red, except some blue feathers in their wings, and some black; but such as do not talk, and are only agreeable to the eye. The admiral being at Point Del Arenal, which is the last of the island of Trinity, he saw towards the north-west, at about fifteen leagues distance, the point of that he till then called Isla Santa, or Holy Island, which proved to be the province he afterwards called Paria; and believing it to be another island, he gave it the name of Gracia, or Grace, as has been said, and he thought it extraordinary high land, and so it is, for a vast ridge of mountains runs along there. He resolved to see that island of Grace, and by reason that the strait through which he passed into the bay De Le Bellana, or of the Whale, was but two leagues over, there set so strong a current from Punta del Arenal, that is from the southward, out of the river Yuyapari, which lay to the southward, and was not yet known to the admiral, that it made such a mighty noise and roaring, that they were all frightened, and thought they should not have escaped that danger. The sea water on the other hand opposing that which came from the land, swelled up, forming a ridge of a considerable height, which lifted the admiral's ship to the top of it, the like whereof he had never seen or heard before. The other ship, which had not yet weighed, was forced out to sea from its anchors, and the admiral sailed on till he got out of that swell in safety; and in respect to the danger he had been there in, he called that place Boca del Drago, that is, the Dragon's Mouth.

Being come up to the continent, which he still thought to be an island, he saw near the aforesaid point, two small islands in the midst of another mouth, or entrance, forming that cape which he called Boto, that is, Blunt, because it appeared so; and another cape of the island of Trinity he called De Lapa, the distance between them being five leagues, with two little islands in the middle, one of which he named El Caracol, or the Snail, and the other El Delfin, or the Dolphin. The narrowness of the place,



the violence of the great river Yuyapari, and the waves of the sea made the going into and out of this bay very dangerous ; and therefore the admiral, as has been said, called the streight the Dragon's Mouth, which name it holds to this day. This river, which falls into the bay of La Ballena, or of the Whale, runs through the country above four hundred leagues, and as it brings back an immense quantity of water, especially in July and August, about which time the admiral was there, the rains falling then as they do in Spain in October and November, and the passage between the continent and the island of the Trinity being too narrow for such a quantity of water, when they meet there is a mighty struggle between them.

As the admiral lay at the point of Cape de Lapa, he discovered very high land to the north-west, at twenty-six leagues distance, which he named Bellaforma, because it looked well, and not knowing he was so near the continent, as there were so many outlets, he took them to be islands. Sunday the fifth of August he sailed five leagues from Cape Lapa, and saw very good harbours close to one another. He sent the boats ashore, and the men found fish, fire, the track of people, and a great house uncovered. He proceeded eight leagues farther, still discovering good harbours, much land tilled, and many rivers. Going ashore they found well tasted grapes, mirabolans, apples, and a sort of fruit that looked like oranges, and within were like figs, and saw many monkeys.

Monday the 6th of August he sailed five leagues. A canoe, with five men in it, came towards the caravel that was nearest to the land ; the pilot called the Indians, giving them to understand, that he would go on shore, and as soon as he got into the canoe he overfet it, and swimming about, took and carried the Indians to the admiral. Their complexion was like the others in those parts. Some of them had very long hair, and others short, as was then the fashion in Spain, but none clipped close as in Hispaniola and the other islands. They were of a proportionable stature, had their private parts tied up and covered, and the women all stark naked. The admiral gave those Indians hawks bells, glass beads, and sugar, and sent them on shore, because a great number of people appeared ; and as soon as they understood how well the others had been entertained, if there had been canoes enough they would have all gone on board. The admiral used those that came well, gave them toys, and asked them questions ; they answered, but they did not understand each other. They brought him bread and water, and a sort of liquor like wine. All of them had targets, bows, and poisoned arrows. Before they entered, they smelled the boats, and afterwards the men. On Wednesday the seventh, abundance of peaceable Indians came, bringing bread, Indian corn, and eatables, as also pitchers of liquor, some of it as white as milk, tasting like wine, and some green made of fruit and mayz. They valued not the beads the admiral gave them ; but were highly pleased with the hawks bells ; they had a great value for tin, and were fond of as much as a tag, and the like they were in Hispaniola. They called it Turey, as if it were come from heaven, for they called heaven Turey, and found a certain scent in it that much pleased them, and whatever was given them they smelled to. They carried abundance of parrots of three sorts, and bits of cotton cloth well wrought, and wove of several colours. The admiral would willingly have taken half a dozen Indians to carry away with him, but could not, for before night came on they left the ships. The next morning a canoe with twelve men went on board the admiral's ship, six of whom he took, and sent the rest on shore.

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He proceeded to Punta del Aguja, or Cape Needle, whence he could see most delightful lands, well peopled, and being come before a town, which for its beauty he called the Gardens, having a vast number of houses and people, he anchored, and many resorted to the ships, with their wrought clouts about their heads and private parts, like the little veils worn by Moorish women. They wore some little plates of gold about their necks, and the Indians that were on board said there was plenty of it in those parts, and shewed how they gathered it. The admiral considering it was above three hundred leagues from Hispaniola, and that his provisions were decaying, made no long stay in that country, which he thought very agreeable, full of good houses, and inhabited by a polite and warlike people. Being come to point Aguja, he espied another to the southward, which he thought to be an island, running out south-east and north-west, very large, and the land high. He gave it the name of Sabeta, and in the afternoon saw another; these were parts of the continent. He anchored at the Gardens; many canoes, great and small, came to the ships with abundance of people, wearing pieces of gold about their necks, in the shape of a horse-shoe; and though they seemed to value it, they would have given all for the hawk's bells; but he had none, his stock being spent. However he got some gold, which was very low, and they told him there were islands thereabout that yielded much such, but that the men were cannibals: they saw an Indian with a piece of gold as big as an apple. More canoes came still, all the people wearing gold collars, and beads of abundance of sorts, their clouts tied about their heads, and their hair cut short, which looked well. There fell very much rain, which hindered many more going aboard. Some women went, who had strings of little beads about their arms, and among them some seed, as also some large pearl, which made the Spaniards very desirous to have some of them. The admiral asked where they found them? They shewed him the mother of pearl, and by very intelligible signs gave him to understand, that they were found to the westward, behind that island, which was Cape Lapa, being the point of the province of Paria, and the continent, which he still believed to be an island. He sent the boats ashore, and they found the people so tractable, that though the sailors went not with a design to land, two prime men obliged them to go, and conducted them with abundance of people to a house, where they entertained and gave them to eat bread and fruit of several sorts, and to drink that sort of white liquor before-mentioned, and another red, of a good taste; the men all the while keeping together at one end of the house, and the women at the other. When they had been so treated in that house by the eldest of those two prime men, the youngest carried them to another, and treated them in the same manner. It seemed to them that one was the cazique, and the other his son: the sailors returned very well satisfied to their boats. They thought those people of a very good stature, whiter than any other Indians, their hair better, well cut, and very sociable; the country delightful and cool, which was admired, on account of its being so near the equinoctial. The admiral called this, which he thought to be an island, Paria.

Friday the tenth he sailed to the westward, seeking some passage to get clear of those which he took to be islands, and named them Ysabeta and Tramontana, being part of the continent, and the Indians he had on board said the pearls were found farther westward. He sailed on in that bay, and sent the little caravel to see whether there was any passage out to the northward, because opposite to Ysabeta, and the continent, there appeared a very high and beautiful island.

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The caravel returned, and brought an account that they had found a large bay, and in it four spacious openings, that looked like small bays, and a river at the end of each of them; this he called the Bay of Pearls, though there are none in it. The admiral believed those four openings were four islands, which formed that bay of forty leagues all of a fresh sea, but the mariners affirmed they were mouths of rivers, and so it proved, at least two of them; for the great river Yuyahari ran out at one, and that of Caurari at the other; and though the admiral would have discovered all very particularly, he could not stay for the reason before-mentioned, but resolved to sail for Hispaniola, to send for men and provisions into Spain, and order his brother the adelantado to continue this discovery; to which purpose, on the 11th of August he stood over to the eastward, in order to pass through between the point of Paria and the continent. He advanced to a good harbour, which he called Puerto de Gatos, or Cat's Port, which is near the mouth where the two islands Del Caracol and Del Delphin lie, between the capes of Lapa and Boto. There he came to an anchor on Sunday the 13th, intending to sail out at the mouth on Monday following. The boat was sent to take a view of another harbour close by, which was also good, and near it were some fishermen's houses, for which reason he called it Puerto de las Cabanas, or the Port of Cottages. Near the sea they saw many mirabolan trees, with abundance of oysters sticking to the branches that hang over the sea, and open to receive the dew.

Monday the 14th he advanced to Cape Lapa, which is that of Paria, to pass out northward, through the opening, which he called the Dragon's Mouth, between Point Lapa to the westward and Cape Boto, being the utmost of Trinity Island to the eastward, the distance between the two capes being a league and an half beyond the small islands that lie in the middle; for from Point Lapa to Cape Boto is five leagues. Being come to the Dragon's Mouth before noon, he found a great struggle between the fresh water to get out to sea, and the sea water to pass through into the bay; and this contention was such that it raised the water to high ridges, so that they were in the same danger of perishing, as they had been at their first coming into that strait. Their peril was now the greater, because the wind failed them; and when they would have come to an anchor they found no bottom, which made them apprehensive of being drove upon the rocks. Here the admiral said, if they escaped with their lives, they might say they had been saved out of the Dragon's Mouth, and therefore that name has continued. We shall not speak here concerning the currents and the motions of the seas, or the quantity of fresh water that runs into it, to avoid interrupting the series of the history. It pleased God that the fresh water prevailing over the salt, insensibly carried the ships out, and so saved them.

Being got out of that bay, extending full fifty leagues from the first land of Trinity, to the bay he called De las Perlas, or of Pearls, he wafted along the continent, which he thought to be the island of Grace, designing to have gone round it to observe whether the immense quantity of fresh water proceeded from rivers, as the seamen affirmed, and he could not believe, as thinking that no river in the world could carry so much water, or those lands he saw, produce it, unless they were a continent. He found along this coast many good harbours and capes to which he gave names, as Cabo de Conchas, or Cape Shells; Cabo Luengo, or Long Cape; Cape Sabor; and Cape Rico, or Rich. Coming out of the Dragon's Mouth, he saw an island twenty-six leagues to the northward, which he called the Assumption, another the Conception, three



three other small ones Los Testigos, or the Witnesses; another near them Romero; other small ones Las Guardas; another Margarita, which is fifteen leagues in length, and six in breadth, very green, delightful, and well inhabited. Not far from it are the other small islands, and among them Cubaque, where a considerable quantity of pearls has been found; but few of the names the admiral gave them have continued. Having sailed forty leagues farther, and seeing the land still in extent to the westward, he was convinced that was no land but the continent, which he had first discovered on Wednesday the 1st of August 1498.

The admiral was much surprised at the immense quantity of fresh water before spoken of, and no less at the extraordinary coolness of the air so near the equinoctial; and he particularly observed, that the people thereabouts were whiter, their hair long and smooth, more subtle and ingenious than those he had before seen. These things made him conceit that the terrestrial paradise might be in those parts. He was very desirous to return to the island of Hispaniola, his mind giving him, that his presence was necessary there; and he resolved to send his brother don Bartholomew to continue the discovery. Besides that, the men were fatigued and grew uneasy, because he had not told them at his coming from Spain that he was going upon discovery. For these reasons, on Wednesday the 15th of August, he steered his course accordingly, still discovering vast high mountains on the continent; and that day he ran sixty-three leagues, between sun and sun, the great currents setting him forward as much as the wind.

Whilst the admiral laboured under the aforesaid difficulties, the three ships he had sent from Spain to Hispaniola, under Carjaval, Arana, and Columbus, through the ignorance of the pilots, and by reason of the currents that set downwards on the south side of that island, instead of going to the port of St. Domingo, sailed on above one hundred and sixty leagues below it, and not knowing where they were or where to go, arrived at the place where Francis Roldan was with the mutineers, living without any regard to God or man. Had they done it designedly, it could not have happened worse; and if the revolt of Francis Roldan had been known in Spain, it would readily have been concluded to be a miraculous contrivance, either of the captains or the pilots.

Francis Roldan and his followers being informed of the arrival of the ships, and dubious between hope and fear, went away to the harbour, which was two leagues off, and concealing the revolt, asked how they happened to come to that place, and what news there were of the admiral. They answered, that they had been carried by the currents through a mistake, and that the admiral would soon be there with three ships more, having some days since steered away to the southward from them. They went aboard the ships, were merry together, and had some of the provisions carried from Spain. When they were gone, the captains thought fit, because of the difficulty of returning to St. Domingo, by reason of the currents and breezes, that the labouring men who were in the king's pay should go away by land, and agreed, that captain John Anthony Columbus, who commanded one of the ships, should conduct them. Forty men, with their cross-bows, lances, and swords, went ashore, and Francis Roldan inculcated in them that they were going to lead a very painful life, as they would be obliged to labour and dig, with much hunger and want, easily persuaded them to stay with him, telling them at the same time, that they should live with him, which was only going about from one town to another, taking the gold, and what else they thought fit; and though those forty men were all criminals, and ill livers, yet  
eight



eight of them were true to their captain. Thus the three captains understood that Francis Roldan had deserted the king's service, and captain Columbus being most concerned at it, he went to him, and bid him reflect that those men had received the king's pay for six months before-hand, and that he sent them to dig gold, and perform other services; that he very much obstructed the king's affairs by detaining them after that manner, and therefore he advised him not to act so scandalously: but Francis Roldan not regarding what he said, because by the addition of those who had joined him, he had above one hundred men to defend himself against the admiral, John Antony returned aboard his ship.

Peter de Arana and John Antony Columbus resolved to go away to Santo Domingo with the ships, captain Alonso Sanchez de Cavajal staying behind to go by land, and endeavour to bring Roldan to his duty. By this time the adelantado had notice, by means of the Indians, that there were three ships to the westward; and guessing that they might be come from Spain, and had overshot themselves, he sent out a caravel in quest of them. Before the ships arrived, or Roldan had got so many men, he had writ to some of those that were with the adelantado, desiring them, in case the admiral should come, to endeavour to make his peace for him.

The admiral the second day of his standing for Hispaniola, sailed twenty-six leagues north-west and by north, and on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, which was the 19th of August, he ran one hundred and nine leagues, and arrived at the island Beata, which lies fifteen leagues from the port of Yaquimo, and twenty-five from Santo Domingo; and near the island Beata is that of Altovelo. It troubled him that he had fallen away so much, but did not wonder at it, because all the night he lay by, or plied backwards and forwards, for fear of being upon the many islands or shoals those seas were full of, which at that time were little known, and for that reason the currents, which are there very strong, and set towards the continent westward, had insensibly carried the ships so far towards the island Beata and Hispaniola, the distance between them being two leagues. The 20th of August, he sent the boats to the neighbouring towns to call the Indians, and writ to acquaint the adelantado with his arrival. Six Indians went aboard, and one of them carried a cross-bow with all its furniture, which did not a little surprise the admiral, believing it to have belonged to some soldier that was dead. The ships having been seen to pass down the current from Santo Domingo, the adelantado set out in a caravel to seek the admiral. It was a great satisfaction to both brothers to meet, though the admiral's was much abated with the advice of Roldan's revolt. The 22d of August they arrived at Santo Domingo, it being but a few days less than two years since the admiral departed from Hispaniola with John Aguado.

All the people went out with don James Columbus to receive the admiral, expressing much joy for his arrival; but when he thought he had gone to take some rest, he found himself involved in new troubles on the revolt. He immediately examined the progress made by the adelantado against the mutineers, and not liking it, made another, wherein it was sufficiently proved that the insurrection had proceeded from the wicked inclination of Francis Roldan, since neither the adelantado, nor any other person, had ever given him any just cause to complain, or wronged him in the least. Some days after the admiral arrived the other three ships, with Arana and John Antony Columbus, as did the caravel don Bartholomew had sent in quest of them. One of them had struck on a shoal, lost the rudder, and was in a very bad con-



condition, and having staid away very long, by reason of the currents and contrary winds, almost all the provisions were spoiled; and the account they brought of the forty men staying with Roldan, much troubled the admiral, believing it had made him the more haughty: however, he resolved to try him by fair means, and forgive him all his offences, being sensible that his enemies in Spain would make a great noise of that revolt; for he was positively told, that as soon as he arrived, he would come and submit himself to him. At this time captain Alonso Sanchez de Carvajal arrived from Xaragua, and gave certain advice of the obstinacy of Francis Roldan, all that he had been able to say to him proving ineffectual.

Francis Roldan having advice of the admiral's arrival, either by the Indians, or by letters from some friends he had at Santo Domingo, resolved to draw near, and accordingly went away to Bonao, a most fruitful and delicious plain, well inhabited, where some Spaniards dwelt, after the fort of Bonao was built: it is twenty leagues from Santo Domingo. The admiral fearing lest any thing should come to the ears of their catholic majesties that might give them uneasiness, and at the same time discredit the affairs of the Indies, which had cost him so many fatigues, and gave his enemies occasion to revile him; tried to bring the mutineers to an accommodation after this manner. Most of the Spaniards in the island were desirous to return into Spain; he therefore, on the 12th of September, caused proclamation to be made, that he would give leave to all that were willing to depart, with their passage and provisions, which was very acceptable to them in general, because of eight ships there were in the harbour, five were almost cleared, and two ready for the adelantado to prosecute the discovery of the coast of Paria. In the mean time, the admiral being informed that Francis Roldan was going to the Conception, near which some of the mutineers had estates, he gave notice of it to Michael Ballester, the governor of the fort, that he might be upon his guard, and endeavour to discourse Francis Roldan, and tell him how much it troubled him, that such a man whom he left in so considerable a post, to whom it appertained to keep all in peace, should range about in that scandalous manner, so much to the prejudice of the king's service; however, for the good will he had always bore him, he would pardon him, if he submitted, and if he required any security, he should have such as he demanded. The governor Ballester went to the fort of Bonao, where he found no person, but was informed that Roldan, Moxica, Gamiz, and Riquelme, were going to the house of the latter.

Before the admiral went away to Spain, about March, in the year 1496, or soon after his departure, some towns were charged, instead of their tribute, to till the lands belonging to the Spanish colonies, as they had been wont to do for their caziques; and by this method it was thought the Spaniards might be induced to stay the more willingly in the Indies, taking a kindness to the country, and that merchants would come over from Spain, so that the royal revenue would increase, without obliging their majesties to be at so great an expence as they were at the beginning, or else to quit that enterprize, which the admiral much dreaded, so many being against it. The Indians that did not comply in performing this duty, were punished, and those that fled were held as slaves when taken. The other improvement, in order to produce some profit, was that of the brazil wood, which the admiral said was in the province of Yaquimo, on the southern coast, near eighty leagues from Santo Domingo to the westward. By these two improvements, including four thousand slaves,



and four thousand quintals, or hundred weight, of brazil wood, he writ to their majesties that they would receive forty millions of marvedies. [Note, that this great sum of marvedies amounts to little above twenty thousand pounds, which was much more considerable in those days than at this time.] Hereupon, soon after his arrival at Santo Domingo, being informed that a cazique, who had been appointed for the service of the fort, leaving the same, was fled to the mountains; soldiers were ordered thither, who took a great number of people, that were sent away in these last ships, the admiral reckoning that their catholic majesties should make their advantage of those Indians, as the kings of Portugal did of the Guinea blacks.

When Francis Roldan, Peter de Gamiz, and Adrian de Moxica, were come together, as was before hinted, the alcalde or governor, Michael Ballester, went to discourse with them, as the admiral had appointed him, and having told them all he had been directed, offered them pardon, and represented the disservice they did the king by going about after that manner. They soon shewed they had quite different designs, uttering many haughty and disrespectful words against the admiral, and among other things, said they came not to seek peace, but war, and that Francis Roldan had the admiral and all his followers in his power, either to support or destroy them; that they should not talk of any accommodation till the admiral brought back that number of Indians which had been sent away as slaves, because he had taken them into his protection, and it was his duty to deliver them from the oppression they were under. Besides, they writ a letter to the admiral, laying all the blame of their revolt on his brother.

The governor Ballester went to Santo Domingo with Francis Roldan's answer, in which, among other things, he said, that his followers would treat with no man but Alonso Sanchez de Carjaval; and though the admiral had just cause to suspect that person on several accounts, he thought it best to make a virtue of necessity, and to send him with Michael Ballester, to endeavour to reduce them to reason. He also writ an affectionate and courteous letter to Roldan, in a most obliging manner, inviting him to return to his duty.

The alcalde Ballester and Carvajal being come to Bonao, the latter of them discoursed the rebels so effectually, that he inclined Roldan and the other ringleaders to treat with the admiral, by which means it was thought all would have been adjusted; but the meaner sort, being unwilling to quit that libertine licentious life they led, unanimously cried out aloud, that it should not be so, but that if any accommodation was to be made, it should be in public before them all, since they were all concerned; and Carvajal and Roldan trying all ways to reduce them to reason, but not being able to prevail, Roldan writ a letter, demanding a safe conduct under the admiral's and his brother's hands, and signifying that he was fully convinced all his men would forsake him, except such as were gentlemen. The admiral was much concerned at this advice, and soon found it was true, for having made a muster in order to march to Bonao, only seventy of those that were with him said they would obey his orders, and he had no confidence in many of them. In this distress he caused proclamation to be made, that all those who would return to their duty within thirty days, should be kindly received, and no notice should ever be taken of what was past: besides, that such as desired to return into Spain should have their passage gratis. At the same time he sent a safe conduct to Francis Roldan for himself, and all those that should come with him to treat at Santo Domingo.

Whilst



Whilst this treaty was in agitation, the ships having been detained eighteen days beyond the month agreed on when they were hired, and many of the slaves aboard them dying, the admiral was forced to dispatch them, and by them writ to their majesties, acquainting them with the rebellion of Francis Roldan, and the mischief his men did in the island. He also prayed to have religious men sent to instruct the people, and an able lawyer for the execution of justice. He added, that though at first the men had sickened by reason of the change of air and water, they were all then healthy, inured to the country, and did better with the Indian bread than with that of Spanish corn; and that there was an infinite number of swine, poultry, and other things, which had multiplied wonderfully, so that they wanted nothing but wine and cloaths: that it would be very convenient every fleet to send him sixty or seventy men, and he would return as many of the libertines and common disturbers. Much more he writ to their majesties, in vindication of himself and his brother, and to other purposes, and sent them some of the painted cloths of the coast of Paria, one hundred and seventy pearls, and some pieces of gold; also a draught of his last discovery, and a relation of his voyage. Francis Roldan and his followers wrote by the same ship, to vindicate themselves.

After several messages backwards and forwards, it was at length concluded that all the mutineers should have two ships with provisions, to carry them into Spain, and every one to take a slave with him, and the women they had got with child, and to have certificates of their good behaviour. The admiral signed these articles on his part, as did Roldan for the mutineers. However, all this came to nothing, the rebels not daring to go into Spain, for fear of being punished for their crimes. Thus ended the year 1498, and half 1499, when captain Carvajal having acquainted the admiral that Roldan earnestly desired to submit himself, he went away to Azua, fifteen leagues from Santo Domingo, to be nearer to the rebels. Roldan went thither to him, where a new contract was concluded, by virtue whereof all his followers were to be restored to whatever they had enjoyed before their revolt, and he to be alcalde-major, or chief judge of the island.

Accordingly Roldan began again to exercise that office with the greatest insolence, and all his followers behaved themselves in the same manner. The admiral dispatched two ships for Spain, and pursuant to his agreement, permitted such as would of the mutineers to embark, allowing some of them three slaves, and others one. In October, Roldan delivered to the admiral a petition of all his followers, being one hundred and two men, still adhering to him, wherein they all desired to have lands assigned them in the province of Xaragua; but because it was not convenient that they should be all together, for fear of another rebellion, some were settled at Bonao, whence that town took its original; others in the plain, on the bank of the river called Verde, or Green River; others six leagues from thence, at Santiago; at which places the admiral gave them lands, some more and some less. This was the first distribution made in the Indies, which set an example to all the others that followed, that is, of assigning such a number of Indians to such a person, because the admiral in his grants said, that such a cazique, or his people, should till the ground for the Spaniard to whom he gave it. Roldan had lands given him near the town of Isabella, with two cows, two calves, twenty sows, and two mares, all of them the king's, for him to begin to breed.



The admiral's messengers arrived at the Spanish court, with an account of the insurrection of Francis Roldan, and the persons sent by him, gave their complaints against the admiral. Having heard both parties, their majesties resolved to remove the admiral from the government, under colour that he himself desired a judge should be sent over to enquire into the insolencies committed by Roldan and his followers, and a lawyer that should take upon him the administration of justice; and in the same letter he prayed that they would have regard to the service he had performed, and that no encroachment should be made upon his rights, which shews he was afraid of what happened. Their majesties made choice of Francis de Bovadilla, commendary of the order of Calatrava, a native of Medina del Campo, and gave him the title and commission of examiner, under which he was to enter the island, as also of governor, to make use of and publish them in due time. Though this resolution was taken in the year 1499, and the dispatches were then begun to be drawn up, they were not delivered till the month of June, 1500. Among the other dispatches delivered to Francis de Bovadilla, there were many blank warrants, signed by their highnesses, that he might fill up, and make use of them as he should think fit.

The two ships that brought over the messengers from the admiral and Roldan, at the same time also brought the slaves the admiral had divided among them, being about three hundred, at which her catholic majesty was highly offended, and said, the admiral had no power from her to give any one her slaves; and she caused proclamation to be made in Seville, Granada, and other places, that all those who had any Indians given them by the admiral, should send them back to Hispaniola, upon pain of death, and that the same Indians in particular should return, and not the others that had been brought before, because she was informed that they had been fairly taken in war. Francis de Bovadilla being embarked, with some men  
A. D. 1500. in pay, sent by their majesties for his greater security, set sail with two ships, about the end of June.

Whilst these things were doing in Spain, the admiral, and his brother the adelantado, went about seizing some of the mutineers, and the adelantado carried a priest with him, to hear their confessions, and then hanged them, wherever they were found, to punish the rebellion, and settle the island in peace, that the Indians might be again brought to pay their tributes, to the end that their majesties might have wherewith to defray the expences they were at, and the admiral's enemies might give over railing. Thus he brought the island into such a condition that any man might travel through it in safety. The admiral had entertained thoughts of bringing the Indians to live in great towns, that they might be the better instructed in the Christian faith, and serve their majesties as the Spanish subjects did, by which means he moderately concluded that the royal revenues there would amount to sixty millions of maravedies, [about thirty thousand pounds] and that they might help to build a fort on the coast of Paria, to make a great advantage of the trade of pearls.

At the time that the admiral was at the fort of the Conception, in the royal plain, and his brother the adelantado at Xaragua, with Francis Roldan, seizing some of those that would have murdered the said Roldan, and sending them to Santo Domingo to be hanged, on the 23d of August, the two caravels arrived from Spain with the new judge, Francis de Bovadilla. The next day he landed with all his men, went to the church, and after mass, in the presence of don James Columbus, and all the other people, read a commission signed by their majesties, appointing him to enquire into  
all



all offences committed in the island, and to punish such as he should find guilty. Having published his commission, he required don James Columbus, and the rest that were in command, to deliver up to him five prisoners that were kept in the fort to be hanged for the insurrection, alledging, that he came to examine all those affairs. They answered, that the admiral's authority was above the judges, and that they had no power to comply with what he demanded. Bovadilla perceiving that the name of judge was of no authority there, he resolved to make use of that of governor, to shew them that the admiral's power was ceased, and that he could command him as well as them. Accordingly the next day, being the 25th, coming out of the church, where all the people were assembled, he, in the presence of them, took out another commission, which he caused to be read, the purport of it being, that their majesties appointed him governor of all their dominions in those parts, and as such, commanded all persons to obey him.

When this commission was read, he took his oath, and commanded don James Columbus, and all others to obey him, and in pursuance thereof to deliver up to him the prisoners that were to be hanged. They again answered, that they obeyed the king's orders, but that the admiral had others of greater force, and they had no power from him to make any innovation. Upon their refusal, thinking to draw the people to him against the admiral, he caused another order to be read before them, commanding the admiral and all others to deliver up to him the arms, stores, provisions, horses, cattle, or other things belonging to their highnesses; and then another order, enjoining him to pay all persons that had any thing due to them from the crown out of the revenue of those islands. This order was very agreeable to all that were in the king's pay, who readily offered to stand by Francis de Bovadilla, and he again required those who had possession of the fort, to deliver all things into his hands, threatening, in case of refusal, to make use of force; accordingly, being assisted by most of the people, and meeting with no opposition, he broke open the gate of the fort, which was of no strength, and possessed himself of the prisoners.

The admiral being informed of all that had happened, could not imagine that their majesties, whom he had served so successfully and faithfully, had given any such orders against him, but not knowing what to think, he resolved to draw nearer to Santo Domingo, and accordingly came ten leagues forward to Bonao, where several Spaniards were settled, and began to build a town. Bovadilla sent the admiral a letter from the king and queen, the contents whereof was only to order him to confer with the said Bovadilla, who whilst this letter was going to him, and the answer returning, possessed himself of all that the admiral had in the world, and took up his habitation at his house, seizing his papers, and all things whatever, no part whereof he ever restored; and though he pretended he did it to pay the men, it was suspected that he kept very much for himself. The Spaniards that were in all parts of the island, hastened away to see the new governor, and he, to gain their affections, made proclamation, that all persons who would go and gather gold, should pay to their majesties only the eleventh part for the space of twenty years to come, and that all such as were in the king's pay should receive it. Having thus ingratiated himself with the people, several went with complaints to him against the admiral, some doing it to gain his favour, and others out of prejudice to that great man. Hereupon Bovadilla began to examine witnesses against him, and, as is usual when a man begins to be unfortunate, the accusations came in against him without measure. They said he had misused the Spaniards



Spaniards, compelling them to work, though they were sick and starving; that he had refused to allow them provisions; that he had caused several to be whipped for stealing corn, when they were perishing for want; that he had hanged many for going away to seek sustenance without his leave, when he had refused to grant it them, at a time when they had nothing to support them; that he would not permit the clergymen and friars to baptize Indians that were willing, because he would rather have slaves than Christians; that he made war on the Indians unjustly, and took many slaves to send into Spain; that he would not grant leave for digging of gold, because he was willing to conceal the wealth of the Indies, that he might make himself master of them, with the assistance of some other Christian king; the falsehood of which article was easily discovered, because it had always been his most earnest endeavour to discover rich mines, and send over gold to answer the expences their majesties were at. They also charged him with having gathered a number of armed Indians to oppose Bovadilla; but as to his private conversation, no one objected any thing against him. Much more was alledged against the admiral and his brothers, a great part whereof was false, supposing that they had been too severe in their government over the Spaniards.

In short, Bovadilla seized the admiral, and both his brothers, don Bartholomew and don James, without so much as seeing or speaking to them. They were all put into irons, and no person permitted to converse with them; a most inhuman action, considering the dignity of the person, and the inestimable service he had done the crown of Spain. The admiral afterwards kept his fetters, and ordered they should be buried with him, in testimony of the ingratitude of this world. Bovadilla resolved to send the admiral and his brothers prisoners into Spain, aboard the two ships that had brought him over. Alonso de Vallejo was appointed to command those two caravels, and ordered, as soon as he arrived at Cadiz, to deliver the prisoners to the bishop, John Rodrigues de Fonseca; and it was always reported, that Bovadilla had put this affront upon the admiral, to please that bishop. It was never heard that Francis Roldan, or don Hernando de Guevara, or any other of the mutineers who had committed so many outrages in that island, were punished, or any proceedings made against them. The caravels sailed about the beginning of October, and it pleased God to shorten the admiral's confinement, for they arrived at Cadiz the 25th of November. Alonso de Vallejo, and the master of the caravel Gorda, aboard which the admiral was brought over, treated him and his brothers very well, and would have knocked off his fetters, but he would not consent to it himself, till it was done by order of their majesties.

When the admiral arrived, their majesties were at Granada, where hearing how he had been treated, they seemed to be concerned at it, ordered him to be released, and to have one thousand ducats to carry him to court. He came thither on the 17th of December, and was favourably received, both the king and queen comforting him, declaring it had never been their design that he should be any way molested, and promising to redress all his grievances; but more particularly the queen, who had always been much more favourable to him than the king. He knelt a while before them, not being able to utter a word, for the greatness of the concern he had upon him. They bid him rise, and then he made a lamentable speech, protesting that it had always been his intention and desire to serve them with the utmost fidelity; and that if he had been guilty of any mistakes, they had been occasioned through want of knowing better, having always believed that what he did was for the best.



## CHAPTER VI.

*Ojeda fits out three ships at Seville, and takes John de la Cosa and Americus Vesputius with him: they come in sight of land, which they judge to be the continent of America: sail along the coast making discoveries: proceed to Hispaniola, where Ojeda endeavours to raise a mutiny: is compelled to depart. Americus Vesputius's account of this voyage.*

**A**LONSO de Ojeda was at court, and saw the draught the admiral had made of his discovery, and the sample of pearls and gold brought from thence, and being a favourite of the bishop, John Rodrigues de Fonseca, who was near the persons of their majesties, and had charge of the affairs of the Indies, he asked leave to go into those parts, to discover islands, or the continent, or what he could. The bishop gave him a licence signed by himself, and not by their majesties, upon condition that he should not touch upon any land belonging to the king of Portugal, nor that the admiral had discovered before the year 1495. Upon this licence, some persons at

Seville fitted out four ships, for many were now intent upon making  
A. D. 1499. discoveries, and he sailed from port St. Mary on the 20th of May.

John de la Cosa, a Biscayner, and a bold man, went his chief pilot, and Americus Vesputius as merchant, being skilful in cosmography and navigation. They first stood to the westward, and then south, and in twenty-seven days came in sight of land, which they judged to be the continent. They sounded at a league's distance from it, for fear of striking upon some shoal, and sent their boats on shore, drawing near, spied a multitude of naked people that looked on as amazed, but presently fled to the mountains, and though the Spaniards allured them, would not return; whereupon being in an open road, and fearing some storm, they thought fit to follow down the coast to seek some harbour.

After two days sail, they found a good one, and vast numbers of natives flocking to see so great a novelty as the ships and the men. Forty soldiers well armed went ashore, calling the Indians by signs, shewing them hawks bells, little looking-glasses, and other baubles, but they would not trust them; only some of the boldest drew near and took the hawks bells; but night drawing on, the Spaniards returned to their ships, and the Indians to their houses. In the morning the strand was covered with people, and among them the women with children in their arms, very quiet. The Spaniards went ashore, and the Indians, without any mistrust, swam to meet the boats.

[Here follows an account of the natives, similar to that given before by Vesputius in his first voyage.]

Alonso de Ojeda proceeded along the coast westward, often landing and trading, till they came to a place where they saw a town in the water, much in the same nature as Venice, containing twenty-six large houses, like bells, raised on pillars, with draw bridges to go from one house to another. The Indians were in great consternation at the sight of the ships, drew up their bridges, and retired into their houses. In the mean time twelve canoes came towards the ships, and having made a stand to view them, went round full of amazement, to observe all things. The Spaniards made signs of friendship, and drew near; but they would not stay, though they seemed to promise to come again. When landed, they went towards a wood, and returned



to the ships with sixteen girls, four of which they gave to every ship, and then became tractable. Many of the people came out of those houses they had seen, and swam to the ships. When they came near, certain old women cried out in an hideous manner, and tore their hair, whereupon the girls leaped into the sea, and the Indians that were in the canoes drew back from the ships, shooting their arrows. The Spaniards made after them in their boats, overset some canoes, killed twenty Indians, hurt many, and five Spaniards were wounded, having taken three Indians and two of the girls; but one of the prisoners dexterously got loose, and leaped into the sea.

They sailed eighty leagues down the coast, along the province of Paria, which the admiral had discovered, where they found other people of a different language and behaviour. The Spaniards landed where there were above four thousand persons, who all fled to the mountains, leaving what they had behind them. Going farther up into the country, they came to some cottages, which looked as if they had belonged to fishermen, with many fires and fish roasting, and among them an yvana, called in other parts of the Indies ycotea, which they thought had been a large snake. The bread they eat was made of fish boiled in water, then pounded, moulded, and being formed into small loaves, was baked on the embers. They found other eatables of fruit and herbs, but touched nothing; and on the contrary, left them some small Spanish toys, to induce them to become more tractable. The next day, at sun-rising, many Indians appeared; the Spaniards went ashore, and the Indians, though much afraid, staid. By degrees they grew bolder, and by signs gave to understand that those were not their houses, but only cottages for fishing, desiring they would go to their houses, and pressing them to it. Twenty-three men, well armed, went, and staid with them three days, being well entertained, though neither side understood one word of what the other said. The Indians danced, sung, and continually made other demonstrations of joy; and it is incredible what plenty of meat they laid before them, and how much they made of them, offering them their women so freely, and with such importunity, that they could scarce withstand them. The town to which the twenty-three Spaniards were carried was three leagues from the ships, and so many people flocked from others to see them, that it was wonderful to observe how they walked about, and with what astonishment they touched, and gazed on them. Certain ancient men intreating them to go to their towns, they could not refuse it, and there they staid nine days; those aboard the ships being all the while very uneasy, for fear some disaster had befallen them, but they fared very well. At last they thought fit to return to the ships, being accompanied by a vast number of men and women; and when any Spaniard was tired, they carried him in a hammock, as if he had gone in a horse-litter, but with more ease and less danger.

For passing of rivers, they made use of floats and other conveniences. Some of them were loaded with several things which they gave to the Spaniards, as bows, arrows, curiosities made of feathers, and parrots; and every Indian thought himself happy, when they came to ford rivers, if he could carry a Spaniard over on his shoulders; and he that ofteneft carried any over, looked upon himself as most fortunate. As soon as they came to the sea shore, the boats made to them, and so many Indians strove to get in, that they were ready to sink; and above one thousand either went in, or swam along by them. They went aboard the ships, and admiring their bulk, rigging, and other appurtenances, were never satisfied with gazing. One of the ships,



ships, to fright them, fired the cannon, and they like so many frogs, leaped into the sea, in the greatest consternation, till the Spaniards laughing, they perceived that it was only a jest. They then returned, and staid all that day aboard the ships, being so highly delighted, that they could scarce get rid of them; but when the Spaniards were departing, the Indians went away very joyful, and well pleased. This land appeared very pleasant, fruitful, and yielding flowers all the year, with a wonderful variety of most beautiful birds. The ships got out of that fresh water bay that is formed by the island of the Trinity and the land of Paria, within the Dragon's Mouth, and it being very notorious that admiral Columbus had before discovered it, Herrera says Americus Vesputius has designedly suppressed the name of the Dragon's Mouth; and though he said he had spent thirteen months in those parts, that was the second voyage he made with Alonso de Ojeda; for at the first he was only five months, as was afterwards proved; which shews what artifices (says he) Americus Vesputius used to assume to himself the honour of having discovered the continent, which the admiral had done before.

Leaving Paria, they made for the island Margarita, where Alonso de Ojeda landed, and proceeded to the province and bay of Coquibocoa, now called Venezuela, and thence passed on to Cape de la Vela, discovering some rows of islands that lie east and west, some of which he named De los Gigantes, or of the giants, and it was he that gave the name of Cape de la Vela, which still continues: so that he coasted four hundred leagues; two hundred to the eastward of Paria, where he first saw land, and two hundred from Paria to Cape de la Vela. Paria and the island Margarita had been already discovered by the admiral, with a considerable part of the two hundred leagues from Margarita to Cape Vela. All along this coast that Alonso de Ojeda was upon, from Margarita forward, they bartered for gold and pearls. They proceeded to Cumaná, and Maracapana, which is seven leagues from Margarita: these are towns on the sea coast. Short of Cumaná is a bay, making a great inlet of sea water fourteen leagues into the land. It was formerly encompassed with towns, containing abundance of people, and Cumaná was the first of them, almost at the mouth of the bay, near which town a mighty river empties itself, and in it there is an infinite multitude of those the Indians call caymanes, and the English alligators, being much the same as the crocodiles in the Nile. The ships wanting to be refitted, they anchored at Maracapana, where they were received and attended as if they had been angels, by abundance of the neighbouring people.

They unladed the ships, brought them up to land, and careened them, with the assistance of the Indians. They also built a new brigantine; and all the time they spent in this work, being thirty-seven days, the Indians supplied them with their bread, venison, fish, and other sorts of provisions; without which supply, they had fallen short to return into Spain. From that town they went up the country to several places, where they were joyfully entertained. When they were upon sailing for Spain, those Indians complained to them of the inhabitants of an island who made war on them, took them prisoners, and ate them. They told this in so lamentable a manner, that the Spaniards offered to revenge them: the Indians would have gone, but they would take only seven, upon condition that they should not be obliged to bring them back, but that they should return in their canoes. They sailed thence, and finding many islands by the way, some inhabited, and some not; which it is likely were Dominica, Guadeloupe, and the rest that are thereabout; they arrived in seven days at the place they



were bound to, where they saw many people, who perceiving the men and boats making for the shore, with the soldiers well armed, drew on to the edge of the water, being about four hundred Indians, with bows, arrows, and targets; their bodies painted of several colours, and with great plumes of feathers. As soon as the boats drew near, they let fly their arrows, and the Spaniards fired their artillery and muskets, which killed many, and put the rest to flight with the terror. Forty Spaniards landed, and the Indians returning, fought resolutely, and having held it about two hours, not being able to do any more, they betook themselves to the mountains.

The next morning a very great number of Indians appeared painted, or daubed over with red, making a most hideous noise with their cries, horns, and cornets. Fifty-seven Spaniards resolved to meet them, in four brigades, each under its peculiar commander. They landed without any obstruction, under the shelter of their fire arms. The fight lasted a long time very obstinate, an immense number being killed; the rest fled, and were pursued for a considerable space to a town, where twenty-five were taken: but one Spaniard was killed, and twenty wounded. Then dividing the spoil with the Indians they had brought, (for they gave them three men and four women) they dismissed them very joyful, much admiring what feats the Spaniards had performed, and their mighty strength. Americus Vesputius (continues Herrera) says, that they returned to Spain from that island, and arrived at Cadiz with two hundred and twenty-two Indian slaves; which was not so, for they first went to Hispaniola, which, he says, was at Ojeda's second voyage; and thus he confounds the passage of the two voyages, in order to conceal the admiral's having before discovered the continent; but the king's attorney proved by the oaths of Ojeda and others, that they went to Hispaniola the first voyage, which shews the falsehood of Americus Vesputius.

The fifth of September, Alonso de Ojeda arrived at Hispaniola, and anchored near the place where the brazil wood is, in the province of Yaquimo, or somewhat lower, in the territory of a king called Haniguayaba. The Spaniards in those parts had soon notice of it by the Indians. They presently sent to acquaint the admiral, and that Alonso de Ojeda was the commander. He immediately ordered Francis Roldan to go with two caravels and hinder him from cutting brazil wood, or doing any other harm, as knowing Ojeda to be a very bold man. Roldan went at the time when he was ashore, and sent for him: he complied, and being asked why he came into those parts without acquainting the admiral, answered, he had been upon discovery, and being in great want of provisions, had touched at the first place he could come at.

Much more discourse passed between them, and Alonso de Ojeda gave Roldan good words, promising he would wait upon the admiral. Roldan believed him, and went aboard his ships to see his commission, where they shewed it him, as also the gold they had got, stags horns, a tyger's skin, and a collar made of the claws of beasts. Roldan then returned to the admiral, but Alonso de Ojeda having done what he thought fit, went away to the province of Xaragua, where the Spaniards furnished him with all he wanted; and he in return persuaded them to follow him, and he would lead them to the admiral to demand their pay, which they complained they wanted, saying, he had authority from their majesties so to do. Thus most of those people consented with him, and those that would not, he fell upon in the night, and there were several killed and wounded on both sides, which was the beginning of another commotion, worse than the former.

Roldan



Roldan was sent again, and James de Escobar ordered to join; but when they came, Ojeda was gone aboard his ships. Roldan sent to admonish him to desist from those wicked courses, and to invite him to repair to the admiral, who would put up with all that was past, and be his friend; but he proved deaf to all admonitions, and having secured two of the messengers sent him, swore he would hang them both, if they did not deliver up to him one of his men that had deserted. This done, he sailed away to the province of Cahay, twelve leagues from Xaragua, where landing with forty men, he took as much axi and batatas as he thought fit. Roldan went thither, and Ojeda being again aboard his ships, he sent to intreat him to come to a conference, which he refusing, he offered to go aboard to him, if he would send his boat. Ojeda thinking to seize him, sent the boat, but Roldan taking six brave men with him, when he came to the boat, ordered the men to go ashore, which they refusing, he fell upon them, and securing those men, returned ashore with the boat. At length Ojeda having lost his boat, and not knowing how to return to Spain without it, had a conference with Roldan, each of them in a boat at a distance; and it was agreed that his men should be restored, in exchange for the two messengers he had seized, and no mention to be made of his deserter.

Thus Ojeda sailed away from Hispaniola, and at the island of St. John he took the two hundred and twenty-two Indians that he carried into Spain. Roldan being a crafty man, staid some days at Xaragua, to see whether Ojeda would return: but he being gone, the Spaniards thinking they had done signal service in opposing him, demanded to have lands distributed among them. Roldan would willingly have first acquainted the admiral with it, but they refusing to stay, he gave them those he had himself in the province of the cazique Bohechio, which satisfied them, and the admiral was very thankful to him for this good service in sending away Ojeda, who might otherwise have raised great troubles in the island.

[We must observe that the above account is nearly the same as Vesputius has given of his first voyage. His relation of his second voyage, in 1499, is as follows.]

A.D. 1499. “ I come now to relate the more remarkable occurrences of our second voyage. We left Cadiz on the 11th of May, on the same design that was the object of our first expedition. We directed our course to the island of Cape de Verde, and running within view of the great Canary islands, we cast anchor at one of them that is called the island of Fire. Here having laid in a provision of wood and water, we again set sail, going by the south-east wind. After a course of nineteen days we arrived at a new country, and what we supposed to be the main land, opposite to that which I mentioned in the preceding voyage, and situated in the Torrid Zone, five degrees to the southward of the equinoctial line. It is distant from the above-mentioned islands about five hundred leagues, which we proved by the south-west wind. Here we found that the days and nights were of an equal length on the 27th of June, where the sun is in the tropic of Cancer. The country appeared to us to be entirely marshy, intersected with great rivers, extremely green, covered with tall woods, and without inhabitants. We cast anchor, and embarking in our boats, attempted to go onshore; but after running along the land, and trying repeatedly every opening, we could find no place that was not covered with deep water. We discovered, however, by the rivers that emptied themselves into the sea, a great many proofs that the interior country was abundantly inhabited. Unable to find a landing-place, we returned to our ships. We then weighed anchor, and run along shore, course south-east and by east,



east, for the space of forty leagues, trying frequently to get access to the island. But all our attempts were frustrated; for we found the current running so strongly north-west that it was impossible to bear up against it. Having considered these inconveniences, we agreed in council to change our course to the north-west, after which we sailed along the land till at last we reached a port which embraced in its entrance a very beautiful island, and a noble bay, to which directing our course, we observed, about four leagues from the sea side, an immense concourse of the natives—a circumstance that inspired us with much joy. Having therefore got ready our boats to go ashore, we observed, coming from the main sea, a canoe, in which there were several persons. We resolved to seize them, and for that purpose began to wheel round them, and to hem them in on all sides. They endeavoured to avoid us, and we observed them all at once to raise their oars erect, signifying by that action, that they were firm, and determined to resist us; but when they observed that we gained upon them, they plunged their oars in the water, and began to row towards shore. We then hoisted out our cutter, remarkable for its swiftness, as well as several boats, well manned, and after a chase of two hours, with difficulty came up with them. When they saw themselves surrounded, the whole, to the number of twenty, jumped overboard, and although the land was two leagues distant, escaped safe to shore, all except two, whom we took up, after chasing them till night. In the canoe, which they abandoned, we found two young men, not of their nation, but captives, whom they had carried from a foreign country, and from each of whom they had recently cut the private parts. When we had got the wretched young men into our boats, they acquainted us, by signs, that their enemies were carrying them to be devoured, and that those people, savage and cruel enough to live upon human flesh, were called cannibals.

Soon after this we made towards the shore, cast anchor within half a league of the land, and then, carrying with us the captives whom we had found in the canoe, we proceeded with great expedition in our boats towards shore, where a vast number of people were assembled. No sooner, however, had we set foot on land, than the natives fled with trepidation to the neighbouring forests. Having overtaken some of them, we set at liberty one of the number, and loaded him with abundance of trinkets, such as nails, mirrors, &c. we requested him to tell his countrymen not to be afraid of us, for that we wished nothing more than to obtain their friendship. The man punctually fulfilled our request, and brought with him from the woods, where they had taken refuge, the whole nation, consisting of about five hundred men, and a great number of women. They came forward to us unarmed, and we formed with them a league of friendship, restoring to them the fugitives we had taken, together with the canoe they had abandoned. This canoe was made of the trunk of a single tree, skilfully hollowed, about twenty-six paces in length, and two yards in breadth. But no sooner had they got possession of their canoe, and laid it up in some secure birth up the river, than they all of a sudden deserted us, nor would ever after approach us. This barbarous action of theirs convinced us, that they were a vile people, without principle or good faith. We saw no gold among them, except the ornaments which they wore in their ears.

“ Leaving this place, and running about eighty leagues along the land, we discovered a port, well adapted for small shipping, which we entered. On the shore we found a prodigious concourse of people, with whom we formed a band of friendship; and afterwards went, at their entreaty, to visit several of their villages, where we were received



received with great civility and kindness. In the mean time we purchased pearls of them, at the rate of five hundred for a single nail and a little gold, which we paid them at pleasure. In this country the natives extract a vinous liquor from various fruits and grains, such as barley, both white and red, but the best is made of myrrh apples. As we arrived in the summer season, we had the pleasure of eating plentifully a great variety of fruits, grateful to the palate, and at the same time salubrious. This island abounds with the blessings of nature and the productions of art; the people are very conversible, and more pacific than any other nation we found in those parts. We remained with them with much satisfaction for the space of seventeen days, during which time we were daily visited by great numbers of the natives, who came to admire our features, the whiteness of our complexion, our dress, our arms, and above all the magnitude of our ships. They informed us, that there was a certain nation inhabiting to the westward, with whom they waged war; that that nation possessed an immense quantity of pearls, and that the pearls which they themselves possessed, were obtained in the hostile incursions which they made in the territories of their enemies. They also acquainted us with the manner in which the pearls were generated, and how they were caught in the sea. This information, as your majesty will afterwards learn, we found to be strictly true.

“ Having left this place, we ran along the shore, on which we still discovered a great conflux of people, till after a pretty long course we were obliged to put into a certain port to refit one of our ships. Here we met a very numerous tribe, with whom we could obtain no conversation either by force or friendship, for when we attempted to land, they opposed us with great bitterness, and when they found themselves unable to sustain our attack, they fled into the woods. Disgusted with the conduct of this people, we set sail. We then fell in with an island about fifteen leagues distant from the main land, and resolved to see whether it was inhabited or not. Upon this island therefore we landed, and there discovered a people the most animal-like, simple, and benevolent in their manner, that can possibly be imagined. Here follows some account of their manners and customs.

“ In feature, and in the carriage and gesticulation of the body, they are the most uncultivated people that can be imagined, and all of them have their mouths always filled with a certain green herb, on which they chew the cud like cattle, so that they can hardly articulate a syllable: and from their necks depend two little dried gourds or calabashes; one of them filled with the green leaf which they chew; the other contains a kind of white flour, resembling stucco: they have also a little stick, which after wetting and chewing in their mouth for some time, they dip into the calabash, which contains the white flour, and then return it again into their mouths, scattering the white flour on the green leaf above mentioned, and turning it in either chap, which they do every now and then. This practice of theirs filled us with astonishment, nor could we at all understand the cause or meaning of it, till walking and conversing on the shore with the natives, who mixed with us as familiarly as if they had been acquainted with us a great while. We began to ask them for fresh water, but they replied by signs that they had none; offering us at the same time some of the green leaf and flour which they chewed in their mouth: then we understood that for want of water they were obliged to chew the above-mentioned materials, in order to allay their thirst. After walking along the coast, and searching every place with the natives for the space of a whole day, we could find no water whatever, and we learned that



the water which they drank was collected from certain leaves, in shape like the ears of an ass, and which received the dew that fell in the night; and of this dew, which is indeed excellent, these people drink, but then the leaves on which it is collected are very rare. They are totally destitute of land animals fit for food, but live on the fish which they catch in the sea. They are excellent fishermen, and have abundance of very good fish, of which they brought us a great plenty of their own accord, and among the rest a large number of turtle. The women make no use of the green herb which the men chew, but each of them carries a single calabash full of water, of which they drink. These people have no houses nor habitations whatever, except certain large leaves, which protect them from the rays of the sun, but not from rain; but that, we may safely suppose, very seldom falls in this part of the world. When they repair to the sea side to fish, each of them carries with him one of those large leaves, which being fixed in the ground, and turned towards the sun, covers him entirely with its shade. In this island there are a great many animals of various kinds, all of which drink nothing but muddy water.

“ Seeing therefore that there was no good to be got in this island, we set sail, and soon arrived at another. Here we began to search for fresh water, and as we met with nobody, we imagined that the country was uninhabited, till we observed on the sand the vestiges of feet extremely large, from whence we concluded, that if their other members corresponded with their feet, the natives of the country must be of a prodigious stature indeed. While we were walking on the sand, we discovered a path that led up the country: into this path nine of us entered, determined to inspect the island, for we did not as yet know how spacious it was, nor that it was inhabited by a great many different tribes. Having travelled about a league, we observed in a valley five cottages that seemed to be inhabited: into these we entered, and found five women, two old, and three young; all of so lofty a stature that we were struck with astonishment. They on their side were so surprised at sight of us, that they had not power to run away. Then the old women began to talk to us kindly in their language, and entering all into one cottage, they set before us a variety of eatables. Every one of the women were taller than the tallest men, and indeed they were equal in stature to a giant, but better formed than the human race amongst us. We then agreed together to carry away by force the young women, in order to exhibit the wonderful creatures in Castile, but before we could put our scheme in practice, behold! about thirty-six men, much taller than the women, and so elegantly formed, that it was a pleasure to look at them, began to enter into the cottage. This accident threw us into much perturbation, and we began to wish ourselves aboard, rather than in such company; for they carried in their hands bows and arrows of an immense size, together with poles and fishing rods so large, that they looked like huge clubs. When they came in, they began to talk to each other as if they had a mind to seize us. Observing the danger which we were in, we began to offer amongst ourselves different opinions: some proposed that we should fall upon them in the cottage where they were; others, that we should rather attack them in the open air; while some again contended that we should not fall upon them at all, till such time as we were certain of their intention. Amidst this diversity of opinion, we began to steal out of the cottage, and to return to our ships: they followed us at the distance of a stone's throw, talking with each other mean while, and, as I imagine, not less actuated by fear than ourselves, for when we stopped, they also stood still, nor did they move forward



forward till we began to walk on: but when we had reached our ships, and began to enter them in order, then they rushed into the sea, and let fly at us a shower of arrows, but we now cared very little for them. We fired at them a couple of shot, with a design rather to frighten than to hurt them. Terrified with the explosion, they fled instantly to a neighbouring hill. Thus we escaped from them, and by leaving them at the same time, saved them from farther molestation. These people go entirely naked. We called this place the Island of Giants, on account of the prodigious stature of the natives. But as we continued to sail along their coast, and sometimes went ashore for provisions, we were several times under the necessity of fighting them, for they would not suffer us to carry any thing away but by force.

“ And now we began to think of returning to Castile, because we had been almost a twelvemonth at sea, and our stock of provisions and necessaries was become very slender. These too were exceedingly spoiled by the vehement heat of the sun, for since our departure from the islands of Cape Verde, our navigation had been entirely in the torrid zone, and, as I have already mentioned, we had twice crossed the equinoctial line. It pleased the most Holy Spirit to bless our perseverance in this resolution, and to aid us in our labours; for while we were looking out for a fit place to repair our shattered ships, we arrived at a country where the natives received us with much kindness, and who possess, as we found, an immense quantity of Oriental pearls. For this reason we remained amongst them the space of forty-seven days, and purchased of them about an hundred marks of pearls for a sum, according to our computation, not exceeding forty ducats: for we gave them nothing but nails, mirrors, glasses, and some slight leaves of electrum. We learned also of them where and how they fished the pearls: they gave us also a great many of the shells in which they grow. Some of the shells which we bought of them, contained one hundred and thirty pearls, but in general they did not produce so many. But your majesty must know, that except the pearls are very mature, and fall of themselves from the shells in which they were generated, they are not reckoned perfect, but, as I have often experienced, they wither in that case, and are reduced to nothing; but when they are ripe, they separate themselves in the shells, only sticking lightly to the flesh; and these are the best. Having, therefore, passed forty-seven days with those people, whose friendship we had found means to acquire, we left them on account of our being in want of many things, which we expected to find at the island of Antilia, which Christopher Columbus had discovered some years before, and where we arrived and remained for the space of two months and two days, refitting our vessels, and suffering from time to time from the Christians there resident, a number of injuries and indignities, which, to avoid prolixity, I pass over at present.

“ On the 22d of July we left this island, and after a passage of a month and an half, we entered on the 8th day of September the port of Cadiz, where we were received with much honour. And thus it pleased God to bring to an honourable and profitable period our second voyage.”



## CHAPTER VII.

*Voyage of Peter Alonso Nino and Christopher Guerra to the continent of America. Voyage of Vincent Yanez Pinzon: he discovers six hundred leagues along the coast to Paria. Voyage of James de Lepe.*

THE inhabitants of Seville perceiving that Alonso de Ojeda was gone out upon discovery, being directed by the draught the admiral had made of what he had found, several others presumed to follow the example set them, and the first of them were Peter Alonso Nino, an inhabitant of Moguer, or Palos, who was with the admiral when Paria was discovered, and Christopher Guerra, of Seville. Peter Alonso Nino having obtained the king's licence, upon condition that he should not come to an anchor, nor land any where within fifty leagues of what the admiral had discovered: being himself unable to fit out a ship, he proposed it to Lewis Guerra, of Seville, to defray that expence; and the samples of gold and pearls the admiral had sent having stirred up the avarice of many, Guerra accepted of the overture, provided that his brother Christopher should go as captain; and accordingly they set sail, not long after Alonso de Ojeda, whose voyage has been before spoken of. They sailed two or three hundred leagues to the southward, discovered land, and keeping down the coast, arrived at the province of Paria a few days after Ojeda, where finding the Indians peaceably disposed, they, contrary to their instructions, cut brazil wood, and holding on their course, came to that which Ojeda had called the Bay of Pearls, formed by the island Margarita, where they bartered for many pearls. They advanced seven leagues beyond the town of Cumaná, where they saw people stark naked, except that their privy parts were put into little calabashes, or gourds, tied about their waist with a cord, and they chewed a certain herb all the day, the which, though their teeth were naturally very white, made them as black as jet; and this they said they did for their health, to make them strong, and for the sustenance it afforded.

These people went aboard the ships without any fear, carrying necklaces of pearls, and had some of them in their noses and ears. The Spaniards allured them with hawk's bells, bracelets, rings, pins, and several trifles made of tin, which they took, and very freely gave their pearls. Having got a considerable quantity of them, they passed by Coro near the province now called Venezuela, one hundred and thirty leagues below Paria and the Dragon's Mouth, and anchored in a bay like that of Cadiz, where they were very well received by fifty men, who came from a place a league off, and very earnestly pressed them to anchor at their town. The Spaniards gave them some of their toys, and the Indians taking off all the pearls they had about their necks and arms, in the space of an hour gave them as many as weighed fifteen ounces. The next day they came to an anchor before a town called Curiana, where the Indians intreated them to go ashore, but the Spaniards being no more than thirty-three in all, durst not venture, and made signs to them to come aboard, which they did in their canoes, carrying pearls to exchange for some Spanish toys. At length, being convinced of their sincerity, the Spaniards went ashore, and being courteously entertained, staid



staid there twenty days. They plentifully supplied them for food with venison, rabbits, geese, ducks, parrots, fish, bread made of mayz and Indian wheat, and other things, and brought them all the game they asked for. By seeing so many deer, they concluded that the same was the continent. They perceived that they kept markets or fairs, and that they made use of jars, pitchers, pots, dishes, and porringers, besides other vessels of several shapes; and that in their pearl necklaces they had frogs and other vermin made of gold. Being asked where that was gathered, they answered, six days journey from thence. They resolved to sail thither, and it was the province of Curiana Cauchieto, where the people came aboard in their canoes without any jealousy. They carried some wrought and unwrought gold, which they bartered away; but would not part with the pearls they had, like those of Curiana: however, they gave some very fine monkies, and parrots of several colours.

Departing hence, they proceeded farther, where above two thousand naked men came out with bows and arrows, to hinder their landing; and though they endeavoured to appease them by shewing hawks bells and other trinkets, they could not prevail, and therefore returned to Curiana, and were received with the same satisfaction as before, and earnestly entreated for pins and needles; for whereas at first they had understood that they were things to sew and tack things together, and therefore said they had no use for them, going naked: the Spaniards shewed them that they were useful for drawing thorns out of their feet, there being many in that part; at which they smiled, and asked for them. All that country lies in seven or eight degrees of north latitude, and there is no cold in November and December. The Indians were highly pleased, thinking they had cheated the Spaniards, who carried away above one hundred and fifty marks of pearls, and some of them as large as small hazel nuts, very beautiful and oriental. [Note, that by a mark here, is meant eight ounces weight.] But they were ill bored, the Indians having no iron.

The Spaniards thought fit to return home, and so came back to Paria and the Dragon's Mouth; running along the coast eastward, they came to Cape Araya, which lies north and south with the western point of Margarita. Here were found the salt pits, which continue to this day, for on that point of land there is a pool, about ten or twelve paces from the sea shore, being all salt water, and always under it full of salt, as it is sometimes above, when it has not rained for a long time. Some have fancied that the wind throws that water out of the sea into the pool, because it is so near; but it has passages to let it in from the sea. This salt is very white, and there is much of it, and when the weather is very hot, many ships are laden with it. At the proper season of the year there is an infinite multitude of skates at that point, being good fish; and there is no less quantity of pilchards. Two months after A. D. 1500. they left Curiana, they arrived in Galizia on the 6th of February, where Ferdinand de la Vega, lord of Grajal, was then governor, before whom Alonso de Nino and Christopher Guerra were accused by their own ship's crew of having concealed pearls, and defrauded the king of his fifth part, which was the duty.

After the afore said voyage performed by Christopher Guerra, Vincent Yanez Pinzon, who had been with the admiral in his first discovery, being a wealthy man, sailed from Palos with four ships, fitted out at his own cost, and steering first for the  
Canaries,



Canaries, and thence for the islands of Cape Verde, departed from that of Santiago, which is one of them, on the 13th of January, 1500. He first stood away to the south, and then to the west, and having sailed seven hundred leagues, lost sight of the north star, and crossed the equinoctial line. When passed the line, they met with such a dreadful storm, that they expected to perish: he ran two hundred and forty leagues farther to the westward, and on the 26th of February they discovered land at a great distance, being that which is now called Cape St. Augustine, though Vincent Yanez called it Cabo de Consolacion, or Cape Comfort, and the Portuguese call it the province of Santa Cruz, or of the Holy Cross, now a part of Brasil. They found the sea thick and whitish, like a river, and sounding, had sixteen fathoms water. They went ashore, and no people appeared, though they saw the track of men, who fled as soon as they saw the ships, and there Vincent Yanez took possession of that country for the crown of Castile, with all the usual formalities. At night they perceived many fires thereabout, and the next day, after sun-rising, forty Spaniards, well armed, landed, and went to the place where they had seen the fires, being sensible that there were people: thirty-six Indians, with bows and arrows, advanced towards them, as if they would engage, being followed by many more.

The Spaniards used all means to appease them with signs, shewing them hawks bells, looking-glasses, beads, and other things; but they regarding nothing, appeared very fierce. They affirmed those men were of a larger size than the Spaniards; however, they parted, without coming to blows. At night no Indian appeared all along that coast, for which reason they hoisted sail, and went on farther, till they anchored near the mouth of a great river, which being shoal, the ships could not go in. Some men went up it in the boats to get information, who saw many naked people on a hill, towards which they sent one man, well armed, and he by his actions and signs endeavoured to persuade them to draw near. He threw a hawk's bell to them, and they threw him a staff about half a yard long, of a gold colour, and as he was stooping to take it up, they ran to seize him, hemming him in; but he laid about him with such fury and dexterity, making use of his sword and target, that he wounded many, and the other Spaniards admiring him, because they had no great conceit of him before, ran in to his assistance. However, the Indians shot so many arrows, and with such force and dexterity, that they killed eight or ten, and wounded many more. They went up to the very boats, encompassing them in the water, and laying hold of the oars, killed a man that looked after them, and took one of them; though the Spaniards with their swords and spears, ripped up the bellies of many, and killed a vast number, whereupon they retired, and the Spaniards, much concerned for having lost so many of their companions, sailed away along the coast to the westward, and finding great plenty of fresh water in the sea, filled all their vessels. Vincent Yanez affirmed, that the said fresh water ran out forty leagues into the sea. Being therefore curious to discover the reason of it, they drew near to land, and found many islands very agreeable and delightful, inhabited by great numbers of painted people, who resorted in as friendly a manner to the ships, as if they had been well acquainted with them. The water above spoken of, came out from the much talked of river Maranon, the mouth whereof is thirty leagues wide, and some say more. When the ships were at anchor in it, the fresh water meeting with the salt, and both contending together, made a dreadful noise, and raised the ships four fathoms in height; to their great danger,



danger, much like what the admiral had met with when he entered at the Serpent's Mouth, and came out at the Dragon's.

Vincent Yanez perceiving that his discovery as yet turned to no account in those parts, took thirty-six men, and proceeded towards Paria, and by the way met with another mighty river, though not so large as the Marañon, yet they took up fresh water twenty-five or thirty leagues out at sea, for which reason he called it Rio Dulce, or the fresh river, which has been since supposed to be a branch of the great river Yyupari, that makes the fresh bay between Paria and the island of Trinity. Upon this fresh river found by Vincent Yanez, it is supposed that the people called Aruacas have their dwellings. They proceeded to Paria, and there took in brazil wood: from Paria, Vincent Yanez struck over to the islands that lie in the way to Hispaniola, and the ships being at anchor, there arose such a dreadful tempest, that two of them sunk in the sight of the others, with all the men. A third was forced from its anchors with eighteen men, and carried out of sight. The fourth, which it is likely had the best anchors and cables, riding it out, beat so furiously upon the sea, that the sailors believing it would be dashed in pieces, went all ashore in the long boat, without hopes of its escaping, and for their own security, had thoughts of killing all the Indians thereabout, to prevent their calling in their neighbours to destroy them; but the ship that had been drove away with the eighteen men, returned, and that which had rode it out, when the sea grew calm, was saved. In those two ships they went away to Hispaniola, where they refitted, and returned into Spain about the latter end of September, having discovered six hundred leagues along the coast of Paria.

About the latter end of December, the same year 1499, after the departure of Vincent Yanez Pinzon, James de Lepe, a native of Palos de Moguer, a town belonging to the earl of Miranda, sailed from thence upon discovery, and most of his men were of the same place. He set out with two ships for the island Fuego, one of those of Cape Verde; then proceeded first to the southward, and then west; arrived at Cape St. Augustin, and doubled it, running along that coast, and every where taking possession for their majesties of Castile. He also cut his name upon a tree of such an extraordinary magnitude, that sixteen men holding hands, and stretching out their arms, could not compass it. He went up into the river Marañon, but the people there being exasperated on account of thirty-six men Vincent Yanez had carried away from thence, he found them in arms. They slew ten Spaniards, who also destroyed and took many of them. Thence he proceeded along the coast of the continent, the same way that Vincent Yanez had gone before; arrived at Paria, where the people being alarmed, they came to blows, and took some prisoners; which is all we have of this voyage.



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B O O K III.

P O R T U G U E S E V O Y A G E S

D U R I N G T H E R E I G N O F

K I N G E M A N U E L.

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C H A P T E R I.

*Introduction. Pedro Alvarez Cabral sails with a fleet to India : a ship returns : he discovers the coast of Brazil : sails from thence : four ships founder : arrives at Quiloa : transactions there : sails to Melinda, and thence to Calicut. Transactions at Calicut. Cabral takes a ship of the Moors. Portuguese factory attacked. Arrives at Cochin : sails back for Portugal : driven to Conanor : arrives at Mosambique. A ship of the Squadron discovers Sofala.*

**T**HE voyage of Cabral is recorded in several authors ; in Castagneda, Oforio, and De Barros ; Ramusio also has an account of this voyage, written by a Portuguese pilot ; and there are some letters respecting it in the Novus Orbis of Grynæus. Our first extract will be from Castagneda, and we shall afterwards make extracts from the others of what he has omitted.

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THE existence of a navigation to India by way of the Cape of Good Hope, being now certain, king Emanuel determined to avail himself of the discovery, and as a means to reap a greater benefit from it, both in a mercantile and religious view, he commanded a fleet of ten ships and two caravels to be fitted out, and such things to be put on board as Vasco de Gama judged proper to be sent to Calicut. There were other ships for Sofala and Quiloa, where he also designed to establish factories, not only for the gold which they have there, but also as convenient ports where the ships might touch.

Pedro



Pedro Alvarez Cabral, of a noble house, was appointed captain-general, Sancho de Toar captain under him: the other captains were Nicholas Coello, Lewis Continuo, Simon de Miserando, Simon Leyton, Bartholomew Dias (who discovered the Cape of Good Hope), and Diego Dias, his brother. The captains of the caravels were Pedro de Taide, and Vasco de Silvera. Alvez Corea was factor to the fleet, and to remain at Calicut; Gonfalo Gyl Barbasa and Pedro Vaz Caninon, went under him. Two ships and a factor were to remain at Sofala. Fifteen hundred men were embarked in this fleet.

Cabral, besides orders to settle the factories, had instructions, that if the king of Calicut would not consent to the ships having sufficient lading, not to leave a factory, but to make war on him, in revenge for the injury he had done De Gama; and if the factory should be quietly settled, he was to request the king of Calicut privately not to permit any Moors of Mecca to remain in any of his ports, and to assure him that he should be supplied with the same merchandise they brought, and at a cheaper rate. He was also to touch at Melinda, to land the ambassador which Vasco de Gama brought home, and to carry the king a present.

In this fleet embarked five Franciscan friars, of whom father Henrique (afterwards bishop of Ceuta) went chief, and who was to remain at Calicut, to preach the faith to the Malabars.

The fleet being ready, on Sunday March 8, the king went in procession to hear mass at the monastery of Belem, and the captain-general with him, who had the honour to hear mass behind the curtain with the king. The bishop who performed this service afterwards consecrated a banner or flag, which the king delivered to Cabral to carry at his main-top-mast head. From the bishop he received a bonnet or night-cap that had been blessed and sent by the pope, which the bishop put on his head, and gave him also his blessing. The king afterwards accompanied him to the water-side, where he kissed his majesty's hand and embarked, under a general discharge of cannon from the fleet.

The wind prevented their sailing until the next day, when they went to sea, all the men being in high spirits. On the 14th they made the Canaries; on the 22d passed St. Jago; and on the 23d lost sight of the ship under the command of Vasco de Taide, who did not join them again.

Cabral lay by two days for the missing ship, and then made sail. On the 23d of April they saw land, which gave them great joy, as from the bearings they were convinced De Gama had not discovered it. Cabral sent his master on shore in a small boat to view the country, who reported that the place was fertile, well furnished with wood, and that he saw many men walking by the water side. On this news he brought his fleet to anchor, and sent the master on shore again for further intelligence. He found the inhabitants were of a dark complexion, well proportioned, naked, and carrying bows and arrows.

When night came on there arose a storm, which obliged the fleet to weigh their anchors, and run along the coast till they found a good port, which they entered, and Cabral called it Porto Seguro, or the Safe Port, as it was secure from all winds. Here they took two of the natives in an almadia, who were brought on board the general's ship; but none could understand them, either by words or signs. Cabral gave them apparel, to induce their countrymen to be friendly, and sent them away apparently much pleased. Their companions seeing their good entertainment, ventured on



board. Cabral took this opportunity to take in water, and to say mass on shore, under a pavilion, which was performed by Dr. Henrique. During the ceremony many of the country people assembled, and shewed themselves to be in great good humour, playing, leaping, and founding musical instruments. The same day, after dinner, the general gave his men leave to go on shore to traffic, and for paper and cloth they purchased parrots and other sorts of birds, very beautiful, of which the natives had a great number; and with their feathers they made hats and night-caps, very handsome. Some of the Portuguese went to the town, and reported the country to be well wooded, and plenty of water and fruit, and also a great plenty of cotton.

This country is now known by the name of Brazil. While the fleet remained there, a fish was cast on shore, larger than a hoghead, with eyes like a hog, ears like an elephant, no teeth, and under his belly two holes, the tail three quarters of a yard broad and as much in length, his skin like that of a hog, and of the thickness of a finger. In this island the general erected a stone cross, and called the place the Land of Santa Cruz. From hence he dispatched a caravel (which went out for that purpose) with letters to the king, giving an account of what had happened, and that he had left there two of the twenty criminals which he carried out with him, to inform themselves of the country, which he had not an opportunity to do while he stayed. In this ship he also sent one of the natives of the country.

The day after the departure of the caravel the fleet sailed, shaping their course for the Cape of Good Hope, which was distant twelve hundred leagues. On the 12th of May they saw a comet, which came from the east, and which was in sight ten days, always appearing to increase in magnitude. On Saturday the 23d of May they were assailed by a terrible storm from the north-east, which obliged the fleet to reef their sails, as the sea ran very high with much rain; but as the storm abated, the fleet loosed their foresails, and when the night came on, the wind being quite abated, the ships astern set their sails and joined the fleet. On Sunday morning the wind began to increase, and the fleet again reefed their sails. When between ten and eleven o'clock, they saw a spout to the north-west; the wind calmed, and the canvas beat against the masts. The seamen thought this a sign of fair weather, and therefore left all their sails standing, when suddenly a terrible gust of wind overtook them before they had time to hand their sails, and four ships were sunk without being able to save one person. One of these ships was commanded by Bartholomew Dias. The other seven ships were half full of water, and must all have been lost if their sails had not given way.

The wind continued to blow a storm all that day and the next night, and they were driven at the mercy of the seas. The following day it became calm, and the remaining ships of the squadron joined. The wind then came round to the east and north-east, which caused the sea to run prodigiously high, and for the space of twenty days they were obliged to lay to, in constant dread of foundering by every wave that rolled under them. The water in the day time appeared of the colour of pitch, and at night like fire. The ships of the captain-general, Simon de Miranda, and Pedro de Taide, were the only ships that could make any head against it; the others were driven before it and separated.

Cabral pursued his course, and during these storms doubled the Cape of Good Hope, without having sight of it, having only two of his ships in company. On the 16th of July he made land, in twenty-seven degrees latitude, but the pilot did not know



know what land it was. They stood close in, but the general would not permit any of his men to go on shore. They could perceive many people, but none of them came down to the water side to look at the ships. Here they had good success in fishing. After some time they stood close along shore, and saw a great quantity of cattle feeding by the side of a river, and many people.

They continued coasting until they reached Sofala, but their pilot did not know it. As they came near it, they saw two islands and two ships at anchor off one of them: these, as soon as they discovered the Portuguese, run in for the shore, were chased, and after some defence, taken. One of these ships was commanded by a near relation of the king of Melinda, who was going from Sofala, with gold on board, to Melinda. This person confessed they were so frightened with the idea of being taken, that they threw part of the gold overboard.

Cabral told him he was very sorry for his loss, as the king of Melinda was a friend to the king of Portugal. He then shewed him every civility, and restored him the ships and all the gold that remained. This man gravely asked the general if he had any witches on board who could fetch up the gold that was thrown overboard. Cabral told him they believed in the true God, and put no faith in witches.

This Moor acquainted Cabral that he had rather overshot Sofala; and as the general was unwilling to sail back, he dispatched the Moor, pursued his voyage, and on the 24th of July arrived at Mozambique, where he took in water and a pilot for the island of Quiloa, to which place he steered along the coast. In the course of his voyage he passed many small islands subject to the king of Quiloa, who is a great prince, and lord of the coast from Cape Correntes almost to Mombassa, an extent of near four hundred leagues: his revenue, however, is but small. His residence is in Quiloa, on an island one hundred leagues beyond Mozambique, on the coast of Ethiopia. This island stands in nine degrees south latitude, is full of people; and is fertile in orchards and woods, has plenty of fruit, good water, and great store of small cattle; the sea also is well supplied with good fish. The city is compassed on one side with fine gardens, and the other by the sea, which makes it very delightful. Their houses are of stone, with good rooms in them.

The king and his subjects are Moors; the natives are black; the common language Arabic. They dress richly, especially the women, who wear many ornaments of gold. They are great merchants for the gold of Sofala, and from hence it is dispersed through Arabia Felix and other places, and therefore there resort thither many merchants from other places. There are always in this port many ships, which lay aground there. These ships have no nails or spikes, but are sewed together with ropes made of Caire, and pitched over. The winter here begins in April, and ends in September.

The general having entered the harbour, and obtained a safe conduct for a messenger, dispatched Alonso Hurtado with seven officers well dressed, who represented to the king that the general was come hither from the king of Portugal, to settle a trade in that city, and for that purpose brought great store of merchandise, fit for the consumption of the country, and that the general was desirous of a conference with him, but had strict orders from his master not to go on shore till a friendship was settled. To this the king answered, that he also was desirous to see the captain-general, and would visit him on board. This Hurtado informed the general. Next day Cabral went in his boat, covered over, and ornamented with flags, to wait for him, the other captains in their boats in company. At this moment Sancho de Toar with the two other ships arrived. The



king at last came in an almadia, many gentlemen attending him in their boats, all decorated with flags, and having musicians, with instruments which sounded like trumpets, cornets, and sackbuts. The king was saluted with a great discharge of artillery, at which he seemed much alarmed. After this discharge the king and captain-general met. The king of Portugal's letter for settling a trade in this city being read, the king agreed to it, and also that Alonso Hurtado should be set on shore the next day, to tell him what sort of merchandise the general had bought, and he would give him gold for the same.

Hurtado was accordingly sent, but found the king making excuses, saying, he had no need of the merchandise, and feared the general came to take his country from him. This change was attributed to his being a Moor and the Portuguese Christians, with whom the Moors do not chuse to have connection. Cabral being informed of this, waited three or four days to see if the king would change his opinion; but he rather shewed a jealousy, preparing himself for resistance. The general hearing this, departed, steered along the coast for Melinda, and on the 2d of August came to anchor in that port.

Here he found three ships belonging to the Moorish merchants of Cambaya, but did not molest them. On coming to anchor he saluted the city with a general discharge of ordnance. The king sent to visit him, and also a present of a great number of sheep, ducks, and hens, and many sorts of fruit. The general sent his compliments by one of his officers, to acquaint him that he was come by command of his master the king of Portugal, to offer him the service of his fleet, and also to acquaint him that he had brought him a rich present and a message, which he would send by any one the king chose. The king was much pleased with this, kept the messenger all night, and spent most part of it in talking of matters in Portugal.

As soon as it was day the king sent, by two of his principal Moors, a message to the general that he was glad of his coming; that if he wanted any thing in that country, he might command it as his own, and to reckon himself as if he was in Portugal. On this Cabral sent him the king of Portugal's letter, and the present, consisting of rich furniture for a horse. Ares Corea, as factor to the fleet, was intrusted with the delivery; who was accompanied with the principal officers of the ships, and having trumpets sounded before him. The king sent some of his nobles to receive him, and some women with perfuming pans in their hands, out of which came an excellent perfume. He found the king sitting in a chair of state, accompanied by many nobles. He was received with great honour and pleasure, and presented both the present and letter; the latter was written on both sides, one in the Portuguese, and the other in the Arabic language; the latter was read, and the king and nobility seemed much pleased with it, who altogether, with a loud voice, gave God and Mahomet thanks that they had permitted him to have a friendship with so great a prince as the king of Portugal. The king was greatly pleased with the furniture for the horse, and requested Corea to stay on shore with him while the fleet remained, which the general permitted; and during the three days he was with him, the king spent his whole time in enquiring what were the customs of Portugal and the government of that kingdom. He used all his influence to induce the general to go on shore, but Cabral always made the same excuse, that his king had commanded him to the contrary.

The king, on his persisting in this determination to visit him on the water, would go on horseback, and use the horse furniture sent him; but as none of his subjects knew how



how to use it, he requested one of the Portuguese to put it on. Many of his noblemen were waiting for him at the foot of the stairs; among them they brought a live sheep, which, as the king was coming down, they opened alive, and having taken out the bowels, laid him at the horses feet. The king being mounted, rode over the sheep, being a superstitious ceremony. He proceeded to the water side, his attendants on foot, muttering certain words. He met the general in the water, and gave him a pilot to carry him to Calicut. Cabral left with the king two of his criminals, to inform themselves of the country: one of these, called afterwards Machado, having learned the Arabic language, went to the streights, thence to the kingdom of Cambaya, and thence to Balgarte, where he settled himself with the lord of Goa, telling him he was a Moor, for which he passed in that country. He was afterwards very servicable to Alphonso de Albuquerque.

The fleet sailed from hence for Calicut on the 7th of August, and on the 20th arrived at Ansfandva, where he stayed some days, waiting for the ships from Mecca, with intent to attack them; but not arriving, they sailed for Calicut, and on the 13th of September anchored within a league of the same. Many almadias came immediately on board to sell victuals, and some of the principal nayres belonging to the king of Calicut, with a Guzerat merchant, who brought a message from the king to the captain-general, expressing his pleasure at his arrival, and offering him any thing in the city. The general returned thanks, and finding the king in so friendly a disposition, anchored near the city, saluting with his ordnance, which gave the people a high idea of the power of the fleet. The next day Cabral, by consent of the captains, sent a person to demand a safe conduct for a messenger, and with the said person sent the four Malabars whom De Gama had carried away. These went dressed in the Portuguese manner; their countrymen came out to meet them, and were much rejoiced to see them look so well. As these were of the fishermen's cast, the king would not see them, but commanded the Portuguese to be brought before him, whom he received well; and when he was informed for what purpose the fleet was come, told him that any of their men might safely come on shore. This answer being reported to the general, he sent Alonso Hurtado to the king, to signify to him, that the fleet he commanded belonged to the king of Portugal, and that he came for the purpose of settling trade and amity with him, but had command from his master to take pledges for the safety of his person while on shore, and that these pledges should be the cutwal of Calicut and Araxamenoca, one of the principal nayres. An interpreter was sent with Hurtado.

The king upon this information was surpris'd that the captain-general demanded the pledges, and declined to give them, as they were old and sickly, but proffered others younger and more able to bear the hardships of the sea. At last he wished to recede from all his promises, by the advice of his council, who disliked the appearance of the Portuguese: but Alonso Hurtado insisting on his demand, after three days prevarication, it was complied with, as the king wished to open a trade with the Portuguese, and the necessary pledges were given. The captain-general now prepared to have an audience on shore with the king, and every magnificence was displayed on the occasion.

On the 28th of December, the captain-general decked himself in his richest apparel, and carried with him thirty of the principal men of the fleet, who were to remain with him on land, with others that were the king's servants, that were to attend on him as upon the king's own person. The furniture for his chamber and kitchen, with



with a rich service of plate, were also carried to grace his appearance. Several principal nayres, by command of the king, attended to accompany the captain-general, besides numbers of people with trumpets, sackbuts, and other instruments.

The captain-general being informed that the king was waiting for him in a gallery erected on this occasion by the sea side, took his boat, accompanied by the other boats of the fleet, with their flags and trumpets, which being joined by those that came from the city, made a great noise: with these last were the pledges, who being afraid of going aboard, lest they should be made captives, were assured of the contrary by the general's landing himself on the shore; but on their still expressing their doubts, Ares Corea was obliged to inform them, that without any suspicion they might enter the ship, as the captain-general was not come to deceive their king, but to obtain his good-will. With this they were in some degree contented, though still doubtful of their being detained as captives.

Mean while the captain-general landed, several caymales, panacales, and other principal nayres, waited his arrival. Before he could set his feet on the ground, he was lifted into an andor, or chair, in which he was carried to the serame, accompanied with the whole multitude. The palace of the king was hung with carpets, or, as they call them, alcatifas: the king's apartment was formed like a little chapel, and over the place where he sat, was hung a cloth of state, of unshorn crimson velvet: under him were twenty cushions of silk. The king himself was naked, except that about his middle he had a vest of cotton, wrought over with gold. On his head he wore a cap of cloth of gold, made like a headpiece, or skull. On his ears hung diamonds, sapphires, and pearls, of which there were two bigger than walnuts. His arms were graced with bracelets of gold, intermixed with stones; as were his legs from the knees downwards; and on his fingers and toes were rings, especially his great toe, on which was a ring, containing a ruby of such lustre as to dazzle the eyes of the beholders. Among the stones was a diamond larger than a bean. But all these were exceeded by his girdle, the richness and lustre of which exceeded imagination.

By him stood a chair of state, of gold and silver, curiously wrought, full of precious stones. The andor which carried him from the palace to the audience chamber, also stood there, of the same curious workmanship. Twenty trumpets attended him, seventeen of which were of silver, the others of gold, and their mouths finely set with jewels. The bason in which he spat was of gold, and the pans with which the chamber was perfumed, were of silver. And to grace the solemnity, silver lamps were lighted, after the Moorish fashion. Six paces from the king stood his two brethren, heirs to the kingdom, and farther off were the nobles, all standing.

The captain-general being entered, and viewing the magnificence of the king, would have kissed his hand, had he not been prevented by the information that it was contrary to the custom of that place: a chair of state, however, was appointed for him near the princes seat, that from them he might have the audience of the king, which was the greatest honour that could be conferred on him. Being seated, he delivered his credentials, which he brought from the king of Portugal, written in the Arabic tongue, which being read by the king, the captain-general also delivered his message, that the king of Portugal was desirous of his friendship, and to settle a factory at Calicut, in which should be a sufficiency of all kind of merchandise that should be spent there, and in barter for these, he requested sufficient lading of spices for his ships. The king was contented with the embassy, and in answer, promised to grant

to



to the king of Portugal all he stood in need of. During the conversation, the presents from the king of Portugal were produced: a bason of wrought gold and silver, a fountain of the same, a cup and cover of equal workmanship, two masses of silver, four cushions, two of them of cloth of gold, the other two of crimson velvet, unshorn; a cloth of state of gold, welted and guarded with the same; a beautiful carpet of crimson velvet; two cloths of arras, curiously embroidered, the one with figures, the other of green works. The king seemingly pleased, gave the captain-general his option, to have lodgings on shore, or sleep in his ships; but desired to have the pledges returned, as they were gentlemen unused to the sea, and would neither eat or drink while they staid there; that if the captain returned to his ships, the pledges should be sent next day, and preliminaries settled for opening a trade.

The captain giving credit to these proposals, went as desired, leaving Alonso Hurtado and seven others, to take care of the baggage. Being on the shore ready to embark, a servant of the pledges, by means of a pinnace, went on board, by command of the clerk and comptroller of the king's house, to advise them to escape, which they immediately did, thinking to take to the pinnace; but Ares Corea seeing these proceedings, leaped into his own boat, and retook two of the hostages, and three or four of those with them in the pinnace. On the captain-general's returning on board, and understanding what had passed, he put the prisoners under confinement, and sent to complain of the comptroller; at the same time declaring in what situation they were with him: adding, that if they returned him his men and baggage, he would restore the pledges. Next day the king came to the shore, accompanied by twelve thousand men, and sent with the men and baggage thirty almadias, that were to return with the pledges; but though they appeared so formidable, they durst not approach too near the ships. This the captain-general perceiving, sent in his own boats next day the pledges he had detained, commanding them to be delivered at a distance from the boats that brought his men and baggage. While they were upon the delivery, Araxamenoca, the eldest of the pledges, leaped into the sea to escape, but ineffectually; the others attempted the same, but with equal bad success. The captain-general surprised at such perfidy, commanded Araxamenoca to be strictly watched: but after three days, finding the king did not send for him, and pitying his condition, as not having eaten during that period, of his own accord sent him to the king; at the same time requesting the king to send for those he still had in his custody; which the king, ashamed of his conduct, consented to. Three days elapsed without any agreement being settled, the captain sent Francisco Corea to know whether there was any intention of settling a trade, and that he would send Ares Corea as his factor. To this message the king sent a favourable answer, that he was willing to negotiate with Ares Corea, or any other that should be sent; but first he would send two nephews of a rich merchant of Guzerat as pledges. Upon their appearance, Corea went ashore, and by the king's command, lay in the merchant's house. The king also commanded that as Corea was unacquainted with the prices and order of merchandise in that country, the Guzerat should give him instruction. But the merchant having a greater liking to the Moors of Mecca, controverted the king's command, and instead of instruction, rendered Corea more ignorant respecting the barter of goods. The merchants of Mecca also monopolised the trade, and rendered themselves so obnoxious, that the Christians were in fear to come out of their doors.

The



The captain-general perceiving the evident injustice of these proceedings, and at the same time suspecting some traiterous proceedings, commanded to weigh anchor and quit the harbour, as he feared his ships would be set upon by the king of Calicut's fleet. The king understanding these measures were pursuing, enquired of Corea the cause, who acquainted him that he imagined the treatment he had received was the cause of the captain-general's departure. Upon this the king sent for the captain-general, and ordered that the Moors should not use such treachery. The captain-general returned to his ships. The king took away the Guzerat from the company of Ares Corea, and placed in his room Cosebequin, an honest and creditable merchant, the head of the natural born Moors, and who were always at variance with the Moors of Mecca and Cairo. The king also commanded, that for the better convenience of the Portuguese merchants, they should remove their factory to a house of Cosebequin. Of this grant a deed was made to the king of Portugal, to have possession for ever, which the captain-general caused to be inclosed in a gold tablet, and to it the king set his firm and seal: the king also ordered, that a flag with the arms of Portugal should be displayed on the top of the house, as a token of possession. The captain-general upon this returned thanks to the king for his condescension. Cosebequin advanced their trade; and the community seeing how the Portuguese were countenanced by the king, also encouraged them, which was productive of such harmony and friendship, that the Portuguese could travel in this country with as much safety as at Lisbon.

During this friendship, there appeared a great ship of the Moors at a distance, sailing from Cochin to Cabaya. As soon as it was discovered, the king sent a request to the captain-general, that he would take the said ship for his sake; that there were on board some elephants, more particularly one, which he had offered more than the price for, and was refused, though the owner dwelt in Cochin; he, therefore, repeated his request, as his honour and credit were at stake. The captain-general acceded very willingly, but as he was informed the ship was large, and contained many mariners and soldiers, who could not be taken without loss of his men, it was requisite that his men should kill those that were in the ship: to this the king agreed; whereupon the captain-general commanded Pedro de Tayde with his caravel, to take the Moorish ship, and that a valiant young gentleman, named Eduarte Pacheco, with sixty men, should accompany him. The king also sent several Moors in the caraval, that they might see the order of fighting. The caravel being under sail, gave chase till it was night, when they lost sight of the ship, and going along the coast all the quarter of the moon, they discovered where it was riding at anchor. Eduarte Pacheco now commanded to bear down upon her, but found the Moors in readiness to receive him. As they were hoisting up their sail, they easily computed the ship to be of six hundred tons, and three hundred fighting men, well armed with bows. Pacheco upon this deferred to board her, as he was commanded; on the contrary, determined to sink her, if possible. Having brought her under way, he commanded an attack, at which the Moors mocking him, shouted; and played upon their instruments. After this they discharged some of their ordnance and arrows, declaring their readiness to defend themselves. They were answered by the fire of the Portuguese, one of whose bullets entered their ship between wind and water, and caused a considerable leak: a second discharge from the Portuguese did great execution, many of the enemy being killed and wounded, and the ship so much disabled that they were obliged



obliged to bear away towards Cananor, where were four other Moorish ships. Eduarte Pacheco quickly followed, and commanded his ordnance to play against them: they would all have been taken, had not some Moorish paroas that were in the port, come to their succour: the approach of night saved their destruction. In all these engagements the Portuguese had but nine men hurt, and these by the arrows.

At night Eduarte Pacheco anchored near an island, to prevent their firing his ship, which he suspected, as well as for greater security, and in the morning, though contrary to his commission, he again joined the enemy, who were preparing to escape; but he attacked them with his ordnance, as they were beginning to sail, and at last obliged them to yield. Those of Cananor would have assisted the Moors, but the Portuguese artillery obliged them to seek their own safety.

Pacheco arrived at Calicut next day; the king came to the shore to view the ship, which he beheld as a miracle. The captain-general presented it to the king, together with seven elephants that it carried, which in Calicut were worth thirty thousand crowns, besides other considerable merchandise, and the prisoners of war. The king made many acknowledgments, and bestowed great commendations on Eduarte Pacheco. Unfortunately, however, in the end, this act, instead of giving the Portuguese greater credit, excited the jealousy of the king, who connived at treason, to dispatch them out of his country.

The fears of the Moors of Calicut were also evident, and they shewed their dislike of the Portuguese in a long oration, in which, after depreciating their good qualities, they considered them only as pirates, that came to make prey of their country; and putting in the balance against them, the considerable profits arising from their traffic with the other Moors.

The king seemed to coincide with these representations, and informed them that he had only used the Portuguese as necessary for his purpose, and promised by no means to forsake the Moors. This did not satisfy them; they determined to assassinate the Portuguese, which done, the king would be led again to countenance them.

By these perfidious measures the Portuguese factor could obtain no more in two months than would lade two ships. This gave great dissatisfaction to the captain-general, who perceived that the king was full as perfidious as he suspected. Upon this he appealed to him to remember the promises he had made to the factor, that within twenty days he would furnish cargoes for his whole fleet, and that now two months had elapsed, and only two ships loaded: he understood the reason: he had been patient to little effect, and now saw the matter was not near a conclusion. He had been promised a cargo before every stranger, and he with sorrow saw the Moors preferred: it was necessary, therefore, he should return to Portugal. The king returned a prevaricating answer, and seemed to express great indignation that his orders were disobeyed, alledging that the Moorish traffic was without his concurrence, and threatening punishment on the offenders; and immediately commanded the contraband ships to be seized. The Moors willing to involve the Portuguese in difficulties, imposed upon them the task of seizing the ship which was openly loaded by a principal Moor, and it was hinted to the factor, that he could not obtain his wish without this measure was adopted.

The factor, imposed upon by these delusive proposals, sent word to the captain-general of what he had been informed; adding, that as the king had given his licence, it would be proper to seize the Moorish ships. The captain-general finding what kind



of people he had to deal with, therefore answered the factor, that this measure would be a pretext for the Moors to rise against them. The factor however, urged the danger of the merchandise they had already gotten; at the same time promising to answer all the expence and damage himself. The captain-general, unwillingly, at last acceded to his proposal, and December 16, sent to the Moorish ship a command to depart, in pursuance of the will of the king.

These measures falling in with the wish of the Moors, offered a fit opportunity of breaking with the Portuguese: they began by the most furious outrages and tumultuous proceedings; they ran to the king with complaints, declaring the covetousness of the Portuguese to be greater than that of thieves and pirates. The pretended friends of the factor also joined in the complaint, and after blaming the king for licensing them, demanded to make retaliation. The king, as inconstant as unfaithful, granted their request, and the whole city was in an instant confusion. They took to their arms, and ranged about like wild beasts; they then attacked the factory, which was walled round like a castle, about the height of a man on horseback. In this place were about seventy Portuguese, among whom were friar Henrique and his company of friars. The Portuguese were possessed of only eight cross-bows, besides a few rapiers. As soon as they perceived the approach of the Moors, they resorted to the gate of the factory, and perceiving only a few of the enemy, they imagined them only to be wranglers, and prepared to defend their gate with their cloaks and rapiers only; but seeing the power of the Moors increase, and annoyed by their weapons, the factor ordered the gate to be shut, imagining this would be sufficient to disperse the rabble, whom they might attack from their wall. At the shutting of the gate, seven of them were slain, fighting valiantly. In this conflict several of the Portuguese were hurt, and four slain: however, those that remained, healthy and wounded, went upon the wall of the factory to defend themselves, and attack the enemy with their cross-bows. The Moors however increasing, and assisted by the presence of several nayres, Ares Corea found it impossible to make head against such numbers, and caused a flag to be displayed on the top of the factory, to inform the captain-general of his situation. As soon as the signal was perceived by him, he was much grieved, having been let blood, and therefore could not personally assist them; but he sent Sancho de Toar, with all the boats of the fleet, who perceiving the force of the enemy, durst not go too near shore, lest their almadias should overpower him, and make his men prisoners. However, he perceived the bravery of the Portuguese on shore, who, though few, bravely withstood the enemy, till a machine was brought that battered down their wall, and they were obliged to flee at a back door of the factory. They fought to gain the ships boats, but the enemy perceiving their intention, intercepted them, and in the conflict Ares Corea and fifty men were killed and taken prisoners; twenty only escaped by swimming, among whom was friar Henrique, and a son of Ares Corea, about eleven years of age.

The captain-general, compleatly exasperated against the king, and imagining a poor reception at Cochin, on account of taking their ship, seriously resolved to revenge himself of these Moors, if the king did not make some compensation for the late outrage. He found the king disinclined to do this, and, on the contrary, not only countenanced what had been done, but seized all that remained in the factory to his own use, to the amount of four thousand ducats, and all the Portuguese that remained alive in his possession, he made captives.

The



The neglect of sending any apology, determined the captain-general, in a council of war, immediately to do himself ample justice, before the Moors could be in a readiness to retaliate. He ordered his fleet to board ten great ships which lay in the harbour full of Moors. These at first defended themselves, but so ineffectually, that they were overpowered, and many of them killed and wounded by the Portuguese. Several of those that remained, leaped into the sea, and were drowned; others hid themselves in the ships, and were taken alive, to serve as mariners in the fleet. The ships thus seized, were laden with merchandise, which had been hidden in them, besides three elephants, which the captain-general caused to be killed and salted for provision. Upon examination, six hundred Moors were found to be killed.

The ships being lightened of their contents, were set on fire in the face of the city, and in the sight of the Moors, who approached in their almadias to succour them; but so weak were their efforts, that they were bravely repulsed by the Portuguese, who drove them to their city with considerable loss. The king was much grieved at the loss of the ships, more especially as he could not send to succour them.

The captain-general, not contented with burning the ships, caused his fleet to be anchored in the night as near the shore as possible, with their boats before them, that they might come as close as possible to command the city. As soon as morning appeared, the great ordnance were discharged against the town, which the enemy perceiving, returned volleys of shot from their small artillery, but with such little execution, that their whole town was one scene of confusion. The palace, temples, and chief buildings were among the devastation. The king fled with precipitation, and narrowly escaped being shot, a nayre being killed close to his heels. This destruction lasted a day, and whilst it was transacting, two ships of war made their approach, but on the formidable appearance of the Portuguese fleet, they departed without fighting. The captain-general made after them with all his fleet to Panderane, a port at a small distance, where there were seven others of the Moors to assist them. As the fleet could not come near the shore, they left them; and the captain-general contenting himself with the exploit at Calicut, and being late for his voyage to Portugal, sailed towards Cochin, with the idea of taking in his lading there, as it abounded with more pepper than Calicut.

The captain-general being under sail for Cochin, took two Moorish ships that had failed as near the shore as possible, for fear of the Portuguese. Having emptied them of rice, which they contained, he set fire to them, and continuing his voyage, arrived on the 20th of December at Cochin, which standeth in the province of Malabar, nineteen leagues south of Calicut, and nine degrees towards the north.

Its situation is along a river, in which the sea enters, by which means the city stands upon a sort of island, and is difficult of access but by particular ways. It has a large and safe port, which lies before the mouth of this river. The surrounding land is watry and low, and formed into islands. The provisions are scarce, but in general fresh. The city is built after the manner of Calicut, and is inhabited by several considerable Moorish merchants.

Except in pepper this country is inferior in merchandise to Calicut. The king is a Pagan, and very poor, nor can he coin money in his city. It is tributary to the king of Calicut, for at every succession of the kings of Calicut, the king of Cochin is obliged to hold his kingdom at the discretion of the other. He is also bound to fight the enemies of the king of Calicut, and embrace his religious persuasion.

The



The captain-general having anchored, sent Michael Jogue a baptised Pagan, to inform the king of Cochin of what had passed at Calicut, and offered to traffic with him for the commodities which Cochin offered; and if this did not meet with the king's approbation, he would purchase for ready money whatever he wished to dispose of; he therefore wished he would give him lading for four of his ships.

The king's answer was very amicable: he was happy the Portuguese were arrived at this port; he had heard of their valour, and they might traffic on their own terms; without fear they might send ashore whom they pleased, who might travel over his country, without molestation, to provide their lading: and for the assurance of the rectitude of his intentions, he deputed two principal nayres as hostages, upon condition that every day they should change them for two others, as all such as fed on ship-board were not suffered any more to approach the king's presence. The captain-general was much pleased with this message and conduct, and therefore immediately sent Gonfallo Gil Barbosa, whom he had sent with Ares Corea, as his factor. For his scrivener he sent Lorenzo Moreno, and Maderade Alcusia for interpreter; he also appointed them four banished men as attendants.

The king having notice of the approach of the factor, sent the rogidor of the city to receive him, accompanied by many noblemen to conduct him to the king. There was much difference in the circumstances and magnificence of this king and the king of Calicut. His house was nothing but bare walls, wherein he sat closed by a sort of grating, in the form of an amphitheatre, with which the whole house was also encompassed. The factor, on being presented, gave the king the gift which the captain-general had sent, which was a basin of silver to wash his hands in, full of saffron; a large ewer of silver, full of rose-water; and a number of branches of coral. The present was joyfully received, and many acknowledgments made to the donor; and after the king had talked some time with the factor and Lorenzo Moreno, he commanded them to be lodged, as well as the three banished men. The captain-general, however, would not consent that any more should disembark; for he judged the fewer there remained on land, the loss would be less considerable, should a like disaster happen at this place as at Calicut. But his fears were ill founded; the king of Cochin seemed a man inclined to virtue, and this idea was not ill-founded, as afterwards, by his means, not only the king of Portugal, but the whole Christian faith were profited.

Whilst the captain-general staid in this place, two Christian Indians, natives of Crangalor, near Cochin, and brothers, paid him a visit, and expressed a desire to see Portugal, and from thence to go to Rome to visit the pope, and the sepulchre at Jerusalem. Being pleased with their conversation, and their account of the Christian religion professed among them, he gladly received them, and ordered them a good cabin in his ship, to conduct them to Portugal.

There came also to him messengers from the kings of Cananor and Coulan, great potentates in the kingdom of Malabar, inviting him to traffic with them at a much cheaper rate than at Cochin. He received the messengers very amicably, but informed them he could not at this time visit them, as he had begun his merchandise at Cochin; but at his next return he would pay them proper attention. As soon as he had taken in his lading, a fleet of twenty-five great ships were discovered, besides smaller vessels. The king of Cochin having notice of this, immediately acquainted the captain-general that the fleet consisted of fifteen thousand men, who came with the sole purpose of seeking him out, and therefore, if he stood in need of assistance, he



he would be ready to supply him. The captain-general declared he stood not in need of his offer; that with the power he already had, and the divine assistance, he would give them to understand the ill advice they had taken, for that he had well experienced their strength. The captain-general now prepared to attack the enemy, who had been scouring up and down the seas, and having his sails spread, he departed with the pledges from the king of Cochin, but with the intent of restoring them on his return.

At his departure a great storm suddenly arose with a contrary wind, A. D. 1501. so that he was obliged to return. The day following, January 10, the wind veered about: the captain-general wishing to attack the enemy, again prepared for battle, but suddenly missed one of his largest ships, the captain of which was Sancho de Toar, who had been missed through the darkness of the night. The want of this ship counteracted his intention of attacking the Moorish fleet, and for good reason, his fleet being sickly, and men few; and that of the Moors as many in number as had been represented by the king of Cochin.

The wind being fair for the voyage to Portugal, and contrary for Cochin, he set sail, making way into the sea with his whole fleet. The fleet of the enemy followed all that day till night, when they lost sight of each other. Pursuing his course, it was necessary to comfort the two nayres that were delivered to him for pledges, who at last fell to their victuals, having eaten nothing for five days. On the 15th of January he came within sight of Cananor, lying north from Cochin on the coast of Malabar, thirty-one leagues.

Cananor is a great city, consisting of houses made of earth, and covered with broad stone or slate: it is a place of considerable merchandize; has a good bay, but no great trade in pepper; yet they have great quantities of ginger, cardamums, tamarinds, mirobolans, cassia fistula, &c. Belonging to this city are pools of water, in which subsist lagartos, resembling crocodiles in the Nile; they destroy men; their heads are large, with double rows of teeth; their breath as sweet as musk, and their bodies covered with scales. This city also produces adders, whose breath is even poisonous; and bats as large as kites, resembling in other respects a fox. On these bats the natives feed, for they are good and pleasant eating. Here are also plenty of fish, flesh, and fruit: their rice is imported from other places. The king is a pagan and a bra-min; he is accounted one of the three of the province of Malabar, but is not so considerable as the kings of Calicut or Coulan.

Here the captain-general cast anchor, not only because he had been invited by the king, but that he wanted to lade his ships with cinnamon, of which he had none on board. He took in here four hundred quintals, (each about one hundred weight) and refused more: the king supposed he was in want of money, and acquainted him he would trust him much more, if he would take it, for he had heard of the fair dealings of the Portuguese, and held them in high respect. The captain-general thanked him for his liberal offer, and acquainted him that he would inform the king of Portugal of the good-will he had towards him, and assured him of his friendship.

After this the king delivered him an ambassador, whom he sent to the king of Portugal to cement the friendship thus commenced between them.

In the midst of that gulph, on the last of January, the captain-general took a large ship laden with merchandize, but perceiving it belonged to the king of Cambaya, he declined to make prize of it, but sent word to that king, that his coming into the Indies was



not to make war, except with the king of Calicut, for that he had broken the peace made with him. However, he took from the ship a pilot to conduct him out of the gulph.

Following their course in this tempest, they passed by Melinda, but could not harbour there, nor at any place, till he arrived at Mozambique, which he took in his way, as well for want of water, as to repair his ships, which were all leaky.

Mean time Sancho de Toar was sent to discover Sofala, from whence he was to return to Portugal with an account of the place. The ships being all in readiness, they returned toward Cape Buena Esperanza, where another severe storm overtook them: there was cast overboard out of a ship her great pieces of ordnance, which ship was never seen again in the course of that voyage.

After so many and dreadful storms, and other great dangers, he doubled the cape May 22, being Whitsunday, and pursuing the voyage, came to anchor at Cape Verde, where he found Diego Dias, whose company he had before lost, when he went towards the Indies: he had been driven to the Red Sea, where he had been obliged to winter, and lost his boat. Here most of his men died, and as the pilot durst not venture to carry him to the Indies, returned towards Portugal. Having ventured out to sea, his company had been reduced to seven, through hunger and fatigue, not being able to guide their sails.

The captain-general seeing there came no more ships, departed towards Lisbon, where he arrived the last day of July. After him arrived the ship that had lost the ordnance at Cape Buena Esperanza; and Sancho de Toar, who had been sent to discover Sofala. He related that it was a small island, standing near to the firm land; that it was inhabited by black men, called Cares; that the land produced gold, and there were mines of that metal: that it was the resort of the Moors for that merchandise, their barter being of small value. He also brought a Moor with him, which was given as a pledge for one of his men, who had been sent to view the inland country. The information of this Moor was very considerable. Including this last ship, there returned to Portugal only six of the twelve that had gone for the Indies, the other six having been lost.

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Osorio says, that at Brasil, Cabral being pleased with the stupid, though honest simplicity of this people, went ashore. He ordered an altar to be erected under the shade of a large tree; here mass was performed, and a sermon preached suitable to the occasion: nor were the natives excluded from these religious rites. During the whole ceremony, they seemed to be wrapt up in silent admiration; and, by their outward gestures, appeared to be moved with a sense of religion.

When Cabral was about to return to the fleet, they followed him with the highest joy; this they expressed by singing, by sounding trumpets, by throwing arrows into the air; and with uplifted hands, in a kind of rapture, they seemed to thank God for the arrival of this people in their country. In short, their transport was so excessive, that it carried them almost to a degree of distraction: many of them waded after Cabral into the sea, till they were up to the breast; some swam after him; others went in boats to the ships, nor would they move from them without the greatest difficulty. Whilst Cabral lay at anchor here, till he laid in a fresh supply of water and provisions, a very uncommon sort of fish was thrown ashore, which not a little surprised



surprised the people. In thickness, it was equal to that of a large hoghead; and, in length, about twice as much. Its head and eyes resembled those of a hog; its ears were not unlike an elephant's; it had no teeth; the skin was about an inch thick, covered all over with bristles; the tail was about five feet in length.

The admiral ordered a marble pillar to be set up, like those which Gama had fixed in several places. He called the country Santa Cruz, but it afterwards received the name of Brazil.

Oforio's account of Brazil contains some curious particulars unnoticed by others. It lies on the south of the line; is very extensive, and some parts are almost adjoining to that tract of land called Peru, which belongs to the kings of Spain. The country is fertile, pleasant, and so healthy, that the inhabitants make no use of medicines; for almost all who die here, are not cut off by any distemper, but worn out by age. Here are many large rivers, besides a vast number of delightful springs. The plains are large and spacious, and afford excellent pasture. The harbours are extremely commodious, and easy of access; and ships may ride in safety in the most boisterous weather. In short, the whole country affords a most beautiful prospect, being diversified with hills and vallies, and these covered with thick shady woods, stocked with great variety of trees, many of which the Portuguese were quite strangers to: of these there was one of a particular nature, the leaves of which, when cut, send forth a kind of balsam. The trees used in dying scarlet, grow here in vast plenty, and to a great height. The soil likewise produces the most useful plants; particularly that one called *sancta*, which cures ulcers, removes shortness of breath, heals festered wounds threatening to infect the whole body, and cures many distempers when the art of medicine can avail nothing.

The natives, as we have said above, are of a black colour, with long soft hair. They appear all to be beardless, for with great care they pluck the hairs from their faces, with instruments like tweezers. They are strangers to letters, as well as religion; are bound by no laws, nor under the government of any prince; but when engaged in a war, they choose for their general the man whom they know to be the bravest, and most skilled in warlike affairs. The generality of this people wear no cloaths, though the nobility are covered from the waist to the knees with skins of parrots, and other birds of various colours. Their heads are also adorned with caps made of feathers. The women dress and comb their hair with a good deal of nicety: the men shave theirs from the forehead to the crown. Those who affect to deck themselves with some kind of elegance, bore holes through their ears, nostrils, lips, and other parts; there they fix precious stones of various colours. The women, in like manner, adorn themselves with little shells, which they account to be of great value. In war they make use of bows, and shoot with so much dexterity, that they seldom miss whatever part of the body they aim at. Their arrows are not pointed with steel, but with the bones of fish; these make such an impression, that they will pierce through the thickest boards. They get their food by hunting, but are far from being nice in their eating; for they will often live upon monkeys, lizards, snakes, and mice. The boats they use are made of the bark of large trees, and of such a size, that they will contain thirty men. When they go a fishing, some row the boat, whilst others beat the water, so as to frighten the fish, which will then swim up to the surface, and are caught in large dry hollow pumpkins, placed in the water for that purpose. They sow no corn, making their bread of the root of a certain plant, about the size of that



called purslain; this root, however, is deadly poison, if ate before it is properly prepared. In order to extract the poisonous juice, they pound and squeeze it with great violence, then dry it in the sun: they afterwards grind it in mills to a kind of flour, of which they make wholesome and well tasted bread. From this likewise they distil a kind of liquor not unlike ale, of which when they have drunk to excess, they will run into the most mad and mischievous actions. They are great observers of augury, and believe much in forcerers. There are a certain set of men amongst them called pages, whom they hold in high veneration, and consult in dubious affairs. These men generally carry an arrow, upon the top of which is fixed a gourd, cut in the shape of a man's head; within this they often light some herbs that send forth a smoke, which they draw up their nostrils till they become quite intoxicated; for such is the nature of these herbs, that the smoke will produce the same effect as wine when drunk to excess: then they will reel, gnash their teeth, foam at the mouth, roll their eyes, and by their frantic motions, strike a terror into all around them: every spectator imagines all this to proceed from a divine inspiration; and if any person (to whom one of these men thus intoxicated, has foretold some dreadful calamity) should meet with any disaster, they impute it to prediction. Wheresoever these bacchanalians go, they are received with universal acclamations: the streets are lined with crowds on each side to behold them; music is performed, and dances led up in their honour. The most beautiful women, married as well as unmarried, are given up to their possession; for these wretched mortals are of opinion, that if they are in favour with these men, all things will go on prosperously.

In this country daughters are not allowed to be married to their fathers, nor sisters to their brothers. All others may be joined in wedlock without distinction. The husbands may upon any slight offence, turn off their wives, and if they find them guilty of adultery, have a right to kill them, or sell them as slaves. Parents have no power over their daughters, these being under subjection to their brothers, who can sell them whenever they please: and, there being no money in that country, they barter them for such things as they want for use or pleasure. The natives in general are extremely averse to labour, and much addicted to luxury and ease: when not engaged in war, they spend their whole time in feasting, singing, and dancing to a most immoderate degree. In their dances they form a ring, but they do not move round, but always remain in the same place. In their songs they observe no notes or rules, for all is performed in a manner that is rude and unharmonious. In these they celebrate their warlike exploits, and bestow the highest encomiums on military courage: to singing they likewise add whistling, and at the same time with their feet beat the ground in a kind of transport. Whilst some are engaged in dancing, others are continually supplying them with liquor, till at last they become so overpowered with drinking, that they fall down in a state of insensibility.

Their houses are built of wood, thatched with reeds, and surrounded with a double or triple wall, because of the frequent wars they are exposed to. In one of these houses (for they are all very long) several families dwell. Those who live in this manner together, are thought to be connected by a kind of sacred tie, for with pleasure they will risk their lives in defence of each other. When these people enter into war, it is not to defend nor enlarge their territories, but to maintain their dignity, when they have been slighted by any neighbouring or distant nation: then they choose a council, composed chiefly of men advanced in age, who in their youth have signa-  
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lized themselves in war. Before these enter into consultation about their affairs, it is the custom for every one to drink a pretty large quantity of liquor. When these old men have determined any thing in regard to peace or war, all acquiesce in their determination with the greatest cheerfulness. They choose for their general, as we have said above, the man who is in the highest esteem for warlike courage: but if the person whom they fix upon should betray the least mark of cowardice, they immediately strip him of his honour, and substitute another in his place. The general goes round all their houses, calling aloud to the inhabitants, and inviting them to war with encouraging speeches: he tells them in what manner every man ought to be accoutred, and endeavours to animate them with courage and intrepidity. They not only use bows and arrows, but also swords of a very hard wood, with which they cut and maim their enemies in a terrible manner. In war they fight much by stratagem, and their chief aim, if possible, is to fall upon the enemy by surprise. The captives taken in battle, especially if old men, they immediately eat; the rest are put in fetters. They bury their own people who have fallen in battle, with great solemnity, lamenting over their bodies, and extolling the deceased for their bravery and courage. They allow their captives plenty of all sorts of provisions, nay, even furnish them with women: but upon any grand rejoicing, they bring forth one of these unhappy wretches, such as is most fat and plump, and tie him with ropes. The woman who has been the prisoner's mistress during his captivity, as a mark of her affection, first fixes the rope about his neck, and drags him along to be made a sacrifice. The men coming next, tie ropes about his waist, legs, and arms; then fix him to a pillar, where they paint him with various colours, and adorn him with feathers. But lest they should appear too cruel, they often loosen the ropes, and cheer his spirits with abundance of meat and liquor. In the mean time the whole people are publicly feasting, dancing, drinking, and singing, for three days successively. On the fourth, the hands and legs of the captive are untied, and he is led in solemnity towards a cave. Several women and boys pull him along by the ropes about his waist, whilst others pelt him in his way with oranges and all kind of fruits: in his turn, he picks them up and throws them back again. During the whole scene, he seems undaunted, nay, appears to be joyful, and drinks plentifully. The spectators insult him with the most abusive language, telling him, that he shall now suffer punishment for all his crimes; that they will kill him, cut him to pieces, and eat him. On the other hand, he replies with boldness, that he has always acted the part of a brave man, and will die as such, bidding defiance to all their tortures. If they do kill him, he has likewise slain many of their people: if they do glut themselves with his flesh, it gives him some satisfaction to think he had been often regaled on the mangled bodies of the friends of those who were to be his murderers: besides, that he had many brothers and relations, who he knew would not suffer his death to go unrevenged.

The captive is at last brought to the cave, where the person who had kept him in custody, at the same time enters with a large sword in his hand, his body painted, and his neck adorned with feathers; he dances, sings, whistles, and brandishes his sword in a threatening manner. The captive in the mean while tries to catch the weapon from him, but this he is unable to compass, being so confined by the ropes, which the boys and women pull on each side, that he cannot move from the place where he stands. Whilst he remains in this posture, the executioner stuns him with several blows, and at last with one terrible stroke cleaves his skull, and scatters his brains.

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He afterwards cuts off his hands. The women then advance, and taking up the body, throw it upon a fire of wood, where it lies till all the hairs are scorched off: then they open the belly, and take out the entrails; the rest of the body they cut into small pieces, which these barbarians feast upon with the highest satisfaction.

There is likewise another sort of people in this country, of the same brutal and savage disposition, who live in the woods and mountains, and are continually waging war with those who live in houses. No crime is punished amongst them except murder. The relations of the murderer are obliged to deliver him up to those of the deceased, who by their nearness of blood have a right to demand justice: these accordingly put the criminal to death; then the relations of both, with mutual sorrow and lamentation, join in performing the funeral rites over the two bodies: this ceremony being finished, they feast together, and all animosity being laid aside, they become hearty friends. But if it happens that the person who has killed another should make his escape, then his daughters, sisters, or some of his nearest kinswomen, are delivered up as slaves to the relations of the deceased; and thus at last the injury is forgot, and all resentment buried in oblivion.

I thought it might not be improper thus to describe at large the manners of this barbarous nation, that from thence we may see what gross and shocking absurdities mankind will be apt to run into, when uncivilized by letters, but above all, when not enlightened by the sacred truths of religion.

Osorio says, that after the storm the remaining seven ships proceeded, but in a short time were again separated by hard weather; however, at last they all met together on the 27th of July, except one which had put back to Portugal, with only six of her men surviving: the rest of their crew had been cut off by thirst, hunger, and various other calamities.

The change in the king of Quiloa's conduct Osorio thus accounts for. When things were about to be settled on this amicable footing, the Arabian merchants interfered with their wonted malice, accusing the Portuguese of wickedness and cruelty: they said they were astonished at the simplicity of the king, in reposing confidence in a crew of pirates, who, if their mischievous schemes were not frustrated, would, under a mask of friendship, in a few years strip him of all his possessions. These mischievous calumnies wrought such an effect on the king, that he not only laid aside all thoughts of making a league with the Portuguese, but even contracted the most inveterate hatred against them. He accordingly ordered the city to be reinforced with soldiers, the garrison to be strengthened, and all such other preparations to be made as are usual in sea ports, when the enemy is in the harbour.

The same author relates, whilst the ships were taking in their lading with great forwardness, two Indian Christians, of the city of Cranganor, about twenty miles distant from thence, came to Cochin: these men being instructed in the gospel propagated in India by St. Thomas, had for many years adhered to the Christian faith with great zeal and constancy; they waited on Cabral, and intreated him to carry them to Portugal, that they might travel from thence to Rome and Jerusalem, to visit those places where Christ and his apostles had formerly preached. The admiral granted their request with great cheerfulness.

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De Barros says, that when king Emanuel acquainted his subjects with the discoveries of Vasco de Gama, and when they saw the rich productions he had brought home,



home, such as pepper, cloves, cinnamon, other spices, and precious stones, their amazement was great, and the value of the commodities hitherto brought by the Venetians was much lessened.

That it was determined in council to send a powerful fleet in the month of March, which was then known to be the proper season for sailing from Europe to India. He describes the ceremonies at the embarkation much in the same manner as Castagneda.

He says, that the ship which separated from the fleet, was commanded by Luis Perez, and was obliged to return to Lisbon. That in order to avoid the calms which prevail on the coast of Guinea, and the better to secure his passage round the Cape of Good Hope, he made a stretch out to sea, and by that means discovered a new land. On the 24th of April, when the pilots by their reckoning judged they were four hundred and fifty leagues eastward of the coast of Guinea, and in ten degrees south, they were so prepossessed with an idea that there was not any continent to the westward of Africa, that they concluded it to be an island.

He says, here Cabral left two criminals to learn the language of the natives, which succeeded so well, that one of them was afterwards of great service. That after the comet before spoken of, disappeared, a terrible dark cloud arose from the north, which obscured the whole sky, and falling calm, it seemed as if the cloud was absorbing every breath of air, to burst with the greater fury. This the fleet fatally experienced, for there was such a dreadful hurricane in a moment, that the ships had no time to hand a sail. The consequences of which have been already told. Nothing, continues he, could equal the horror of this storm; such darkness prevailed, and the noise of the sea was so great, that they could neither see nor hear each other, and for twenty days were not able to shew any sail, and constantly in more or less danger of foundering.

Cabral on the 16th of July, found himself and six of his fleet off Sofala, in so deplorable a situation, as to require him rather to return, than to attempt new discovery or conquest. His people murmured at the thoughts of proceeding; however, the general appeased them. At Mozambique, to which he proceeded, he was much better received than Vasco de Gama had been, and during the six days he remained there, he repaired his ships.

Cabral also was well received by the king of Melinda, who besides his former good intention to the Portuguese, was highly pleased with the civilities shewed to the scheik Fatima, and also to see so great a force in his port, capable to assist him against the king of Mombassa, whose enmity he had incurred by his civilities to De Gama. At the interview between the king and Cabral, Barros says the king submitted himself and country to the will and pleasure of the king of Portugal.

While Cabral staid at Anchediva, the inhabitants brought such provisions as the country afforded in great plenty, and although they purchased abundance, and gave trifles for them, yet the people were so poor, and importunate for the Portuguese to purchase, that they became quite troublesome. The natives paid great attention to all the ceremonies of devotion which the Portuguese used, but the priests not knowing their language, could not convert them.

De Barros says, Cabral did not demand hostages of the king of Calicut for the people he first put on shore, to shew the confidence he placed in him. And when he fixed on the hostages by name, whom he demanded as a security for his own person, the



the king made excuses, that they were bramins, who could not from a point of religion, eat or sleep out of their own houses, and especially on ship board. However, from a dread he stood in of the ships, he at last consented to an interview, which has been already fully described.

He says, that Cabral sent with Corea father Henry, with the other priests, to enter on the conversion of the people, which he recommended might be proceeded on very judiciously, as the people were much given to idolatry. But he adds, that those who came, did it only out of curiosity, and therefore there was little done either for conversion or trade.

Of the unfortunate affair of the destruction of the factory, De Barros relates that Cabral had arrived in this port three months, and had not yet got more spices than to load two of his vessels, and every quintal of such spices had cost him a great deal more than it ought, by the delays and artifices made use of by the king's officers, who had been appointed to load the ships, and all instigated by the Moors, and principally by Coge Comecery. He ordered Corea to make heavy complaints of these delays to the king, and to tell him that the Moors got spices in the night to load their ships. The king answered, if that was the case, he gave Cabral leave to seize any ship that he could find, and if they found any, he would likewise severely punish his officers for such conduct. With this message Cabral lost no time to make the search, and the next day he ordered his boats to go on board a vessel which was said to have some, which was on the 16th of November; but on searching, none was found, but she was loaded with provisions. The Portuguese began to think that the Moors propagated about these things merely to make them commit some outrage, by which disputes might arise, and some fatal consequences ensue, which, in fact, succeeded to their wish; for on the Portuguese rummaging this Moorish ship, the Moors all left her, and went ashore in a tumultuous manner, and raising the populace, fell upon some of Ares Corea's men, who were innocently walking about the city, and murdered them. Pursuing their intent of destruction, they made towards the factory, and though those of the Portuguese that could, got into it, it was not strong enough for defence, to hold out any time: a flag was hoisted to give intelligence to Cabral of their danger, but before any assistance could be sent them, they were most of them killed in defending the factory, and of those few that made towards the shore, to get on board the ships, many were killed before they reached the same; for the inhabitants had the night before taken precautions to dig holes near the beach, that those who might run for safety towards the ships, might fall in them, and be more easily destroyed. The number that got to the boats, all of which had been sent to protect their countrymen, did not exceed twenty; amongst them was friar Henry, and four others of his ecclesiastics: he was much wounded.



## CHAPTER II.

*Voyages of Cortereal; of Americus Vesputius towards the South Pole; and of De Nova to the East Indies.*

A. D. 1500. **E**MANUEL this year granted a general licence to Gaspar Cortereal to discover Newfoundland, which Cabot had coasted about three years before, as will be mentioned in the English voyages. He sailed from the island of Tercera, with two ships, well appointed, at his own cost, proceeded to fifty degrees north, and came safe back to Lisbon. Oforio relates this story with some difference; he says, that as almost all the places towards the south had been found out by the Portuguese, Cortereal, or Corberegál, as he calls him, determined to try his success towards the north; that he sailed from Lisbon, and came in sight of a country, which, from the beautiful verdure of the place, he called Green Land. The inhabitants were barbarous and savage, their complexions white, but by age and the excessive coldness of the climate, is by degrees changed into a brown colour. They are surprisingly swift, very expert in archery, and the arrows they use being hardened in the fire, will wound as deep as those pointed with steel. They clothed themselves with the skins of beasts, living in caves or little huts, covered with straw. They have no religion, though at the same time they are great observers of augury. They take wives in marriage, but being of a jealous disposition, are extremely distrustful of their honour and chastity.—This was the account which Cortereal gave of that people on his return to Portugal.

A. D. 1501. Being full of hopes that he should still make further discoveries on that coast, he sailed on a second voyage, but never returned, nor was it ever known what became of him. His brother Michael, who had a considerable place under king Emanuel, being moved with a deep concern for the loss of so near a relation, was resolved to make some enquiry after him; and accordingly set out the next year with two ships for the same country. This gentleman suffered the like fate, for he was never more heard of.

The king was much affected with the loss of two noblemen of such distinguished worth, and made all possible enquiry after them; but the ships which he sent for that purpose returned, without being able to learn any thing concerning those unhappy persons. There was a third surviving brother, Vasco John Cortereal, who entertaining some hopes that his brother might be still alive, wanted to undertake the same voyage, but his majesty would not permit him to go, lest he too might meet the like unhappy fate.

The same year, Galvam mentions, three ships sailed to discover the Brazils; but we rather suppose in consequence of the intelligence received by the caravel dispatched by Cabral; he has preserved no particulars of the voyage. We may conclude with reason that these were the three ships, in one of which Americus Vesputius went his third voyage.

This celebrated man was so little satisfied with the recompence he received from king Ferdinand for the important services he conceived he had rendered him, that he retired to Seville much discontented; when Emanuel king of Portugal learning the cause of his discontent, judged of what importance it was to have so useful a man



in his service. Americus being privately engaged by this prince, went to the court of Portugal, where he formed the bold project to attempt penetrating as near as he could to the antarctic pole. On his return he began to put the relation of his discoveries in order, which (as has been said) he dedicated to the king of Sicily. The third voyage, which we are now going to relate, is composed of two letters written by him from Lisbon to Peter Soderini, Gonfaloniere of Florence. The original was written in Spanish, translated into Latin, and published at Basle, also translated into Italian, and printed by Ramusio, from whence we have translated it\*.

### F I R S T L E T T E R.

“WHILST I was at Seville, enjoying some repose after the many hardships I had gone through during two voyages which I had undertaken to the West Indies, by order of his serene highness the king of Castile, and desirous of again returning to the land of Perlas, fortune not yet satisfied with what I had undergone, inspired his serene highness Emanuel king of Portugal with the idea of employing me, and being at Seville, without the most distant idea of going to Portugal, a messenger arrived with letters, bearing the royal signet, ordering me to repair to Lisbon, to confer with him, promising at the same time to load me with many favours. At that time I was advised not to go, and therefore dispatched the messenger, saying, that I was indisposed, but that as soon as I was recovered, should his highness still persist in wishing to employ me, I should be ready to obey his commands. As soon as his highness perceived he could not have me, he determined upon sending Juliano del Bartolomeo, of Lisbon, with orders at all events to bring me. On the arrival of Juliano, at Seville, being earnestly pressed, I was induced to comply with the royal mandate.

“My conduct was highly blamed by all who knew me, in quitting Castile, where I had received every honour, and was in great esteem with the king, and still more for having departed without taking leave.

“Upon being presented to this prince, he seemed to be highly pleased at my arrival, and requested me to go in company with three of his ships, which were then in readiness to proceed on new discoveries; and forasmuch as the request of a sovereign amounts to a command, I complied with the order.

“On the 10th of May, we quitted the port of Lisbon, with three  
A. D. 1501. ships in company, and steered for the islands of the Great Canaries, which we passed without stopping in sight of them. From hence we coasted along the western coast of Africa, on which coast we fished, and caught a kind of fish called Pargos.

“We remained here three days, and then steering for the coast of Ethiopia, we entered a port called Beseneghi, situated under the torrid zone, in fourteen degrees and an half north latitude, in the first climate, where we remained eleven days, taking in wood and water, intending to sail to the south-west through the Atlantic.

“We quitted this port in Ethiopia, and sailed with a south wind, steering a point to the southward, so that in sixty-seven days we saw land, distant from the above port seven hundred leagues south; and in these sixty-seven days we had the worst weather ever known in the memory of any navigator, on account of the heavy rains,



storms, and misfortunes we met with, because we were in a bad season ; on account of the course of our sailing, being constantly near the line, in the month of June, which is the winter, when we found the day and night equal, and that we had the shade perpetually towards mid-day. It pleased the Almighty to shew us new land on the 17th of August, when we dropped anchor within half a league of the shore, and hoisted out our small boats, that we might go and discover if the country was inhabited, and by what sort of people. We found it inhabited by a set of people more savage than animals. At first we saw no traces of inhabitants, but from the many footsteps we discerned, we well knew that it was peopled. We took possession of it for his serene highness, and found it to be a delightful country, with a fine aspect, situated beyond the line five degrees to the south ; we then returned to the ships, and being greatly in want of wood and water, we allotted the next day to return on shore, and provide every thing necessary. Upon standing in shore, we saw some of the natives on the summit of a mountain, who stood admiring us, but did not dare come down. They were naked, and of the same colour and make as the others described in the past discoveries made by me for the king of Castile. Every attempt on our part was made to induce them to come down, and speak with us, but we could not secure their confidence, as they seemed resolved not to trust us. Seeing their obstinacy, and the day beginning to close, we returned to our ships, leaving behind us, on the shore, a number of bells, looking-glasses, and other things in sight of them ; and as we were at a distance from them, at sea, they came down from the mountains in quest of the things we had left, and which they regarded with the utmost astonishment. During this day we provided nothing but water ; the day after, in the morning, we could discern from the ships the natives on shore making many fires, and thinking they called us, we went ashore, where we found a great concourse of people assembled together, studiously keeping far from us, at the same time making signs to us to accompany them further in land ; whereupon two of our people asked leave of the captain, offering to risk their persons in accompanying the natives up the country, for the purpose of discovering what sort of people they were, and whether they were in possession of any riches, spices, or drugs : by dint of entreaty the captain at length consented, and having got every thing in readiness, with many things for trade, they left us, with positive orders to return within five days from their departure, as we should wait for them till the expiration of that period. They then took their route in land, and we to our ships to wait for them. Every day the natives came down to the beach, but would hold no converse with us. On the 7th day we went ashore, and found they had brought with them their women ; and immediately on our landing, the men dispatched their women to speak with us ; but perceiving a want of confidence on their part, we determined upon sending to them one of our own people, a young man of good appearance ; and in order to acquire more securely their confidence, we took to our boats, and he remained with the women. Upon joining them, they formed a circle round him, touching him, and admiring him, with evident marks of astonishment ; during which we observed, descending from the mountain, a woman, armed with a large stake, and having reached the spot where the young man stood, she came behind him, and raising the stick, she gave him so severe a blow, that he dropped down instantly dead ; and in a moment the other women took him by the feet, and dragged him towards the mountain ; and the men leaped towards the beach, and with their bows and arrows struck such a panic into our people, that no one dared take to his arms. We then fired four shots from the ship, without reaching



them; but on hearing the report, they all fled towards the mountain, where the women were already arrived, tearing piecemeal the young man, and roasting the pieces at a large fire they had prepared within sight of us, shewing and eating the mangled pieces. At the same time the men made signs, intimating that the other two of our people had been dispatched and devoured in like manner. Great was the pain we suffered in beholding the cruelty they exercised on the dead body. Every one felt for the inhumanity offered to the deceased; and upon a proposal being made that forty of us should land, in order to revenge the cruel death and brutal injury committed on our comrades, the commodore refused his concurrence, and we departed much against our will, and in high dudgeon with our commander for refusing to comply with our wishes.

“ We set sail from this place, kept south-east, the land running in that direction, and made many ports, without seeing any of the natives we wished to converse with. We sailed on till we found the land winding to the southward, and having doubled a cape, to which we gave the name of Cape St. Augustine, we began to steer to the southward. This cape is distant from the place where our people were massacred one hundred and fifty leagues towards the east, and is eight degrees south of the line. In sailing we had one day a view of many of the natives standing on the beach, observing the wonders of our ships; and laying to, we dropped anchor near them, and went ashore in our boats. We found the natives better disposed than the former; and when there was any work to do, the whole was conducted on terms of amity, and unanimity prevailed betwixt us and our new acquaintances. We staid in this place five days, and found here canes of a large size, green and dry, of the height of trees. We determined on carrying from hence a couple of the natives, that they might learn the language: three voluntarily offered to go with us to Portugal; we therefore set sail from this port, always steering to the south, in sight of land, perpetually making some port or other, and speaking with an infinite number of the natives. We steered so far to the south-west, that we were without the tropic of Capricorn, from whence the antarctic pole rose above the horizon thirty-two degrees, and we had already totally lost the Ursa Minor, and the Major was so low, that it barely appeared within the limits of the horizon. We directed our course by the stars of the other antarctic pole, which are numerous, and larger than those of our pole. The greatest part of these I have designed, and principally those of the first magnitude, with a description of the circles they made towards the south pole, and a description of their diameters and semidiameters, as may be seen in the abstract of my navigation. We run along the coast near seven hundred and fifty leagues, one hundred and fifty from the Cape St. Augustine towards the west, and six hundred towards the south; and were I disposed to relate every thing which I saw along the coast, and every thing which occurred, twice the paper would not suffice to contain the whole. The only things we observed on this coast, were immense quantities of brazil wood, cassia, and many natural curiosities, too tedious to mention.

“ Having been already ten months on this voyage, and observed that no mineral whatever was any where to be found, we agreed to depart hence and explore other countries; and a council being held, it was agreed to follow whatever route I should point out; and I had in consequence an unlimited power vested in me. I then ordered that all the sailors and marines should take in a sufficient quantity of wood and water for a six month's provision, a time deemed sufficient by the rest of the officers. Having taken in the necessary provision, we set sail with a south-east wind on the 15th of

of



of February, when the sun approached near the Equinox, and was turning towards our northern hemisphere. We sailed so far with this wind that we found ourselves in so high a latitude, that the antarctic pole was fifty-two degrees above our horizon: we were already distant from the port we had quitted full five hundred leagues to the south-east on the 3d of April. On this day so violent a storm arose, that we were under the necessity of striking our sails, and running before the wind, which was south, with a heavy sail and wind in favour; such was the raging of the sea that the whole crews were alarmed. The nights were long, being fifteen hours in length on the 7th of April, because the sun was at that time verging towards the conclusion of Aries, and in this region it was winter. Whilst we were in the storm of the 7th of April we again saw land, which we run along near twenty leagues, and found it a bold shore: we saw neither harbour or natives; perhaps the last, owing to the degree of cold, which was so intense that the ships crews could not stand it; seeing ourselves in so much danger, and the storm so great that one vessel was hardly distinguishable from the other, on account of the heavy sea and the haziness of the weather, we determined, in concert with the commodore, to make a signal for the squadron to stand off from the land, and make sail for Portugal. This council was happily adopted; for had we delayed that night, we should most infallibly have been lost, for we had the wind full on our quarters; and the day and night following the storm rose to such a pitch that we gave ourselves up for lost, and had recourse to all those ceremonies usual among sailors at such seasons. For five days we run before the wind under our foresail, almost lowered; and in this manner we sailed for two hundred and fifty leagues, always approaching to the line, and entering by degrees upon a climate and sea still more temperate. It pleased the Almighty to deliver us from this danger, and we steered our course between the north and north-east: our intention being to revisit the coast of Ethiopia, which was distant one thousand three hundred leagues through the Atlantic; and with permission of the Almighty we reached land towards the south-west called Sierra Leona, where we staid fifteen days, taking in the necessary refreshment, and from thence we took our departure, steering towards the islands of the Azores, distant from Sierra Leona about seven hundred and fifty leagues; and we reached the said islands the end of July, where we remained fifteen days more, taking in additional provisions. From thence we sailed for Lisbon, and entered port the 7th of September, safe and in good condition, with two ships only, the other being burnt at Sierra Leona, as unfit for the sea.

A. D. 1502.

“ In making this voyage we were about fifteen months and eleven days, and sailed without seeing the North Star or the Urfa Major and Minor, and we steered by the stars of the other pole.”

## S E C O N D L E T T E R.

“ SOME time ago I fully advised you of my return, and if I rightly remember, I gave a succinct account of the several parts of the new-discovered world which I sailed to with the vessels belonging to the king of Portugal; and if they are attentively examined, they will really appear to form a distinct world of themselves. It is not without reason we have called it the *new* world, because the ancients had not the least knowledge of it, and the many things which have been lately discovered by us, surpass



surpafs even their belief. The opinion they maintained was, that beyond the line to the fouthward there was nothing but a vaft and boundlefs fea, with fome iflands, parched and barren. The fea they called the Atlantic. Whenever they admitted a poffibility of there being any land, they infifted upon its being barren and uninhabitable; an opinion totally refuted by the prefent navigation, and clearly demonftrated to be falfe, and deftitute of every appearance of truth; for on the other fide the line I found countries more fertile and fuller of inhabitants than I had found elfewhere, not excepting Afia, Africa, and Europe. Setting afide minute obfervations, we will only give an account of the greater, and fuch as are worthy of attention, and what we perfonally obferved, or heard from perfons worthy to be credited, refpecting thofe new-discovered parts, I will now proceed to relate carefully and ftrictly, adhering to truth, every thing which appears worthy of obfervation.

With good wifhes for the fuccefs of our undertaking, we, by order A. D. 1501. of the king, on the 13th of May, failed from Lifbon, with three armed veffels, in fearch of the new world, and fteering towards the fouth-weft, we failed for twenty months. Of this voyage we fhall relate the order which was obferved in failing. We fteered our courfe for the Fortunate Ifles, at prefent called the Great Canaries; they are in the third climate. From thence, failing through the ocean, we ran along the coaft of Africa and the country of the negroes, as far as the promontory called by Ptolomy Ethiopian, by us named Cape de Verde, by the negroes Bifeneghe, and by the inhabitants Mandangan. This country is within the torrid zone, fourteen degrees towards the north, and inhabited by negroes. Here having refrefhed and repofed, and having taken in all forts of provifions neceffary, we made fail, fteering our courfe towards the antarctic pole, neverthelefs we kept a point to the weft, the wind being eafterly. The many fatigues we underwent in the voyage, the dangers we experienced, the ftorms and tempefts we encountered, I leave to thofe who have experienced to judge, and principally thofe who clearly can difcern the difficulties attending the fearch after any thing in a ftate of uncertainty, the exploring of countries where man never yet has been. In a word, we failed for fixty-feven days, in which time we had many heavy and violent ftorms, for during forty-four days we had nothing but thunder and lightning, with heavy rains and violent hazy weather, and fuch an effect it had on the whole of the crews, that they more than once gave themfelves up to a ftate of abfolute defpondency. After thefe cruel misfortunes, it pleafed the Almighty to have compaffion on us, and foon as the land appeared, the fight of it had fuch an effect on the fpirits of the men, that they appeared once more reanimated; their ftrength, almoft exhausted, in an instant returned, and they again revived, and refumed their functions. On the 7th of Auguft we reached the fhore, and having rendered thanks to God for our deliverance, we, according to cuftom, formally celebrated mafs. The land we had found did not feem to be an ifland, but a continent; becaufe of its immense extent, its limits were not vifible, the land very fertile, and full of inhabitants. Here were every fort of wild fowl, unknown in our parts; we found here alfo many other things, which we have avoided mentioning, leaft we fhould fwell the work to an unreafonable fize. One circumftance, however, I think neceffary not to omit, viz. that it feemed to be an act of Providence that we arrived as we did, for longer we could not have exifted, being in want of ftores, viz. wood, water, bifeuit, falt provifions, cheefe, wine, oil, and every thing elfe neceffary for the fupport of human nature.

“ We



“ We came to a determination amongst ourselves to sail along the coast without losing sight of it. We then sailed till we came to a certain cape which faces the south; this cape, from the place we first discovered land, may be distant about three hundred leagues. In the course of this coasting we frequently landed, and entered into conversation with the natives, as will afterwards appear. I forgot to observe, that Cape de Verde is distant from this new discovered land about seven hundred leagues, notwithstanding I fancied I had sailed above eight hundred leagues, a circumstance easily accounted for from storms, hurricanes, and the ignorance of the pilot, all which tend considerably to lengthen a voyage. We were now arrived, where without my knowledge of cosmography, we should, through the negligence of the man at the helm, have soon finished our earthly course, for there was not a single pilot aboard who knew within fifty leagues where we were; and we should have wandered about without knowing where we went, had I not, regardless of my own safety, and the lives of my comrades, had recourse to the astrolabe and quadrant. On this score I acquired no little glory, and was afterwards held in that estimation with the people, which learned men are sure to meet with in the world from men of discernment and education. I taught them the use of the sea chart, and obliged them to acknowledge that the common pilots, unskilled in cosmography, when compared to me, knew nothing. The cape of this new discovered land which faces the south, inspired us with an anxious wish to explore and attentively examine it; so that with one consent it was resolved to explore this country, and to enquire into the customs and several classes of the inhabitants. We sailed then along the coast for six hundred leagues, every now and then going ashore, and frequently entering into converse with the inhabitants, who received us with great good nature and humanity; influenced by the attention they shewed us, and the simplicity of their manners, we remained amongst them fifteen or twenty days, for no civilized nation could shew more courtesy to strangers than the natives did to us. This continent begins eight degrees from the line, and near the antarctic pole. We sailed so far along this coast, that we passed the Hyema tropic near the antarctic pole seventeen degrees and an half, where the horizon rose fifty degrees. The things I here saw are not known to the men of our times, viz. the people, their customs, humanity, the fertility of the soil, the goodness of the air, the wholesomeness of the climate, the celestial bodies, and principally the fixed stars in the eighth sphere, of which there is not the least mention in ours, nor till now were they known, not even by the most learned among the ancients.

“ This country is better peopled than any I have seen for some time; the natives are mild and domesticated, giving offence to no one; they are perfectly naked as they were born; their bodies are well formed, and finely proportioned; their complexions incline to the copper, which arises from their being naked, and exposed to the heat of the sun's rays; their hair is black, but long and straight. In walking, or any exercise which requires agility, they are exquisitely active: their face is finely turned, and of a pleasing aspect, but they have a singular mode of rendering it ugly, having it pierced, viz. the lips, cheeks, nose and ears, not with one small hole, but many and large ones, and I have frequently observed them with seven holes in the face, each of which was large enough to contain a Damascene plumb; they cut out the flesh, and fill up the hole with small stones, either of marble, alabaster, ivory, or white bone, cut according to each individual's taste, and beautifully formed. So disgusting and horrid is the appearance, that at first sight they appeared monsters. Can  
any



any thing be more disgusting than to see a face swollen out by the size of the stones lodged in the several holes, so that the face sometimes exceeded half a palm in breadth? a circumstance less wonderful, when I can aver having seen the seven stones weigh sixteen ounces. At the ears they wear ornaments of greater value, viz. rings and pearls pendant after the manner of the Egyptians and Indians. These customs were observed by the men only, the women wearing ornaments solely at the ears. The women have also another custom, at which human nature will shudder at the mention of: to gratify their inordinate passions, they give to the men the juice of a certain herb to drink, which as soon as taken, inflates to a violent degree the parts of generation. They have neither wool nor thread, nor do they stand in need of any kind of cloathing, as they all go naked. With them every thing is in common, and patrimony is not known among them. There is neither government nor sovereign, but every one is himself a ruler. Each takes to himself as many wives as he pleases. Procreation is indiscriminately carried on with respect of relationship; the son with the mother, the brother with the sister, and the whole is publicly conducted like the brute creation, and with as little sense of shame; and if a man and a woman chance to meet who never previously had the least knowledge of each other, they fall to, without the least regard to decency. Destitute of reason, and without laws, no compacts are binding. They have neither temples nor any religion, nor even pay adoration to any sort of idols. Their life is a continued scene of unrestrained licentiousness from beginning to end. Traffic and money are equally unknown. The old men by their discourses animate the young ones, and influence them as they please, inspiring them with a martial spirit, when they rush on their foes like tygers on their prey, and if victorious, devour the vanquished; the father devouring the son, or the son the father, according to the chance of war. I once saw a man who boasted not a little of having devoured three hundred men. I also saw a city, where we resided twenty-seven days, where human flesh was salted, hung up to the beams, as in our kitchens we hang up bacon; and they seemed surprized that we did not eat the flesh of our enemies, as they asserted that it excited an appetite, and was of a most delicate flavour. The only arms they have are bows and arrows, with which they wound each other in a most cruel manner, and with a ferocity absolutely brutal. Every nerve was strained on our part, to dissuade them from their barbarous cruelties and savage customs, which advice from time to time they promised to attend to, but as often returned to their original barbarism.

“The women, as I have before observed, though naked, and lasciviously inclined, are by no means ugly; their bodies are well formed, nor are their skins sun-burnt, as some may assert; and though many of them are fat yet no deformity here is seen: and what is worth remarking is, that I never observed any one after bearing many children, who had the breasts hanging down or flabby; and though they have had children, yet is the belly no more wrinkled than that of a virgin; and the parts which modesty forbids us to name, are hardly distinguishable from those of a virgin. As far as we were able to learn, they live many of them to the age of one hundred and fifty years; are seldom sick, and if by chance they should be indisposed, they immediately have recourse to the juice of certain herbs, and are as instantly cured. What I found in this country worthy of observation, was the temperature of the air, the clearness of the sky, the fertility of the ground, and the great longevity of the inhabitants, which may perhaps be accounted for from the east wind, which is here continually



continually blowing, and has there a similar effect with the north wind on us. Fishing is a thing they take great delight in, and indeed fish forms a principal part of their food. In this article nature is singularly bountiful; the sea here abounding with almost every species of fish. They are not fond of the chase, owing to the great number of animals they have, and of which their fear is so great, that they rarely frequent the woods. They have every species of lions, bears, and other animals. The trees grow to an enormous height, and the woods are so close, that the natives never venture in them, as they are naked and unarmed, and therefore unable to cope with the wild beasts.

“ The climate is temperate, and the country fertile and exquisitely beautiful; though the country is in many parts hilly, yet is well watered with numberless rivulets and rivers. In many parts the woods are impassable from the closeness of the trees, and the brush wood is so close, that the wild beasts find a shelter both from the sun and the eye of the passengers. Trees as well as fruits grow here spontaneous and without the least cultivation, in the greatest abundance: the fruits are not of a noxious quality, and are very different from ours. In like manner the earth produces an infinity of herbs and roots, of which the natives make a kind of bread and other eatables. There is a great variety of seeds, but not one of a nature similar to ours in Europe. The ground produces no other metal, gold excepted, of which there is the greatest plenty; though in this our first voyage we carried away none of it, yet we had assurance from the natives that it existed in great abundance, but with them had no value at all. Pearls and precious stones they have in quantities, as I have mentioned above, when speaking of the ornaments of the face and ears; but were this circumstance, as well as many others, treated of at full, this work would be too voluminous. The great Pliny, in his history of natural productions, has not reached a thousandth part of the several species found in this soil. The various sorts of parrots, in point of size, species, and colour, found here, are really incredible. The trees here emit a most agreeable and grateful odour, and from every part of their trunks are found oozing gums, juices, and liquor; and were we acquainted with their several effects, the luxurious epicure would find here the greatest gratification, and the therapeutic powers of the physician would be considerably extended. If an earthly paradise can be admitted to exist, this comes nearer the idea than any other. This country fronts the south, and the climate is so perfectly temperate, that in winter they suffer no cold, and in summer have no reason to complain of heat.

“ Here the sky and air are rarely darkened with clouds, and the days are almost always serene. Sometimes a slight and gentle dew falls, but is never of longer continuance than three or four hours, and then disperses like a cloud. The stars are beautifully scattered in the firmament, many of which unknown to us, I particularly noticed and remembered, and I counted about twenty, each of which is equal in brilliancy to Venus and Jupiter with us. From my geometrical knowledge I found no difficulty in measuring their circumference and diameter, and attentively examined their circular motions, and I am firmly of opinion, they are much larger than the generality of people are willing to believe; and among others, I observed three canopi, two of which were very lucid, the third rather dim, and unlike the others. The antarctic pole has neither the *Urfa Major* nor *Minor*, as may be seen in our arctic pole, nor are they touched upon by any of the stars which are evident; but



those which surround it are four in number, and form a quadrangle; and while these are rising, there is a canopus observable to the left, of great splendor, and a considerable size, which on its arrival at the middle of the hemisphere, represents the following described figure:

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These are succeeded by three other luminous stars, of which, that which is situated in the center is twelve degrees and a half in circumference, and in the middle of them is seen another canopus of great splendor. After this follow six other luminous stars, superior in lustre to all the others in the eighth sphere; of which, that which is situated in the middle of the superficies of the said sphere, is thirty-two degrees in circumference. These are succeeded by a considerable canopus, but dusky. All these are distinguished in the Lactean way, and when they reach the meridian line, describe the following figure:

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After this I saw many other stars, and on observing their various motions, I thought proper to form a book, wherein I have noticed all the remarkable things which occurred to me during the present voyage. This book is in the possession of his serene majesty, and I hope soon to have it once more in my hands. In that hemisphere I attentively examined many things which were contradictory to the established opinions of the philosophers, because they appeared to them totally inconsistent with the doctrine of the times: and among other things I observed the iris, or celestial arch, white at midnight, as according to the general opinion, it derives its colours from the four elements, namely, the red from fire, the green from the earth, the white from the air, and the azure from the water. Aristotle, in his book intitled Meteorology, is of a very different opinion, for he says that the celestial arch is a reflection of rays in the vapour of a cloud placed opposite to it, and shews that the air abounds with moisture.

“Then, as I before said, from Lisbon, whence we took our departure, which is forty degrees to the north of the line, we sailed as far as the land, which lies fifty degrees on the other side the line, the which on being summed up, make the number ninety; which number is exactly a fourth part of the large circle, according to the calculation of the ancients. It then clearly appears to every candid observer, that we have measured a fourth part of the globe, as we who live at Lisbon, almost forty degrees north of the line, are distant from those who inhabit the world on the other side the line, in an horizontal line, angularly ninety degrees, viz. by the line across. In order more clearly to demonstrate the above, let us suppose the perpendicular line, whilst we are upright, from above and reaching our zenith, comes to touch those who are on the other side the line fifty degrees, whence it appears that we are in the right line, and they, when compared with us, are horizontally situated, such situation forming the figure of a rectangular triangle.”

The king of Portugal, supposing that every thing would now be peaceable in Calicut, and that the trade established at Quiloa and Sofala, by means of the fleet under Cabral, thought fit this year to send only three ships and a caravel, two of which were to carry merchandise to Sofala, and the

A.D. 1501.



the other two to Calicut. Of this fleet John de Nova was appointed commander or general. He had with him only seventy men. His instructions were to touch at St. Blaz; and in case any of his ships should have parted from him, to wait for them ten days, then to sail for Sofala, and if he found a factor established, to unlade the merchandise, and then sail for the Indies; but if he did not find such an establishment, he was to endeavour to settle one, leaving Alvara de Braga as factor. From thence he was to proceed to Quiloa and Calicut, where, if he should meet Cabral, he was to obey him.

The squadron arrived safe at St. Blaz, where, in the hollow of a tree, he found a shoe, and a letter therein, mentioning that Pedro d'Ataide, a captain under Cabral, had passed there in his return to Portugal, relating what had happened to them at Calicut, Cochin, and Cananor. D'Ataide had written this to inform all captains who passed by for Calicut. The captain-general on this determined not to leave the caravel at Sofala, and sailed for Quiloa, where they found a banished man, whom Cabral had left there. He likewise informed him of what had passed in Calicut, and of the ships that were lost; from whence he sailed to Melinda, where the same account was confirmed by the king.

From hence the fleet stood over to the coast of India, and came to anchor at the Anchedive islands in November, to take in water. While we were here, seven ships of Cambaya came in, bound for the Streights. The Moors seemed incline to have attacked the fleet, but were deterred by the ordnance, and therefore sailed away. De Nova then sailed to Cananor, the king of which place informed him what had passed, and assured him how desirous he was of the king of Portugal's friendship. Yet notwithstanding these professions of friendship, the general would not take in any lading until he had been at Cochin with the factor. In his way to that port he took a ship belonging to the Moors of Calicut, which was valiantly defended; he afterwards set her on fire.

Being arrived at Cochin, the factor came on board, and informed the general, that the king of that place was much offended with Cabral, for having departed without waiting on him, and for carrying away his hostages, but yet had treated him and his companions well: that at night they were kept in the palace, and in day-time, if they were desirous to go abroad, they were attended by certain nayres to protect them from the Moors, who sought to kill them, and before they went to the palace had one night set fire to the house in which they were, which was the reason of their being removed and protected. He also informed De Nova that the sale of his merchandise would be bad, as the Moors had persuaded the merchants of the country not to give much for it, and also not to sell their pepper by barter, but for ready money only; and if he had not brought money, he would do no business.

This information determined him to return to Cananor, which he did; and the king, to shew his friendship, when he found the general had brought no money, became his security for one thousand quintals of pepper, fifty of ginger, and four hundred and fifty of cinnamon, and other things, until he had made sale of his merchandise, which he was to leave in Cananor, under the care of a factor and two others. De Nova recommended his people to the care of the king, and having taken in his lading, on the 15th of December there appeared eighty paroas past Mount Delly. The king gave him information that this was the fleet of Calicut that came to attack him, and therefore advised him to disembark his men and his ordnance. This the general declined,  
and



and prepared to oppose them. The next morning, before dawn of day, above one hundred ships and paroas entered the bay, full of Moors. As soon as the general had viewed them, he weighed anchor, and went into the middle of the bay; his ships then began to fire their cannon, and continued till sun-set, by which means they prevented the enemy from boarding them. Many of the Moors were killed and wounded, and some of their ships and paroas sunk. None of the Portuguese were killed or wounded. At sun-set the enemy hung out a flag; but as De Nova suspected treachery, he continued firing; however, it appeared they really meant peace, and would have hoisted sail and departed had the wind served. At length the general answered their flag, and a Moor came on board to ask a cessation till the next day, which was granted, on condition they should quit the bay.

The general, although the wind was not favourable, went to sea; the Moors could not do the same, as their vessels could only sail before the wind. The Portuguese and Moors remained at anchor near each other during the night: in the night the latter were in motion, and the Portuguese suspecting they designed to set fire to their ships, veered their cables to get further off, and fired at them, which obliged them to sail away, and the wind coming fair they steered for Calicut. The general immediately sailed for Portugal, and arrived there safe.

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Oforio, in his account of this voyage says, that De Nova discovered an island, hitherto unknown, which he called the island of Conception. He says also, that whilst De Nova was at Calicut, there came to him one Gundissalvo Peixot, a Portuguese, who, during the tumult (in which Alves Corea was slain) had been most miraculously preserved by the generous protection of Coje Bequi, who, although an Arabian, had proved an excellent friend to the Portuguese. This Portuguese was sent by order of the zamorin of Calicut, to set forth, that the tumult, wherein so many of the Portuguese suffered, had been raised and carried on by an enraged multitude, without the approbation or even knowledge of his majesty, who desired nothing more than to cultivate a friendship with king Emanuel, and that it would give him the highest pleasure if De Nova would come to Calicut, where he promised he should be treated in the most friendly manner.

Peixot having delivered this message, next communicated the private instructions from Coje Bequi, who advised the admiral not to give the least faith to that perfidious prince, who, he said, wanted only to decoy them into his power, that he might more easily destroy them.---Nova did not return any answer, nor did Peixot go back to Calicut.

He also says, that the king of Cochin treated De Nova with the highest civility, and in every respect acquitted himself like a man of honour and probity: that in the action at Cananor the enemy had four hundred and seventeen killed: that while the two fleets lay at anchor near each other, the Calicutians, not regarding the truce, let down persons into the sea, who were to swim to the Portuguese ships, and try to cut their cables; and that they at the same time dispatched a number of boats, with several men on board, who, as soon as this was compleated, were to throw lighted torches into the ships.---He concludes this voyage thus:

“ Nova



“ Nova being thus happily delivered from such threatening danger, without any further delay, proceeded on his voyage homewards. When he had sailed a little way, he met with a ship of Calicut, which he plundered and burned: he then continued his course, and had a very quick and easy passage to the Cape. Some time after he turned it, he discovered a little island in fifteen degrees south latitude, to which he gave the name of St. Helena. This island standing by itself in the midst of such a vast ocean, seems as it were, to have been placed there by Providence, for the reception and shelter of weather-beaten ships in their return from an Indian voyage. There are many delightful rivers in this place. It is covered with fine trees, and the air is temperate and healthy: and after it was inhabited and cultivated (which we shall take notice of afterwards) it abounded in all kind of cattle, and the soil produced plenty of all sorts of fruits and refreshing herbs. It is now rendered the most useful spot for the people who trade to India. Here they always take in wood and water for their ships, where they may likewise have the diversions of fishing and hunting, and lay in a supply of provisions. Nova having departed from St. Helena, set out for Portugal; where, after a very favourable and easy voyage, he arrived on the 11th A. D. 1502. of September, to the great joy of Emanuel and all his people.”

## CHAPTER III.

*Vasco de Gama appointed a second time to the command: sails to Sofala, Mozambique, Quiloa, and Melinda: Stephen de Gama joins him there: sails for India: takes a Moorish ship from Mecca: arrives at Cananor, and makes peace with the king: arrives at Calicut: ill treated there: sails to Cochin: transactions there: returns to Europe, leaving Vincent Sodre to command: his ill conduct, and loss of his ships. An account of this voyage by a purser of one of the ships that sailed under Stephen de Gama.*

**T**HE first extract of the following voyage is made from Castagneda, the second from Ramusio.

A. D. 1502. The king of Portugal having a great desire to revenge the injuries the king of Calicut had done his people, caused a large fleet to be prepared, to make war on him. The command he at first gave to Pedro Alvarez Cabral, but for certain reasons he took it from him, and gave it to Vasco de Gama, who sailed from Lisbon the 3d of March with thirteen ships and two caravels. They carried with them materials for another caravel, which was to be put together at Mozambique; and there remained five sail more at Lisbon equipping, which were to follow, under the command of Stephen de Gama.

The fleet having doubled the cape of Good Hope, and got clear of the currents, De Gama dispatched all to Mozambique except four ships, and went with those to Sofala, to see the situation of the place, if it was convenient to build a fort, and also to traffic for gold. He made peace with the king of Sofala, and an agreement for settling a factory there; after which mutual presents passed between them. He then sailed for Mozambique: in going out of the river he lost one of his ships, but the



men were saved. At Mozambique he renewed his old friendship with the governor, and obtained his consent to leave a factor there with some men, which were designed to procure provisions for such ships as should touch there either going to or returning from the Indies. Here the caravel was put together. From thence he sailed to Quiloa, to make the king thereof tributary to the king of Portugal, on account of the ill treatment he had given Cabral. On his arrival, the king went to pay him a visit on ship board, from a motive of fear. Here Stephen de Gama joined the fleet with five ships from Portugal. Vasco de Gama having the king in his power, threatened him to make him prisoner, if he would not become tributary to the king of Portugal. He agreed to pay yearly two thousand mitegals of gold, and as an hostage for the payment, left a principal Moor, one Mahomed Aleones, whom he hated, fearing he should deprive him of his kingdom, as he had done the lawful king. When he was released, he avoided paying the tribute, in hopes that the captain-general would order the hostage to be killed, and by that means be rid of his enemy. But the Moor paid the tribute himself, and the general released him.

From hence they sailed to Melinda, took in water, and steered for India. Off Mount Dely, De Gama met a Moorish ship, which he took after a stout resistance. The general ordered the owners and the principal Moors to bring out all the merchandise they had on board, threatening if they did not, to have them thrown into the sea. They answered, they had left it all at Calicut. This answer offended De Gama, and he ordered one of them to be bound hand and feet, and thrown into the sea. The others were frightened at this severity, and discovered their riches, which were put into the custody of Hernando Corea, the factor for Cochin, and carried on board another ship. The children were also all carried on board the same ship, the general having vowed to make them all friars, as he afterwards did. The coarser goods were given as a spoil to the seamen. The Moors were all driven under the hatches, and the ship set on fire, to revenge the death of the Portuguese slain in Calicut. After the Portuguese had quitted the ship, the Moors broke the hatches, and put out the fire. Stephen de Gama was then ordered to lay her on board, but met with a desperate resistance, and the night coming on, he went a distance from her. The Moors continued to call on Mahomet to succour them. In the morning Stephen de Gama again boarded, and set her on fire: the Moors, to the number of three hundred, were all either burned or drowned.

Steering from thence to Cananor, De Gama sent ambassadors to the king, with a desire to speak with him. The king thereupon commanded a platform of timber to be erected far into the sea, and at this meeting they concluded a treaty for settling a factory.

After this the fleet sailed for Calicut, and arriving there, unexpectedly seized some paroas, in which were about fifty Malabars. De Gama waited in expectation of a messenger from the king: at last a boat came on board with a white flag, and a friar of the order of St. Francis, whom the Portuguese judged might have been one of the company of Ares Corea. This friar on entering the ship, said "*Deo gracias*," by which he was discovered to be a Moor, and said he came in that dress to gain the easier admission, and that he brought a message from the king about settling the trade. The general commanded him not to speak of that, until the king had made satisfaction for the plunder of the factory. Three days were spent in messages on this subject.

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De Gama perceiving that these delays were only to gain time, sent word that if he did not receive a satisfactory answer by noon, that he would make war with fire and sword, and begin with the Malabars he had taken. He commanded an hour-glass to be brought, and told the Moor who carried the message, that as soon as so many of those had run out, he would put his threats in execution. But the king, although in dread of the fleet, yet persuaded by the Moors, returned no answer. As soon as the time elapsed, De Gama fired a shot as a signal to the other captains for the execution of the Malabars, which was immediately performed; they were hanged, and their hands and feet cut off, thrown into a paroa, and sent on shore, accompanied by two boats, with a letter for the king of Calicut, written in the Arabic tongue, threatening to revenge himself, and that he would repay himself for the goods that had been taken from the factory an hundred fold. In the night three ships were brought near the shore, and the next day they fired incessantly on the city, and did great damage; the king's palace and many houses being demolished. He then departed for Cochin, leaving six sail of ships under the command of Vincent Sodre, to cruise on that coast, and afterwards to discover the coast of Cambaia and the streights of Mecca.

As soon as De Gama arrived at Cochin, the king sent hostages on board as a security for his person, and soon after came himself to meet him, bringing with him the Portuguese who had been left there. The general delivered the king of Portugal's letter of thanks for the treatment he had given Cabral, and a present, consisting of a rich crown of gold set with jewels, a collar of gold, enamelled, two fountains of wrought silver, two pieces of arras, a costly pavillion, and two pieces of sattin; which were received with much pleasure; and as the king was ignorant of the use of some of them, he requested to be informed. The pavillion was immediately erected, and a further treaty concluded in it: by which the king gave a house to settle the factory in, and fixed the prices of spices and drugs. The king of Cochin sent also a present to the king of Portugal, viz. two bracelets of gold set with stones, a towel of cloth of silver two yards and an half long, two pieces of cloth called Bengala, exceeding fine, and a stone taken from the head of an animal, esteemed an antidote against poison.

Possession was immediately taken of the house by the factors; and while De Gama's ship was taking in her lading, a message came from the king of Calicut, offering, if the general would return, to restore all that had been taken from the Portuguese, and to settle a trade with him. De Gama secured the messenger, to revenge himself upon him, if the king should deceive him. The general determined to go to Calicut, contrary to the opinion of his captains, and leave Stephen de Gama as his lieutenant.

As soon as he arrived, the king sent him word that he would agree with him for all the goods that had been taken from Corea, would renew the trade, and settle a factory; yet, contrary to his word, he prepared thirty-four paroas with an intent to attack De Gama, which indeed came so suddenly on him, that he was obliged to cut his cables and make sail: they pursued him, and would have taken him, had not Vincent Sodre joined him. He returned to Cochin, and caused the messenger to be hanged. This action, when the king of Calicut heard of, much alarmed him, and now seeing that he could not take De Gama, he wrote letters to the king of Cochin, to persuade him not to give the ships any lading, nor to consent to the settlement of a factory:



but this had no effect. Finding he could not prevail, he determined to attack him on his departure, and for that purpose prepared twenty-nine large ships.

The king of Cochin did not acquaint De Gama of the letters from the king of Calicut until he was ready to depart, and then told him he would risk his city for the king of Portugal's sake. The general returned him thanks, assured him of assistance from the king of Portugal, and promised to send him some ships from Conanor.

Having loaded ten of his ships, and being at sea off Pandarene, the Moorish fleet appeared in sight. The Portuguese bore down upon them. Vincent Sodre, Pedro Raphael, and Diego Peres, whose ships sailed best, attacked two of the principal vessels with such vigour, that the enemy leaped out of their ships into the sea. The fight continued only until the rest of the fleet came up, when the enemy stood towards the shore, and the general, as his ships were heavy laden, did not follow; but the Portuguese leaped into their boats, and killed the men who were in the water, being about three hundred.

The prizes had some valuable commodities on board, particularly an idol of gold, of thirty pounds weight, with a monstrous face, and two emeralds for eyes, and a vestment of beaten gold for the idol, with a large carbuncle on the breast. The general set the prizes on fire, and sailed to Cananor, where the king gave him an house for a factory, in which he left twenty people: the king engaged to supply any of the Portuguese ships with spices at a certain rate; the captain-general undertaking on the part of the king of Portugal, to defend him against all his enemies. The king of Cananor engaged to be in friendship with the king of Cochin.

De Gama dispatched Vincent Sodre with three ships, to cruize along the coast until February, and if there was any prospect of war on the coast, to winter at Cochin; if not, to sail to the Red Sea, and make prize of such ships of Mecca as passed to the Indies.

He then departed for Portugal on the 20th of December, and arrived safe at Mozambique: and as the ship Stephen de Gama was on board, had sprung a leak, she was laid on shore and repaired. Seven days after they sailed from thence, the ship of Lewis Cotinuo sprung a leak, and they were obliged to put back, but the wind not being favourable, they put into a creek to repair her. Sailing from thence, they had a heavy storm off Cape Corientes, in which they lost company with Stephen de Gama. The fleet arrived at Lisbon on the 1st of September, and Stephen de Gama came in five days after. All the noblemen of the court went to Cascaço to receive the general, and accompany him to the king, who received him graciously, made him admiral of the Indies, and gave him the title of lord of Videguero.

As soon as De Gama sailed for Portugal, the king of Calicut prepared to make war on the king of Cochin. The Portuguese of the factory acquainted Vincent Sodre of this circumstance, and requested him to send his men and join their ally. Sodre refused, saying his command was at sea, and not on shore, and that he would sail for the Red Sea. The Portuguese again requested him not to leave them: but Sodre departed, and sailed to Cape Guardafu, where he expected to take many rich prizes.

His absence enabled the king of Calicut to drive the king of Cochin from his residence, who carried the Portuguese with him. Sodre took on the coast five ships, with much money on board. Most of the Moors were slain in the battle, and their ships



ships burned. From thence he sailed to certain islands, called Curia Maria, near Cape Guardafu; here he laid his ships on ground, and although the inhabitants were Moors, he went on shore: the Moors out of fear gave them good entertainment.

Vincent Sodre laid a caravel on shore: the Moors told him that in May they had always such storms as drove all ships on shore, and advised him to remove to the other side of the island: but he despised their advice, and told them that the anchors of their ships were of wood, but his were of iron. Raphael, Badarfas, and Perez, went away, but Sodre and his brother remained, and when the storm came on, their ships were driven on shore, beat to pieces, and many men lost; among the rest the two brothers. The survivors chose Pedro d'Ataide for their commander, and sailed to Anfandeva to winter, where they met with a ship commanded by Antonio de Campo, who departed alone from Portugal after Vasco de Gama.

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We have also another relation of this voyage, under the title of "A Voyage to the East Indies, by Thomas Lopez, purser of a Portuguese vessel;" and by the date, it appears she was of the fleet commanded by Stephen de Gama. It is to be found in Ramusio, from whence it is translated. It contains several particulars not in the foregoing.

"We sailed from Lisbon with five vessels in company, on the 1st A. D. 1502. of April. On the 4th we passed in sight of Porto Santo. The same day we had a view of Deserta, and passed in sight of the islands of Palma and Ferro on the 8th. On the 15th we coasted along the shore of the Cape de Verde Islands, so near as to be seen by the inhabitants.

"On the 18th of May we came in sight of an island hitherto not discovered, the ground high and beautiful to the sight, well wooded, and of considerable extent, little inferior to the island of Madeira, in a happy climate, neither cold nor hot, situated north-west and south-east with the island of Red Parrots, from whence it is distant three hundred leagues, and seven hundred from the Cape of Good Hope. The nearer we approached the line, the greater the degree of heat, which arrived at length to such a pitch, that we could hardly bear it night or day, and as we quitted the line, the climate became more moderate and cool. As soon as we came within four hundred leagues of the cape, the cold was excessive, and the nearer we approached this excessive cold, the more difficult we found it to guard against it, without having recourse to additional cloathing, and found ourselves obliged to augment our allowance in the articles of eating and drinking.

"On the 1st of June the wind began to freshen, and as we approached the Cape of Good Hope, the days began to lengthen, to such a degree, that on the 8th of June, on making the experiment with the time-piece belonging to the ship, we found the day (from sun-rise to sun-set) eight hours and an half, and the night fifteen hours and an half. On the 7th of June arose so violent a storm from the east, that the ships separated, and on the following morning the only ones which were together were ours and the Julia, without knowing what course the others had steered; and in the last watch, a little before day break, we carried nothing but a small topsail. At length the wind increased to such a degree, that one of the yards was split in two, and the mast of the Julia went by the board. Having taken in all our sails, we run the whole day and the next night at the mercy of the sea. The seas we shipped were enormous.



enormous. On the 9th the weather became moderate, and we hung out every thing to dry, though the sun had but little power, and hardly warmed our garments, which, though wet with the seas we had from time to time shipped, were still more so with the heavy rain which had fallen. On Friday the 11th, there was such a swell of the sea, that we could hardly speak with each other; we therefore agreed to steer to the east. On the 12th and 13th, when we were four hundred and fifty leagues from the Cape of Good Hope, the motion of the waves gave us reason to apprehend land was not far distant, having observed mud, sea wolves, and many different species of large white birds, and smaller ones like starlings, but their breasts were white. From all these circumstances we concluded there was some island at hand, hitherto unknown to Europeans. When we were on the other side the line, we found the sun and moon pursue a different course from that in Spain, for in those parts the sun rises in the north-east, and sets in the south-west.

“ On the 16th of June the sea rose to an enormous height, and we shipped many heavy seas, occasioned by the immense currents which are here. On the 7th of July, soon as the wind began to drop, we pursued our course to the north, and then to the north-west, till the 10th, when we came within sight of land, being then distant ten or twelve leagues; but as it was late, we lay to that night about eleven o'clock, till the moon went down, which with us was about five o'clock: we then laid the ships heads to the sea, and remained in that position till day break, when we went to reconnoitre the shore, but could not determine where we were. The next day was dedicated to the same service, when it was reported there were two capes, one of which runs in a sharp point far into the sea; and as you open more into the sea, ten or twelve small islands shew themselves. We saw certain sand banks, with wood scattered here and there. We then sailed fifty leagues to the north-east, and from thence a considerable distance to the north-east and by north, and came even with the Lagunes, which were distant from us twenty-five leagues. From hence we steered north-east, with a point to the north, and were driven fifteen leagues in the sea from the course of the currents; and from hence we sailed about sixty-five leagues to the north: and as our meat failed, we had recourse to our dried fish: this also, as well as the pease, failed us on the 12th of July, which compelled us to have recourse to our cheese and salted pork. On the 15th of July we found ourselves in the mouth of the river Sofala, and as the wind fell calm, we lay to in eleven fathoms from Friday P. M. until late on the Sunday following. The natives from the shore were very anxious for us to enter, but we had no inclination to comply. They made many fires, which we apprehended were designed as signals of invitation, of which we did not avail ourselves. Notwithstanding which our admiral got some little gold, though we were afterwards given to understand that the natives were afraid of producing the gold, lest the Europeans should have had any hostile intentions against them. Here we fished the mast which was sprung. We discovered from hence a sand which ran into the sea two or three leagues, and some other similar sands, betwixt which there appeared to be some rivers. Here the sea ran very high, and brought down a considerable quantity of leaves, and other evident marks of a river; and to the west a small bay was formed, at the extent of which appeared a piece of land, like a small island; and to the north-east the sea brought down on the second night many considerable tokens of land, such as canes like those of Portugal, also timber, and immense quantities of leaves, with a strong current.

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“ On the 18th of July we found a creek, where the water was low, and on examining, we found it so for seven or eight leagues. We quitted this creek to the east, and sailed one whole day and a night, and according to the way we made, and the various signs we observed, we were clearly of opinion that here was the river of Buon Segnali. All along the coast we saw trees of an immense size, large enough for the main mast of a vessel; and the part to the westward had the appearance of Cape Spigel. Many of the banks which appeared were some of sand and some of earth. One of the said islands, viz. that which lies mostly to the north-east, had the form of a hat; and seven leagues from hence, towards Mozambique, we found an island of dry sand. As we quitted the creek, we sailed to the north-east with a point to the north, and came in sight of the former islands. The 21st of July we were in with them at the distance of five or six leagues, when we began to fish, and caught many pargos and red alcapetori, and other fishes, beautifully coloured, of different sorts, and totally unlike any we have in Portugal. Twenty leagues short of Mozambique we fell in with a sand, dry, and of considerable extent, which stretched along the coast, and extends upwards of two leagues into the sea, and runs north-east by south in the same direction with the coast, to seven or eight leagues on this side Mozambique.

“ Friday the 22d of July, we arrived before the port of Mozambique, and entered between two small islands, which are distant from the main two or three gun shots. On our arrival, we were accosted by certain Moors of distinction, who presented a letter addressed to all and every the commander and commanders of Portuguese vessels which might touch at that port, that they might not molest or ill treat any of the natives and inhabitants of the island, having already capitulated, and submitted to the commander of five vessels, which had been there to careen; and intimating to us that we must not remain, but pursue the track they had made by the way of Quiloa, and in case we did not find them there, then to proceed to Anchidiva, and from thence till we found them, sailing in the day, and laying to at night. By this letter, which was signed by Stephen De Gama, captain of the fleet, we found they had been gone near eleven days. It mentioned that he, in company with two other vessels, took their departure from hence on the 18th. We remained here till the 26th, during which time we supplied ourselves with a sufficient quantity of wood and water. The natives came aboard us with the utmost confidence, and we made many purchases of gold and pearls. We went ashore in perfect security, and totally unmolested by the Moors, who were happy in shewing us every attention. During our stay at the island, several Moors of distinction came down with some petitions to the admiral, who took that opportunity of informing himself of the state of the mines of Sofala, of whom he collected that the country whence they had the gold, was at present in a state of war, but that in time of peace they drew from the mines annually two millions of mitigals of gold, each mitigal being worth one ducat and a third; and that in the last years when the country was at peace, the vessels from Mecca and Sidon, and other parts, carried away the said two millions; and that this was the mine from whence it was supposed that Solomon every three years carried off that immensity of gold. The Moors presented the admiral with a fine piece of myrrh, telling him at the same time, that if they were at peace, they could annually produce twenty tons of the same quality.

“ On the 26th of the said month we sailed, and took a black pilot on board, steering due north; this coast bearing south and north. At night we stood out to sea, and in  
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the day time stood in with the shore. After we had sailed forty-five leagues, we saw a part of the land, which had thirteen or fourteen high hills, three or four of the highest being pointed. All along the coast we observed many small islands, and approached the territory of Quiloa, but did not enter on account of the admiral not being with us. Soon as we reached the land, we saw many mountains, and took it for granted this was Quiloa, but soon found our mistake. We then coasted along, and discovered a white tower, which they called Old Quiloa. Between this and New Quiloa, is a river, which gave us not a little trouble: here we saw great palm and other trees, and entered a creek in a small island. On the side of Quiloa are many sands which run three or four leagues along the coast. From hence we steered our course towards Mombazza. Betwixt Quiloa and Melinda we saw two small villages, one near the sea, the other more in land: along the coast are high mountains and some open fields, which appeared sown. We kept so far out to sea, that we passed Mombazza without seeing it. Before we reached Melinda, we saw three large mountains together at thirteen or fourteen leagues from it. In the approach to Melinda you perceive a mountain which has the appearance of a castle.

“ On the 2d of August we arrived off Melinda, and saluted with a discharge of some guns. Immediately thirteen or fourteen Moors came along side, among which was a relation of the king's, accompanied by a trumpeter playing before him; and with them came Luigi di Moufa, who was left here by Pedro Alvarez Cabral by order of our royal master. This man spoke the language of the country with great freedom and ease; and they all gave us a most hearty welcome from the king of Melinda, and met with a most gracious reception from us; we shewed them every civility, and provided them with every thing which the ship afforded. Over and above we sent the queen a large basket full of biscuits, sweetmeats, nuts, grapes, and other dried fruits, all which was most gratefully received, as her majesty was on the point of being brought to bed. In return she sent us a quantity of fowls, fish, and other refreshments, for the ship's crew; and the king gave orders that every one at night should carry aboard fowls and every other kind of provisions for sale to the ship's company; and at the same time sent to inform us, that we were at liberty to come ashore, and that with the greatest security, as he and his country were subject to the crown of Portugal. The next morning we went on shore, and repaired to the palace of the king, (which is situated on the shore) and had the honour of kissing his hand. The reception he gave us was not a very graceful one; he was seated in a chair raised a foot and an half from the ground, lined with shining black leather, which appeared at a distance like velvet, from whence he had a full view of the sea: he was dressed in a wrapper of painted cloth. In other seats were seated eighteen or twenty Moors, some of which were bare-foot: there were also many chairs remaining empty. The king had a pair of slippers by the side of him, and a large silk handkerchief tied round his head, after the Moorish fashion, and his mouth was full of atambor, which he was perpetually chewing. He soon began to speak, and asked after the king and queen, our sovereigns, and if the queen was with child. He seemed displeased that our admiral was not more at his ease, as it seemed to betray a want of confidence. We here saw two young elephants, one of six months, as large as a full grown ox, and carried double the flesh; the other was larger; they were black, and in high condition. On our departure, the king presented each ship with an ox, and we in  
return



return made his majesty a present of several vessels of tin, and some saffron. We went ashore with the same freedom and ease as if we had been in Portugal. The honours and attentions we received, the quantity of fowls, fish, oranges, lemons, and other fruits and refreshments, was so great, that it was really astonishing to see the whole daily exposed to sale on board our ships. Having taken in our necessary quantity of water, the king ordered a letter to be written to the admiral, and J. Lopez, purser and secretary on board the ship Ruy Murdez de Brito, was ordered to the king's palace, and there wrote the said letter, which was dictated by Luigi di Moufa on the part of the king. They informed us of the correspondence they had had with the admiral, who lay about seven or eight leagues distant from Melinda on account of the weather. The letter from the admiral contained a general order for whatever Portuguese ships should touch at this place, to proceed on their voyage without loss of time. These letters were accompanied with others from Juan de Nova, off Quiloa, who was on his return to Portugal, containing information that the king of Calicut armed a considerable fleet against him, which he had routed and totally destroyed. The same letters brought intelligence of the king of Quiloa having submitted himself to our sovereign, consenting to pay an annual tribute of four hundred and fifty or five hundred wedges of gold. The king at first made excuses to the admiral that he was indisposed, and could not come; refusing to hold communication with the Portuguese, as he had done with Pedro Alvarez Cabral: on which the admiral ordered the ships to be laid close in with the town, and when every thing was ready, he went with three hundred and fifty men on shore. As soon as the king saw this, he came down and submitted himself to the admiral, who received him with great politeness, and made him sit down on a carpet of fine cloth at the stern of the boat. On being seated, he demanded of the admiral what was his will and pleasure; who answered, that he came to make peace or war, which ever should be determined on, and though in his power, he submitted to his majesty a free choice. Peace being accepted, he was given to understand that the terms were, he should be tributary to the king of Portugal, with the payment of twenty pearls. To which the king answered, that the payment in pearls rendered the compact of a dubious nature, as it was impossible to say that he should in a certain given time, be able to produce them of the required weight, viz. one mitigal each: besides, the quality might be objected to: he therefore preferred paying the tribute in gold, in such proportion as should be deemed reasonable and just, and to the satisfaction of the parties mutually concerned; and that he would give annually one thousand five hundred wedges of gold. Hereupon he departed, leaving certain Moors of distinction in the hands of the admiral, as hostages for the due payment of the tribute already stipulated; and the day after, the king sent on board one thousand mitigals of gold with great pomp, and soon after the remaining five hundred were delivered with the same solemnity, amidst the repeated acclamations of the people, who testified the greatest happiness at the peace being thus happily concluded. To the people who brought the tribute, as well as the music which attended them, the admiral made presents of a quantity of scarlet cloth; and to the king he sent pieces of crimson velvet and superfine scarlet cloth, with a letter, and a flag richly embroidered with the arms of Portugal. The admiral gave orders that the flower of the troops on board should enter the boats, and accompany the flag ashore with drums, trumpets, and other warlike instruments. On reaching the shore, the king was ready in person to receive it, and ordered



dered it to be placed in the most conspicuous part in the city, and his own arms under it.

“ On the 3d of August we quitted Melinda, and steered our course towards Calicut, keeping to the north-east and east, and on the 4th we were once more under the line, where we did not experience that degree of heat we found on the coast of Guinea, when under the line. We here quitted the Julia, who outfailed us, and made a run of three hundred and seventy-five leagues; on Friday the 19th of August, we made land on the side of Calicut, having passed the gulph in fifteen days and an half. The land we now saw was almost forty leagues distant from Amadiva, for which place we coasted along, and in the course of our run, we discovered three islands, called the Islands of Anfidiva, distant from *terra firma* fifteen leagues; and soon after we found nine or ten, viz. three to the north-east, and the rest more to the south; and as soon as we came within the distance of ten or twelve leagues from the said islands, we found considerable mountains, some of which were pointed, and one particularly, near the sea, fronting the south, has its top formed like a hat, and is a good sea mark; and three or four leagues from hence there are several other islands close in with the island of Amadiva itself. Previous to our coming close in with the land, we found many serpents in the sea—an evident sign the land was not far distant, for they never are found at a greater distance from land than thirty or forty leagues.

“ On Sunday the 21st of August, early in the morning, we arrived at the said island, when some shots were fired, which alarmed the admiral then ashore, who supposed we were some of the ships come from Mecca; but no sooner were the flags hoisted, than he discovered us to be friends from Portugal. They asked us news of the Julia, which we informed them had sailed before us from Melinda, and that we had not once met with her during the voyage. However, fifteen days after we were agreeably surpris'd with her arrival. They had many sick on board; we therefore gave them a part of the fowls we had brought with us from Melinda, as well as oranges, fruits, and other provisions, as were necessary for them in their present situation. The tents were then pitched on shore, as an hospital for the sick: their disorder was the swelling of the gums, which increased to such a degree as almost to cover the teeth, and many of them died in consequence of it. Others were taken with violent swellings of the legs and thighs, but this complaint was not attended with any great danger. Many of the natives came along side us, bringing for sale, fish fresh and dressed, gourds, cucumbers, and wild cinnamon, which they gave for a trifle, or exchanged for any thing which was offered them. They also brought a species of fig as long as a cucumber, of an agreeable flavour, and so easy of digestion, that they never loaded the stomach, though eat in ever so great a quantity. They told us that in crossing the gulph about one hundred leagues distant, out of the course generally steered to Mecca, they saw a Moorish vessel, with all the people on board captured by a galley, and these Moors were belonging to a great city, situated up a river called Calinul, and that the admiral disguised, and without his uniform, went into the galley, and in company with the Moorish vessel approached the city. As soon as they were descried by the natives, thirty or forty men on horseback came out of the town, and being accosted by the admiral with civility, they returned to the town in peace. Immediately after a number of people came out of the city, bringing presents of fowls from the king, and wishing to know the occasion of their visit. The admiral replied, they



they were come on a trading voyage to India. The king then signified to them that the ships were perfectly secure from every idea of molestation: that they were ready to sell them diamonds and lac, and if in future they were disposed to take in a cargo of grain, they would engage to load the whole fleet in the course of ten or fifteen days, and that if they had any scarlet cloth, they would buy it of them. The admiral then left them, saying, that he should report the whole to the commander, and gave orders to fire a shot with ball, to strike terror into them, having an idea of returning in company with the whole fleet. But as soon as he got to the other ships, the wind springing up, it was thought adviseable to proceed on the voyage.

“ On the 26th of August, the commodore gave orders for the departure of the whole from the said island of Amadiva; and previous to our departure, the two gallees and two ships sailed for Cananor; and on the 28th of the said month the whole fleet departed with a gentle gale, and sailed during the day, but laid to in the night; and continuing to sail along the coast, we came to a creek, where there is a village named Mount Eli, belonging to the king of Cananor. As soon as we were arrived, the admiral dispatched some vessels in quest of the Mecca fleets, one going, and the other coming. Thus they continued doing for five or six days, till such time as the Emerald had fished her mast, which had been broken in passing the gulph. During the cruize of our vessels, that of Fernando Lorenzo met with a ship as big as the Reina, and gave chase to her; but having fired five or six shot with ball, and not having more to discharge, was obliged to give up the chase, and night coming on, they lost sight of, and saw her no more.

“ On the 29th of September, some of our vessels being on a cruize for the Mecca ships, the San Gabriello fell in with a large vessel of Calicut, on its return from Mecca to Calicut, with two hundred and forty men on board, besides women and children, of which there were a considerable number, who had been on a pilgrimage to Mecca, and were now on their return home; and after chasing them, and firing a few shot, they struck without firing, though they had both guns and small arms in plenty on board, relying more upon their riches for protection of their persons, than the opposition of force, the principal persons on board being twelve of the richest Moorish merchants of Calicut; amongst which was one Loar Afanquy, said to be the agent of the sultan of Mecca in the said city, and this ship with three or four others belonged to him. The moment he was alone with the admiral, he proposed that if he would leave the ship just as she was, he would load the whole fleet of eighteen ships (among which were five very large ones) with spices; but seeing that the admiral was deaf to his first proposal, he then offered for his wife, his nephew, and himself, four of the largest ships loaded with spices, engaging at the same time to remain with the admiral till such time as his nephew could go ashore; and if in the course of fifteen or twenty days he failed in his engagement, he was at liberty to do what he pleased with him. Over and above, he promised that every thing which had been taken by the king at Calicut should be restored, and peace once more established. The admiral refused the above terms, and insisted upon each giving up what he possessed aboard the ship, which not being complied with, he ordered the boats to haul the vessel to a distance from the fleet, and set fire to her with all the people on board.”

This journalist relates the circumstances attending this capture different from Castagneda: he says, “ As soon as we began to fire upon them, the women came upon deck,



deck, holding out plate and jewels, offering the whole if their lives were saved. From the admiral's ship it was easy to distinguish the women holding out their children, and begging, for pity's sake, to have compassion on those innocents. This availed but little, for after repeated and obstinate opposition from the ship's crew, the admiral caused the ship to be set on fire, and every one on board perished in the flames. After this the San Paolo fell in with four large vessels, and chased them; but they made for the shore; three of them got into a river, and the fourth ran aground and went to pieces, after most of the crew had quitted her, some were drowned, and others picked up and brought aboard our ship.

A. D. 1502. "The 18th of October we arrived before Cananor, and certain persons of distinction came on board to compliment us from the king, saying that he wished to have some conversation with the admiral, and fixed the time for the conference. The day after, the king had a bridge made upon the sea, very long, and as broad as that at Lisbon, which made an elegant appearance. On the 19th of the said month, the admiral had every thing in readiness, and his galliot with the stern covered with red and green velvet, manned with the choicest men in the whole fleet; the ships boats with flags, drums, trumpets, and other martial music; himself richly dressed in a robe of silk, and collars of different orders; and thus he set out to meet the king on the wooden bridge, which was covered with an awning of painted cloth. The king entered the bridge from the land, attended by four hundred men, some with swords and red targets, beautifully ornamented, others with bows and arrows, and some with partizans. The king and his suite had no other cloathing than a painted cloth thrown round them, which covered them from the side down to the feet, and a small painted cap on the head. The king entered first, and rested a little on a chair, it being excessively hot. The admiral did not immediately arrive, but as soon as he came, the king rose to meet him, with thirty only in his train, it being settled that neither should exceed that number. The admiral having signified that the orders of his sovereign not permitting him to go ashore, the king had the bridge constructed, and received the admiral in the boat at the extremity of the bridge. In going along, the king was preceded by two men, who carried long poles. After him followed two others with poles, and hawks upon the top of them. When the king and admiral met, they gave their hands to each other, in token of friendship, and while they were waiting for the interpreter, the admiral presented the king with silver vases gilt, viz. large basons, ewers, and fundry other vessels, as a present from his sovereign. The king in return presented the admiral with many jewels of considerable value, and some inferior ones to the captains and other officers. The admiral desired a price might be fixed upon the various spices, and other articles of merchandise. The king answered that he should send up the country, and order the natives to bring down their several commodities for sale, and that he might rest assured every thing should be sold at a fair and reasonable price. A few days after the Moors came down with a quantity of spices, but we found it absolutely impossible to deal with them on account of the exorbitant demand they made for every article, and which they palliated by refusing to take our goods, as not suiting them, unless at an under price. The admiral perceiving this, sent to the king, saying, that he imagined he set little store on the friendship of the prince his master, seeing that he gave countenance to the villainy and imposition of his subjects; and that in consequence of such treatment, he should quit the port, and seek



seek elsewhere to load his vessels: at the same time intimating to the king, that if during his absence, any disrespect was shewn to don Alvarez, or any of his Portuguese majesty's subjects, (who had been left here on a former voyage) he and his people should pay for it.

" On the 22d of October, with a light wind, we sailed from Cananor, going on in the day, and laying to at night. In our way to Calicut we fell in with a sloop, which our admiral ordered us to chase, which we soon took, before she reached the land: she had on board about twenty Moors and Caffres, and was laden with nuts called cabaye and cocos, bound for Calicut. In coasting along we saw three large vessels, laying so close in shore, that they seemed to be aground. Immediately eight boats armed, and the two galliots, were ordered out to attack them, with the admiral on board one of them. After firing a few shots, the people on board were so intimidated, that they threw themselves into the sea. A person on shore seeing this, got into a boat and came up with the admiral, and explained to him that he belonged to the king of Cananor; that he was at peace with the Portuguese, and under that security, his ships were now here; that he had refused to let them to his sovereign, when he armed a fleet to attack John da Nova, and therefore was at war with the said prince. He said he was related to the king of Cochin, and that if occasion required, he was ready to leave a certain number of men in his hands as hostages, till such time as the truth of his assertion should be verified. The next day the owner of the said ships sent the admiral a present of a quantity of fowls and figs, with four or five bags of rice, and a fine fat sheep. The admiral received the present with all due politeness, but at the same time paid the full value for them, and sent back the men who had been received on board as hostages, declaring the whole to proceed from the respect he had for him as a relation of the king of Cochin.

" On the 25th of October we sailed, and pursued our voyage towards Calicut; and as we coasted along, we perceived a large vessel, which the admiral went in person to reconnoitre: on his return on board, having called a council of all the officers, it was determined she should not be burned, as it proved to be the admiral of Calicut; and the king of Calicut, whilst we were lying at Cananor, had sent to the admiral, informing him he was ready to submit to the government of Portugal, whenever he thought fit to come and receive his submission. We were further informed, that the said ship was of a nation which carries on a very considerable traffic with India in the article of spices. It was therefore thought adviseable not to terrify them, but rather calm their apprehensions, and settle terms for commercial dealings.

" Having omitted to mention that the admiral, during his stay at Cananor, had received letters from Cochin, from Gonzales Gill, who was left there by John da Nova, we should mention the following account which he gave, viz. that the king of Calicut had written to the king of Cochin in terms of the warmest friendship, whilst our fleet lay at Amadiva, informing him at the same time, for a certainty, that there were twenty very large Portuguese vessels; that they were come into the Indian seas with hostile intentions; that the only way to prevent their return was to refuse them spices at any price, as it was evident the grand intent of their coming was to get the spices; and what they could not effect by purchase, they would acquire by force.— The answer of the king of Cochin was, that he had already made peace with the king of Portugal, and as he looked upon the Portuguese to be men of principle, he was determined not to recede from what he had already done. The consequence of this  
answer



this answer was, that the king of Calicut wrote to the admiral the letter above-mentioned, wherein he declared himself ready to become a tributary of the king of Portugal; and that he would restore the effects of the king, which had been given to the captain of the ship that had been burnt by Pedro Alvarez Cabral.

“ On the 26th of October, the admiral ordered to be hanged from the main-yard two Moors belonging to the Mecca ships, one of which had been known to have murdered two Europeans at Calicut, and the other had cut off the arm of a Portuguese immediately after the battle of Calicut.

“ On the 29th of October we made sail for Calicut, and arrived before the said city, which is hardly visible from the sea, a small part only being to be seen, as it is situated in a deep valley, and hid from the view by very high palm trees. After we arrived, the first stipulation on the part of the admiral was, that all the Moors belonging to Mecca should be expelled, as well merchants as inhabitants. The king answered him, that he could not think of such a step, as there were upwards of five thousand Moorish families, very rich, and of the utmost consequence to his state, as they had from time to time assisted him with supplies for carrying on his wars, &c. and therefore he must decline the proposal.

“ In the mean time, while the king and the admiral were treating together, some fishermen, under the idea of peace being concluded, took to their boats and went out to fish, which they had no sooner done than they were seized by order of the admiral, and their boats and effects condemned. This so enraged the king, that he would not subscribe to any peace unless conditional: and that if it was expected that the effects belonging to the king of Portugal be restored, he, on his part expected to be indemnified for the damage done to his country by the Portuguese; that the property taken from on board the Mecca ship should be restored, and that the port of Calicut should be a free port. The admiral informed him, that being deputed by the king of Portugal, to act for him in that quarter of the globe, he would not be dictated to.

“ Late on the Sunday evening the admiral gave orders for all the ships to get as near in with the city as possible, that the artillery might more effectually play upon it, without being subject to the batteries from the land. The Captain, Emerald, Leonard, and Seaflower, were ordered to keep off a little wide of the shore, as they were all large ships. During the night the people were observed running to and fro on the beach with lanthorns in their hands, digging caves in the sand, planting their artillery, &c. and at day-break the number of people was much more considerable than was apprehended. In the morning the admiral ordered the ships to lay as close in with the land as possible, and to run every risk in so doing; to hold themselves in readiness, and as soon as they observed the jack hoisted at the main-top on board the Loytoa, to hang from the yards all the Moors which were taken in the sloop. Accordingly many Moors and Caffres were executed, and hung up high enough to be seen from the city. The number executed was thirty-four. The beach was covered with people, who came out of the city to view the sight; and whilst they were lost in astonishment, a shot was fired amongst them from the admiral, and another from the galliot; some fell, and others fled; and after a few shots from the other ships, the beach was soon cleared. As soon as we perceived them flying, we set up a great shout, which was answered by a shot from one of their three-pounders (which was generally the size of their artillery). Their guns were ill levelled, seldom taking effect, and they were long in charging. A few of their houses were thrown down by our artillery, as they were built with mud;

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we therefore only made considerable apertures in them, and some of the very high ones were cut afunder, as if with an axe.

“ On the 2d of November the admiral gave orders to fire upon the city, but to point their guns where they could do most execution on the principal houses of the inhabitants; and in the course of the second day we fired above four hundred shots, without receiving any damage from our opponents, whose fire was very slack, either from want of powder, or some other cause.

“ The ships now retired from before the town, and the admiral ordered to be distributed among the several ships crews of the fleet the nuts, apples, and fruit, which was in the sloop we had taken, which order being executed, the sloop was instantly set fire to. Whilst we were at supper, we could perceive a number of boats put off from the shore, with intent to cut the cable, and tow her off before she was burnt to the edge; but on seeing our boats manned, ready to oppose their design, they quitted their enterprise, and made for the shore as quick as possible, leaving in the boats their bows and arrows in their hurry to land.

“ On Wednesday morning the 3d of November we sailed towards Cochin, and had six ships before the said city and a galliot, the whole under the command of Vincenzo Sodre, to cut off their supply of provisions and other necessaries. On the 7th of the said month we arrived off the port of Cochin. Immediately on our arrival, Gonfalvo Gill, who had remained behind the voyage before, came on board us, and informed the admiral, that letters from many Moorish merchants at Calicut to their correspondents at Cochin had arrived, mentioning the devastation we had made at Calicut, and that the people there were dying of a famine, because, on account of the ships lying there, no provisions could enter the port, and they did not even dare to go out to fish. At the same time it mentioned the loss of a fleet of victuallers, to the number of two hundred sail, all which were hired by the king of Calicut, with an intention of arming against us; out of which fleet only one, in attempting to make the port of Cochin, was driven on the coast and lost, but the men and cargo of spices were saved, and seized by the king of Cochin.

“ This day the son of the king came on board to speak to the admiral, and to thank him for the attention he had shewn in preventing two of his ships from being burned at sea, and for many other civilities he had shewn to various persons on his account, expressing the sincerity of his intentions, and his wishes to accommodate him and his ships with every thing the country afforded; and that he should give the most positive orders to the merchants and others to supply him at the earliest notice, with whatever he should want.

“ Upon this message the joy of the whole fleet was inexpressibly great, and we immediately set about repairing and cleaning the ships, airing between decks, agreeing for provisions, and clearing the hold for the reception of the different merchandise. On the 10th of the said month the king sent to request the admiral would begin to take in his loading on that day, Thursday being with them a lucky day, and on which they begin every act of consequence; to which the admiral assented. On that day were put on board the Rai Ficaïrdo four tons of pepper; but there being no price fixed, and the people not disposed for the present to bring more aboard, we remained three or four days without taking in any: upon which an interview was agreed on betwixt the admiral and the king of Cochin. The 14th of November the admiral and the king had



had an interview, attended with the same ceremonies as at Cananor, and a peace and treaty of commerce was accordingly settled.

“ On the 15th three of our ships arrived, with an ambassador on board, from Calicut, who had been expressly sent from Cananor by the king, and not finding us there, had requested a coveyance to Cochin. He came charged with a commission from his royal master to request we would send him a Portuguese ship, and he would load her with spices, at the same rate as at Cochin; that he would take our merchandise in return at the same prices as they were valued at in Cochin; and if any security was demanded for the performance of covenants, he was ready to leave the said ambassador in our custody.

“ Our people who came with the ships gave us the following relation, viz. that while they lay off Calicut, the king had recently given orders for arming twenty row gallies, and when compleated, they sent out a few small boats, thinking to induce us to follow them up the river, where the armed fleet lay hid in the creeks. The moment our ships had pursued them to the mouth of the river, the gallies made a sally from their lurking places, and attacked our vessels so closely with their bows and arrows, that had not a chance shot from the ships sunk their captain's ship, and thereby disheartened them, they perhaps would have taken the vessel immediately in pursuit.

“ On the 18th of November three of the natives came on board the Julia, and sold a cow, which being made known to the king, his majesty sent a message to the admiral, requesting him to send the three delinquents to him. Upon this the admiral gave orders on board all the ships, that no one, on pain of being severely flogged, should purchase either cows or oxen of the natives, and that if any one came alongside, offering to sell, they should be seized and handed over to the captain. The day after the three Moors again returned on board the Julia with another cow for sale, when they were immediately seized and delivered up to the king, who, without any form of trial, had them impaled alive. The reason of punishing the sale of cows or oxen, was their being worshipped by the natives as deities, which they stiled Tambarani.

“ On the 19th of the said month came certain Christians from Mangalore, and other places up the country, bringing presents to the admiral of fowls, fruits, certain red wands headed with silver, and three small silver bells pending from the heads of each. They brought letters from the heads of the jurisdiction, which consisted of ten thousand men, mentioning the satisfaction they had at the arrival of the Portuguese in those parts of India, and that they acknowledged the king of Portugal for their sovereign, and were ready to do him homage; and that the rods they had tendered were rods of justice, which signified that they should never in future do any act of justice on any individual whatever except in the name of the king of Portugal. They further assured us, that if we would build a fortress in a situation which they would point out to us, we might soon make ourselves master of all India. They told us they had six bishops, who said mass and performed pilgrimages to the tomb of St. Thomas, who was buried in their territory, where many miracles were performed. Many questions were asked us respecting our churches, bishops, mass, and many other things. The admiral gave them a polite reception, and presented them with cloth, silk, grain, and other articles.

“ The natives told us, that from hence to Ceylon is one hundred and fifty leagues; that the island is rich, and near three hundred leagues in circumference; that there are many mountains; that the produce of the island is cinnamon of the first quality, and  
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in the greatest abundance; and pearls and precious stones of great value: in the mountains were a great number of elephants.

“ The people on board the ship of Luis Fernandez told us, that in passing the cape in their way to India, they lost sight of the fleet; and, on the other hand, we not having seen them for some time, imagined they were gone to the bottom in the storm, which continued while we were passing the cape. Being close in with the land, they more than once went ashore, and saw the natives, who were quite black. The country here was well stocked with cattle, four of which they bought for two small copper coins, and three hens for an old shirt sleeve.

“ We remained here a month, and laid in a considerable stock of provisions. Every day we saw great quantities of sea horses, and frequently whales of all sizes, some very large ones indeed. It was some time before the admiral could agree with the natives about the price for the spices, &c. However, at last it was stipulated in the following manner, viz. that we should pay them three-fourths in money, and one-fourth in copper, after the rate of twelve gold ducats per hundred weight for pepper; but for the cinnamon, incense, and other spices, as well as pure allum, we had them on our own terms, for simple barter, not being so highly esteemed as cloves and pepper.

“ On the 3d of January a Bramin came on board the commodore's ship, with his son, and two other men of some consequence, with letters A.D. 1503. for the admiral from the king of Calicut, intimating that he was ready to agree to terms of amity with the subjects of Portugal, and was ready to restore the effects belonging to his Portuguese majesty; the one-half in money, and the other in spices, at the current market prices; and that he was ready to give such hostages, as security for the punctual performance of covenants entered into. The Bramin had with him pearls and precious stones to a considerable amount, which he proposed to the admiral to sell in Portugal, offering at the same time to go with him, and to put on board his ship a certain quantity of spices. The admiral assented to his request, and gave leave for taking on board twenty baarri of cinnamon, which he had bought at Cochin, and ordered him to be taken on board with his jewels, &c. which he had along with him. This arrangement being settled, the admiral went on board the *Fior del Mars*, and took along with him the said ambassadors, which he treated with all possible respect.

“ On the 5th of January he took his departure from Cochin, and met with nothing particular in the course of the voyage, except the taking a small sloop, which the crew quitted, and gained the shore.

“ On his arrival at Calicut with the ambassadors, every thing was settled, and the king desired him to send some proper person of consequence ashore, to receive the money which was ready to be delivered: to which the admiral replied, that he came not for the purpose of complimenting; that no particular respect was due to the king, but, on the contrary, he should expect the money, &c. should be delivered on board at the sole expence and trouble of his majesty, without the least interference on the part of the ship's crew, and that in twenty-four hours he should expect a categorical answer. That night late, or near day-break, the sailors on watch observed a sloop coming up, which they imagined was a fishing-bark going out to fish: they soon however discovered what they conceived to be one vessel, was two small ones lashed together, making right for the ship, which the people perceiving, the admiral was immediately called, who got up, supposing that the king had sent the money, &c. aboard;



but in an instant we saw making from the shore seventy or eighty row gallies, which we at first took for fishing vessels. As the two first approached the ship, they began to fire upon us with ball, and raked us not a little; which firing was followed by the others. As soon as our people shewed themselves on deck, they were saluted with a volley of arrows. From the ships we could only annoy them with stones from the tops and shrouds, as they were so close under the ships that the guns could not play upon them. The only recourse we had was to cut the cable, and leave our anchor behind us.

“ Whilst this was doing, Vincent Sodre, uncle of the admiral, arrived in the river with the two galliots from Cananor, which, as soon as our enemies perceived, they made for the land as soon as they could, after a few shots from the galliots, which did considerable execution.

“ The admiral immediately hanged the hostages upon the main-yard, and afterwards sent them in a boat near the shore, where they were thrown into the sea, that the current might float them ashore, with a written parchment tacked to their breasts, saying, that at his return he would serve all the nations he should take in the same manner, for the perfidy they had been guilty of.

“ On the 10th of February the whole of the fleet, which had remained at Cochin, sailed from thence, and on the 12th arrived before Calicut. At the distance of four or five leagues we perceived a fleet of thirty-two large vessels, besides boats and small craft without number, coming down upon us. We instantly got every thing ready, and cleared for action. The moment they were within gun-shot, their warlike instruments began to play, and the action commenced with a salute from them, which was warmly returned by us, and so well seconded, that they soon began to give way, and fled with precipitation towards the city. As our ships were foul and deep laden, we could not overtake them; the Emerald, however, picked up one of their vessels, which the crew had deserted and swam ashore.

“ On the 15th of February, at mid-day, we arrived off Cananor, where we related all that had happened at Calicut, it being only eighteen leagues distant. The king of Cananor had given orders for a fleet to be got ready to come to our assistance, and every one seemed as much rejoiced at our return as they were at our victory.

“ On the 22d of February we sailed from Cananor on our return to Portugal, but did not pursue the same course as the other ships generally did, for the admiral determined to cross the gulph by the way of Mozambique. Three ships and two galliots remained here by order of our sovereign, which were to cruise in the Indian sea, and to prevent the arrival of spices at Mecca. We steered our course to the west and south. On the 24th we saw certain islands, fifty leagues distant from Cananor; but whether they were peopled or not, we could not tell, as we kept wide of them.

“ On the 15th of March we saw another island, and on the 16th we fell in with many sand banks. We discovered another island within fifteen or twenty leagues of Mozambique; and soon after we fell in with two very large islands, of a beautiful aspect, and well wooded, each of which was little inferior in size to the island of Madeira; the distance from one to the other is seven or eight leagues. The land was very fertile, in many parts well cultivated, and highly productive.

“ On the 12th of April we arrived before Mozambique, where several of our ships were hove down, and underwent a thorough repair, having suffered much from the worms. We here took in our quantity of wood and water; but the water being re-  
ported



ported by the inhabitants to be of an indifferent quality, the admiral ordered the people to go further up the country and dig, where they met with very excellent water by digging to a certain depth.

“ On the 18th we failed, by order of the admiral, from hence for Portugal, with news for the king, respecting the ships left behind, and their destination. On the 29th of the same month, the admiral, with eight ships in company, failed for Portugal. On the 13th we all put into an island to take in wood. On the first of May we failed from thence, but the day after the admiral was under the necessity of returning into port, on account of the *Fior del Mars* and *Leonarda*, which made so much water that they could not long keep the sea. On the 4th, by order of the admiral, the ships of *Fernando Lorenzo* and *Luis Fernandez* were dispatched with news to the king of the ships having been obliged to put back and refit. On the 20th we failed, and on the 30th made once more the land of Mozambique. On the 1st of June we run into a creek, as being more convenient to repair the damage sustained by the *Leonarda* running foul of us in the night. On the 10th of June we began to give out the bread by weight, viz. twelve ounces of biscuit to each man. Some time previous to this, we had put the men to an allowance of a quart of wine per day; and thinking that the allowance of bread was too great for the quantity in hand, we began, on the 28th of the said month, to give only ten ounces each man per day, without any thing else besides the bread and wine, except a small dish of boiled rice between two persons. The rice held out during our stay at Mozambique, and four days longer; we were then obliged to have recourse to the millet, which we had collected on the island, which perhaps might amount to about four bushels, and cost half a ducat per bushel: this held out eight days more, when we were obliged to make a mess of the sweepings of the biscuit, mixed with stinking water, which nothing but hunger could have made us swallow. On the 15th of June the admiral came on board our ship, to examine into the state of our bread, when the quantity was found not to exceed twenty-five or thirty gross hundreds of biscuit, and we had two thousand three hundred leagues to make from hence to Portugal. Our condition being fully proved to the admiral, he ordered us three to make the best of our way home.

“ In compliance with the orders issued by the admiral, which gave general satisfaction, we set sail from the port of Mozambique on the 16th of June, with a foul wind, tacking sometimes in land, and sometimes standing out to sea. On the 3d of July, coasting along, a violent storm arose, which made us take in all our canvas, except the foresail, under which we run for some time, but at last we were obliged to take in that also, and trust to the mercy of the sea. On the 10th of July we met with the *Letoanuso*, which separated from us a few days before, whence we learned that they had fallen in with two Portuguese vessels on their way to India. On the 12th of the said month we met with two other Portuguese vessels bound for India, commanded by *Alphonso Albuquerque*, who ordered the *Julia* to come along-side him, to give him some information respecting India. On the 18th of July we passed the Cape.”



## CHAPTER IV.

*Squadrons equipped for India. Voyage of Albuquerque, from Ramusio and Osorio. Voyage of Saldanna, from Osorio. Fourth voyage of Americus Vesputius, from Ramusio.*

THE king of Portugal judging, that as factories were established at Cochin and Cananor, there would be no occasion to equip any large fleet, determined to send only small squadrons: one of which, consisting of four ships, was dispatched under the command of Alphonso d'Albuquerque, who afterwards made so conspicuous a figure in India; a second under the command of his cousin, Francis Albuquerque; and a third, which Osorio says was under the command of Nicholas Coello, but other authors, with more probability, say, was under the command of Antonio Saldanna.

We have a journal of the first voyage written by Gioanni da Empoli (a factor in one of the ships) preserved in Ramusio, which is here translated. Other particulars of this voyage are added from Osorio, to whom we are beholden for an account of the other voyages. We also find a journal of a voyage by Americus Vesputius, which is his fourth voyage, and was performed under Portuguese colours: this also is translated from Ramusio.

Voyage of Alphonso Albuquerque, written by Empoli.

“ We took our departure from Lisbon on the 6th of April, in the A. D. 1503. Squadron of the commodore, don Alphonso Albuquerque, consisting of four ships, one of six hundred tons, named the San Jacobo; one of seven hundred tons, named the San Spirito; one of three hundred tons, named the San Christophoro; one of two hundred tons, named the Catterina Dies. We sailed all in company, and steered right for the Cape de Verde Islands, and as soon as we came within sight of the cape, the commodore called a council of the several pilots belonging to the fleet, in order to determine what course would be best to steer for the Cape of Good Hope; the course generally steered being all along the coast of Guinea, which coast being subject to currents, shoals, and rocks, is also under the line; and as the wind generally is slack upon the coast, we determined to stand out to sea. Steering this course, on the 28th day we came within sight of land, (which till now had not been fully ascertained) called the Island of Ascension, round which we kept sailing the whole night, in hard blowing weather, at the risk of driving ashore, the wind blowing thereon. The island, as far as we could discover, is of little or no value.

“ We sailed from hence, and continuing in the same course, found ourselves off Vera Cruz, or the Brasils, as it is called, heretofore discovered by Americus Vesputius. The men and women are well made, and go naked; their heads are adorned with green parrots feathers, and their lips with fish bones. Their arms are a kind of dart headed with fish bone: their ordinary food is human flesh, which they dry over wood fires in the smoke. We quitted the above place, to double the Cape of Good Hope; when we fell in with the island of St. Thomas, we lost sight of



of the arctic pole, and immediately came right under the antarctic pole; but before we could make the cape, we met with a dreadful storm, which would not permit us to carry a rag of canvas; sometimes driving to the west, sometimes to the east, these being the two only winds generally blowing in that latitude. At length, on the 6th of July, we made the Cape of Good Hope: leaving this place, and sailing along the coast, we entered a port not far from the cape, called the Bay of San Blaze, which took its name from being discovered on that saint's day. This place abounds with excellent water. There are great quantities of cattle which are very reasonable, and you may buy an ox or a cow for a small bell; sometimes you must give two, they being fonder of these articles than any other. The men go bare-headed, and have their head scabby and loathsome; their bodies, as low as the waist, they cover with skins which have the hair on, and the private parts they tie up in a leathern bag. The women are dressed in the same manner, with the addition of a cow's tail, with the hair on, hanging before and behind, to hide their private parts. The men carry darts pointed with iron. Laws they have none. Their language is highly guttural, and very inarticulate.

"We quitted this port, and sailing along the coast, met with stormy weather, and with some difficulty regained the coast, after having been more than once drove out to sea. We passed the territory of Sofala, where the gold mines are, and where the king has a well garrisoned fortress. We sailed on for Melinda, there to wait the commodore, who was separated from us in the last great storm. After we had been fifteen days beating about in the gulph, we fell in with the rest of the fleet which had parted from us. We sailed on with the greatest caution, for the small islands are so numerous, that if you are not very careful in steering a proper course, you will infallibly be lost. The wind we had was favourable. The signs observable on quitting the channel are, first, the water has a white appearance, as if near land, whilst at the very moment you are one hundred and fifty leagues from shore: secondly, the sea here is full of fish like serpents: the third and last sign, is the red small crabs. When these signs appear, we know that we are within seventy leagues of land. Keeping our due course, we first perceived the mountain of Delhi, which is called the beginning of the Malabar coast. From hence we sailed for Cananor, in order to take in refreshment after our fatigues and disasters. We arrived on the 11th of September, and purchased such merchandise and other articles as we then wanted. Sailing along the coast, we steered for Cochin by the way of Calicut, and on our arrival at Cochin we found there the fleet of captain Francis Albuquerque, which consisted of three ships, and sailed from Lisbon eight days after us. Here we made great rejoicings. They informed us that they found the kingdom of Cochin quite destroyed, the king dethroned and driven out by the Moors and the natives of Calicut, and that the captain and his little army had overcome the enemy, and replaced on the throne the king of Cochin without any considerable loss. The two captains having held a council of war, determined to carry the war into the heart of the country of the king of Calicut. On the point of the river Ripelin we raised a fort of wood, with ditches, and surrounded with a large trench, well garrisoned, and well defended with guns, which were portioned out for the purpose from every ship. We now began to think of taking in our lading of spices, and found eight hundred tons of pepper ready for us, which the other captain had provided previous to our arrival; but some difference having arisen about the division and allotment of the pepper and the spices, and it being de-



cided by the king's agents that whoever came first had an exclusive right to take the spices in preference to the other, we determined to sail to some other port at a venture, rather than return to Portugal without a freight.

" We sailed therefore from Cochin, and coasted along for near two hundred and fifty miles, when we at last met with a place called Colons, which had never yet been discovered by Europeans; and here we rode along a bold shore, six miles distant from the land. About midnight the wind rose and blowed violently on shore, and continued for five days successively blowing a hurricane, with a high sea driving ashore, so that we lost four anchors and cables; building but slender hopes upon the one remaining; wherefore the greatest part of the crew were stripped, in order that they might, if necessary, plunge into the sea to save themselves: however, as soon as the wind dropped, and the sea became calm, the captain ordered me to go ashore and see what I could discover. The boat soon landed me, where I found four hundred men on the beach lost in admiration of the boat and its contents. As soon as we were near enough, we gave them to understand, by means of our interpreter, that we were Christians; the which they no sooner heard, than they gave evident signs of the greatest satisfaction; at the same time intimating that they also were Christians, having been so from the time of St. Thomas: they were in number near three thousand souls. They shewed us a church which they had built after our form, but of an indifferent architecture, ornamented with saints and a cross, and called Santa Maria; and in the neighbourhood of the church dwell these people, who call themselves Nazarenes.

" We were then presented to the king, Nambiadora, who received us with great kindness and urbanity; and having asked him if we could be supplied with spices, he answered, that in twenty days he would engage to load us with every kind of spice we could wish. We returned on board with the agreeable information, and immediately set about careening the ships; as soon as that was finished, we took in our lading complete, of most excellent spices, which were in such abundance, that we could not take the whole of what was offered us.

" As we now began to think of departing, a meeting betwixt the king and the captain was resolved on, and upon the day fixed the captain ordered out six boats armed, and elegantly decorated with velvet at the stern, jack and flags flying, himself dressed in a gold brocade, with gold chains and other ornaments, in honour of his sovereign: the crews were dressed also in form. The whole being arranged, were ordered to lay close in with the beach, and wait the coming of the king. In an hour the king came down, attended by an innumerable concourse of people, all marshalled in procession, according to their several degrees; the whole closing with the king, seated cross-legged on an ivory chair, and carried by four Bramins. The king was dressed in silk embroidered, with an upper robe of gold-muslin: he wore rings of a considerable value, and had on his head a crimson velvet cap, highly ornamented with jewels, and long chains of pearls and brilliants hanging from the top of the cap, with his hair flowing loose upon his shoulders. There were a number of elephants, and Persian horses followed in the train, which made an elegant appearance. A number of various warlike instruments joined in the procession, playing as they passed. Soon as they arrived opposite to where the boats lay, they made an halt: immediately the captain made the signal for a salute from the ships, the band playing all the time: he then was rowed to the shore, to have the honour of kissing the king's hand. The king perceiving this, ordered all his people to retire to some distance, in order to con-

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vince the Portuguese of the confidence he had in the captain by meeting him alone. Compliments being paid, and the ceremony being gone through, the following compact was mutually entered into by each party. That the king should annually grant to the Portuguese all the spices which his territory produced, which we agreed to take at prices stipulated, paying for the same in goods at regulated prices. We also requested that whoever was left as agent for the king of Portugal, should have the punishing or trying any of his Portuguese majesty's subjects who should remain on the island. This the king granted, though with reluctance, considering it as an interference in his juridical right. The whole being transcribed in silver letters, was properly signed and sealed; and thus the matter was concluded. The natives being desirous of seeing our priests, we landed the two friars, and had mass solemnly performed in their church, with a sermon preached afterwards, and explained to the people by the interpreter.

" We quitted this place on the 15th of January, and steered towards A. D. 1504. Cochin, to see what was going forward; but on our arrival, we found the squadron gone to Calicut, and were attempting to come to agreement with the king. The ships had not got their complement of spices; the people who had promised the eight hundred tons having broken their engagement; we therefore gave them two hundred bags of pepper, which we could not stow below in the hold. We then departed for Cananor, where we took in water, rice and fish for our voyage. We quitted Cananor on the 27th of January, taking on board a Moorish pilot for steering us through the gulph of Mecca. We then sailed for Mozambique, and from thence steered along the coast, where previous to arriving at the cape, we were near being lost in a storm.

" At length we reached the Cape of Good Hope on the 1st of May. From thence steering right, to shorten our course, when we thought we were close in with the Cape de Verde Islands, we found ourselves near the fishing banks of Canangia, on the coast of Guinea: we were here overtaken with a calm, and made only six leagues in the course of fifty-four days; a circumstance which almost drove us to despair, as we had only three pipes of water, and run very short of provisions; our rigging much destroyed by the rats and hard weather, and soon after we had a violent sickness on board, which raged to such a degree, that in the course of thirty-five days we buried seventy-six persons, nine only remaining alive; and on board the other ships the same proportion died. The ships were so eaten with the worm, that they leaked fast, and one day more seemed the ultimatum of our destiny. Fortunately, however, for us, we spied a sail, which proved to be a Portuguese vessel, bound to the coast of Guinea to purchase slaves. The captain furnished us with water, and gave us every assistance in his power; but deeming it not safe to sail alone, we made him accompany us to the island of St. James, one of the Cape de Verde Islands. Here we took in water, meat, &c. and slaves to work the ship to Portugal. Having departed hence, we steered right for the Azores, but could not make them. We then steered for Lisbon, and as soon as we came within sight of the rocks of Sintra, five leagues from Lisbon, we dispatched the ship which had returned to accompany us, and sent her on before to inform the king of our arrival. Whilst we were standing off, waiting his majesty's orders, the wind got foul, and we were once more in danger of going to the bottom: however, on the 16th of September we entered the port, amidst the loud acclamations of the people.



“ I forgot to mention the manners and customs of the people on the coast of Malabar. They are idolaters, and eat neither fish, flesh, eggs, nor any thing containing blood; their diet being confined to rice and herbs. The men are neat and cleanly, and the better sort live in houses built of brick and mortar. Cows are looked upon as deities with them, which accounts for the quantity found in the country. This is the whole of what I have been able to collect.”

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Oforio's account is as follows: “ Alphonso Albuquerque sailed from Lisbon about a week sooner than Francis; the latter, however, reached India first, and arrived at the island of Anchédive with two ships only; one of which was commanded by Nicholas Coello. The third commander, named Pedro Vasco Veiga, met with a most unlucky fate; his ship being, as supposed, either sunk or burnt. Here Albuquerque found Pedro Ataide, and the other Portuguese officers. As soon as he learned the catastrophe of Sodre, and the distressed circumstances to which Trimumpar, the king of Cochin, was reduced, he resolved, notwithstanding the rigour of the season, to sail directly for Cananor. Accordingly he set out for that place with his two ships, and the other four, which lay then at anchor in Anchédive. Upon his arrival at Cananor, the king gave him a more particular account of Trimumpar's misfortunes; for which reason he sailed directly for Vaipin, where that prince still remained. The Portuguese who were with him, when they spied the ships, were transported to the utmost pitch of joy. The king could not contain himself, but called aloud, “ Portugal! Portugal!” and run in the highest extacy to embrace the Portuguese officers, who received him with joyful shouts, and promised to reinstate him on his throne. The nayres of Calicut, and the rest of the soldiers who had been left as a garrison in Cochin, were seized with a panic at the arrival of the Portuguese, and immediately left the city. At this time Duarte Pacheco, who had sailed from Lisbon with Alphonso Albuquerque, arrived with his ship, and joined the rest of the fleet in Vaipin. Francis Albuquerque bestowed the highest encomiums on the king, and returned him the thanks of Emanuel for his fidelity. Besides, as he knew him to be at present very low in his circumstances, he was extremely liberal to him in many respects, and made him a present of ten thousand ducats. This piece of generosity, at such a juncture, was very acceptable to Trimumpar. The fame of this liberal act raised the admiration of all the princes in that country, especially of the zamorin; for the kings in India, although they are proud and haughty, and possess great revenues, yet they generally live upon a moderate income, and are great lovers of money. Albuquerque thought there was no time to be delayed; accordingly on the day of his arrival he passed over to Cochin with Trimumpar, and, in the name of Emanuel, re-established him in the possession of his kingdom; and lest the spirits of his men should be blunted by inactivity, he sailed to an island opposite Cochin, the prince of which had revolted from Trimumpar to the zamorin. He fell upon the enemy unawares, killed many of them, burnt some of their towns and villages, and then returned to Cochin.

“ The next day he steered for another island, which had likewise proved unfaithful to Trimumpar. The prince had in arms two thousand men; and there were besides, a considerable number of paraos from Calicut, which cruized near the island. Albuquerque ordered Pacheco to attack this fleet, whilst at the same time Coello, Antonio de Campo, and Ataide, were to engage the land forces. Pacheco accordingly executed his orders with great spirit and success; he sunk several of these paraos, the rest



rest he obliged to sheer off, after having killed great numbers of their men. The other commanders had the like success, having routed the enemy at the first onset: they forced their way into the royal palace, though surrounded with a rampart, killed the prince himself, and fired the building; and thus having gained a complete victory, returned the same day to Cochin. Albuquerque sailed the next day against the island of Repelin. The prince of this place, being conscious of his treachery, had prepared to make a stout resistance. He had two thousand natives under his command; with these he marched towards the shore, in order to hinder the landing of the Portuguese. The dispute, for some time, was warm on both sides; the enemy, however, were at last obliged to save themselves by flight. The Portuguese pursued them to the largest town in the island; there the prince rallied his men, and drew them up in battle array: the fight was accordingly renewed, and the enemy fought with desperate obstinacy. The contest, whilst it continued, was fierce and bloody; but it ended in a complete victory to the Portuguese. They killed great numbers of the enemy, and drove many of them headlong into the sea; then they gave the island to be plundered by Trimumpar's soldiery; and the towns and villages were afterwards burnt by the orders of Albuquerque.

“The king of Cochin being settled in his dominions, and his enemies punished for their perfidy by the bravery of the Portuguese, Albuquerque now thought it was a very proper time to desire he would allow him to build a fort as a bulwark to the Portuguese, and a defence to his majesty against the attempts of the zamorin. The king very readily granted this request, saying, that to him and Emanuel he owed his life, his crown, and protection from his enemies. He not only allowed him to build a fort, but even offered to do it at his own expence. There was accordingly a very convenient place fixed upon for that purpose. The situation was high, and commanding a narrow arm of the sea; so that the Portuguese, from such a place, could easily prevent the zamorin's ships from passing that way. The foundation was laid.

A. D. 1503. on the 27th of September. The king furnished many hands. All the Portuguese, without distinction, helped to carry on the work. The fourth day after it was begun, Alphonso Albuquerque came to Cochin; so that the number of workmen being increased, the fort was soon finished.

“A consultation being held, it was resolved that Albuquerque and the rest of the commanders, together with some of Trimumpar's soldiers, should go and attack some towns which belonged to the prince of Repelin. Having accordingly set out in their long boats, they attacked the enemy by surprise, killed vast numbers of them, and made great depredations in their lands. The report of this havock being soon spread abroad, alarmed the neighbouring towns, and the whole country was up in arms: above six thousand natives came to the assistance of their countrymen, and attacked the Portuguese with so much fury, that they were obliged to retreat; which was done, however, in good order. There were eight of them wounded in this engagement, but not one killed. Many of the enemy were slain, seven of their paraos were taken, and fifteen burned.

“The spirits of the Portuguese officers were now raised to such a degree, that they would allow their men no respite. The following night they set out in their long boats to destroy some other villages belonging to the prince of Repelin. Alphonso advanced before the rest with a party of his men; but the enemy, who lay in ambuscade, falling upon him with great fury, killed two of his men, and wounded twenty.

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In this dangerous situation he very much signalized himself for his gallantry, having fought with great intrepidity till break of day, when Francis Albuquerque, and the other officers, came to his assistance. Their arrival gave fresh courage, and struck such a panic into the enemy, that they gave way, and betook themselves to flight. The Portuguese having continued the pursuit, slew great numbers of the enemy, and fired the villages.

“ The same day they sailed for the island of Cambal, where they killed above seven hundred men: nor did they stop here, but carried their arms into the zamorin’s territories, where they laid waste the lands, and made great havock amongst the inhabitants. The enemy mustered six thousand men; these were repulsed, though not without some difficulty. About the same time Duarte Pacheco defeated and gave chase to thirty-four paraos of Calicut, which had been stationed with a design to intercept the ships trading to Cochin.

“ The fame of the Portuguese arms was now spread every where, and the merchants were afraid to bring their spices to Cochin; for which reason Alphonso Albuquerque sailed for Coulan, to load three ships. This city, in former times, was the first in these parts for greatness and opulence, but in proportion as Calicut rose in trade and riches, Coulan began to decline. It lies about forty-eight miles south-east of Cochin, has a very commodious harbour, and is situate upon an excellent river, which, in high tide, is able to carry ships of a considerable burthen. The navigation up this river is very safe; dangerous only in one respect, that it being but narrow, the enemy often lie in ambuscade on the banks of each side. The religious, as well as civil customs of the inhabitants, are much the same as the rest of the Malabars: they are a warlike people, and are almost continually waging war with the king of Narfinga, whose dominions are not only very extensive in the eastern parts of India, but reach likewise to the remotest corners of the west. The princes of Coulan used chiefly to reside in the inland towns; so that the city of Coulan was generally committed to the management of some trusty persons: part of the kingdom is inhabited by Christians, who follow the doctrine preached by St. Thomas. These men had gone through various scenes of fortune, and for the sake of their religion had suffered many grievances; yet, amidst all their calamities, they remained unshaken, and maintained their Christian faith with the utmost perseverance. There is in this city a very ancient church, which the Christians believe to have been built by St. Thomas. The body of this apostle is said to have been buried in the kingdom of Narfinga, in a church which is highly revered not only by the Christians, but by the Arabs likewise, and most other nations in the east. St. Thomas is reported to have performed many wonderful things in this country, by healing the sick, and relieving the distressed. At the time when Alphonso arrived at Coulan, the queen dowager, in the place of her son, who was not of age, then managed the kingdom with great reputation. He was received very kindly by the leading men of the city, who, in the name of the queen, treated him with the highest respect, and granted him whatever he requested. He made a friendly alliance with this people, and left several Portuguese, under the royal protection, to transact Emanuel’s affairs. Having loaded his ships, he then returned for Cochin.

“ In the mean while, the zamorin being sensible what an imprudent conduct he had run into at the instigation of the Arabians, was now determined to make a treaty of friendship with the Portuguese, which was accordingly entered into betwixt them and



and the zamorin. The conditions were these: that all the ships which had been fitted out against the Portuguese or their allies, should be immediately withdrawn; that restitution should be made of those goods which had been taken away by the Arabians or their associates, during the tumult wherein Corea was killed; that the zamorin should grant a certain quantity of spices to the Portuguese, within a limited time; and that he should not allow the Arabs, who traded at Calicut, the liberty of sailing to Arabia. Moreover, Francis Albuquerque demanded, that the two Milanese who had deserted to the zamorin, should be surrendered. This, however, his majesty would not grant, saying that it would be most scandalous in him to betray those whom he had received into his protection; however, he agreed to every other request.

“ Things being thus settled, Naubeadarim went for Cranganor to see the spices weighed out which were to be given to Pacheco, who, by the orders of Francis Albuquerque, had come there for that purpose. In the mean while, when Pacheco had received the greatest part of his loading, it happened that a ship of Calicut with spices, was in her way to Cranganor. Fernando Corea having heard of it, sent some of his men to intercept this vessel, and bring her to Cochin. Those who were aboard, finding themselves attacked in this hostile manner, called aloud, that a most solemn treaty had been entered into betwixt the zamorin and the Portuguese, and yet to be thus used, was most scandalous and unjust. They added, that their ship was bound for Cranganor with spices, which, in order to fulfil the zamorin's engagement, were to be delivered to the Portuguese: but Corea persisted in his resolution. The ship was accordingly taken and plundered, six of her men were killed, and many wounded: nor did the Portuguese come off with impunity, for several of them were wounded in the engagement; so that an inconsiderable quantity of spices was purchased at the expence of honour and justice, and an effusion of blood.

“ When Naubeadarim came to the knowledge of this affair, he demanded satisfaction from Francis Albuquerque, but he treated all his remonstrances with contempt. It is not easy to determine whether this behaviour of Albuquerque was owing to his own perfidious principles, or his fear of punishing Corea; but whatever was the motive, his conduct at this juncture certainly tarnished all his former glory. The zamorin, enraged to the highest degree, ordered a fleet to be again equipped, and soldiers to be levied, being determined to carry on war by sea and land against the Portuguese, as well as the king of Cochin, and all their allies.

“ Trimumpar being informed of these preparations, earnestly requested of Francis Albuquerque, that at his departure he would leave him such a force as would enable him to withstand the hostile attempts of the zamorin. This he accordingly promised to do, but his performance fell very much short of a man of honour, for he left only one ship, two caravels, and another small vessel with one hundred men. There were besides fifty Portuguese at Cochin; and this was all the strength Francis left him to stand out against so formidable an enemy. The command of this small number was given to Duarte Pacheco, who, with the greatest cheerfulness, was ready to sacrifice his life for the glory of the Christian name, and the honour of his royal master.

“ In the mean while, Alphonso Albuquerque came from Coulan, and the two brothers set sail at the same time from Cochin, and steered for Cananor, where Alphonso received a letter from Raphael Reinel, (who had been left with Naubeadarim to receive the



the spices) giving him an account of the warlike preparations made by the zamorin: he received likewise a letter from Cojebequo to the same effect. When the Albuquerque came upon the coast of Calicut, they sent to the zamorin, desiring he would deliver up the Portuguese who were with him; but he refused their request. They sailed from thence homewards; Alphonso arrived at Lisbon on the A. D. 1504. 17th of July. Francis Albuquerque and Nicholas Coello very probably perished in the waves, for nothing could be learnt of them, nor any of their men. Pedro Ataide's ship was likewise lost, but he and his crew got safe to land: having got a small vessel, he sailed with part of his men for Mozambique, where he died; the rest went for Melinda."

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Oforio gives the following relation of Saldanna's voyage: "About the same time, Antony de Saldanna was at sea, and had suffered various hardships. Soon after the departure of the Albuquerque from Lisbon, this man had been sent by Emanuel with three ships, to cruize in the mouth of the Red Sea. Diego Fernand Pereira, one of the commanders, being separated from the other two by stress of weather, made the port of Melinda. He touched next at Socotora, an island hitherto unknown to the Portuguese, situate very near the mouth of the Red Sea; here he determined to lay all winter: but Saldanna, by the unskilfulness of his pilot, was carried into the island of St. Thomas, which lies directly under the line. After he had departed from thence, he met with another violent storm, which parted from him Roderick Laurence Ravaasco. Saldanna, in endeavouring to make the Cape of Good Hope, was, by the ignorance of the same pilot, carried into a bay, where he watered his ship: this place was for that reason called Aguada del Saldanna. Ravaasco having turned the promontory much sooner, sailed for Mozambique, and thence to Quiloa: here he waited twenty days; but as Saldanna did not arrive in that time, he sailed for Zanzibar, an island about eighty miles westward from Mombaza. It is divided from the main land by an arm of the sea, so narrow, that every ship passing this way, is seen from the island as well as the continent. Ravaasco cruized about Zanzibar two months, in which time he took above twenty rich ships belonging to that island; nor would he restore them till he had received for each a considerable ransom. This behaviour to these islanders, who had hitherto lived on friendly terms with the Portuguese, very much hurt their interest in those parts, and almost entirely alienated their affections from them. The prince sent to Ravaasco, telling him he was astonished that a commander of the Portuguese, a nation so famed for their fidelity, should commit such hostilities against a people who had given him no offence; nay, on the contrary, who were friends to the Portuguese. To this message Ravaasco returned a most haughty insolent answer; so that the prince being provoked by such treatment, fitted out some paroas to attack Ravaasco; but before these were ready to put to sea, Gomeze Carasco and Laurence Phæo, by the orders of Ravaasco, were sent against them in the long boat, well manned and armed. They took four of the paroas, and drove the rest to flight. They likewise killed four men, amongst whom was the prince's son. When the prince saw that neither reason nor force could avail him, he resolved to make a peace with Ravaasco, which was accordingly concluded, and he obliged himself to pay an annual tribute to Emanuel.

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“ Things being thus settled, Ravaſco directed his courſe for Melinda, the prince of which kingdom, was at this time engaged in a bloody war with the king of Mombaza; he therefore ſailed to the harbour of Mombaza, where he took two merchant ſhips and three ſmall veſſels. Amongſt the priſoners taken were twelve Arabians, men of great fortune and weight in the city of Brava, about four hundred miles from Mombaza. They gave a conſiderable ſum of money for their ranſom, and ſurrendered their city to the protection of the Portugueſe, promiſing, upon their faith and honour, that they and the reſt of the citizens would be under the ſubjection of king Emanuel. Ravaſco then fixed an annual tribute, which they were to pay to his Portugueſe majeſty. After this treaty was agreed upon, there arrived a very rich ſhip, which theſe Arabians had for ſome time expected: this, however, Ravaſco did not moleſt; nor would he allow any one to injure theſe new allies. In the mean while, Saldanna reached Mombaza with three ſhips he had taken in his voyage. The king frightened at this formidable appearance, and being afraid that the reſentment of the Portugueſe might fall upon him, made peace with the prince of Melinda. Saldanna then ſailed for India, and anchored in the iſlands of Canacan and Anchedive.”

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The voyage of Americus Veſputius is thus related by him, in a letter addreſſed, as his former, to Pietro Soderini.

“ It remains for me to relate what I ſaw in the ſecond voyage made by order of this ſerene prince, the king of Portugal; but as I am fatigued, and this voyage not having answered the purpoſe I had originally intended, owing to ſome miſfortunes we met with in the Atlantic, I ſhall endeavour to be as concise as poſſible.

“ We quitted the port of Liſbon, fix ſhips in company, with intention to proceed on the diſcovery of a city towards the eaſt, called Malacca, noted for its riches, and for its being a ſtorehouſe for all the ſhips which come from the Ganges and the Indian ſeas, in the ſame manner as Cadiz is the repository of all the ſhips which go from the eaſt to the weſt: this Malacca is more to the eaſt than Calicut, and in a higher degree of ſouthern latitude, being three degrees from our pole.

“ On the 10th of May we ſet fail, and ſteered right for the Cape de A. D. 1503. Verde Iſlands, where we landed, and took in every neceſſary reſreſhment, and after ſtaying there thirteen days, we proceeded on our voyage with a ſouthern wind. Our commodore, a man haughty and capricious, wiſhed to return to Sierra Liona, a mountainous part of the ſouthern Ethiopia, without any other view than that of ſhewing himſelf, and that he had now the command of fix ſhips. Contrary to the opinion of all the reſt, we ſteered for Sierra Liona, but no ſooner did we come within ſight of land, than we were attacked with ſo many ſtorms and contrary winds, that we lay off four days, without being able to make the land; ſo that we were compelled at length to purſue our original track, and take leave of Sierra Liona. From hence we ſteered ſouth-weſt, and after ſailing three hundred leagues, ſtanding towards the ſouth three degrees beyond the line, we diſcovered land, which might then be about twenty-two leagues diſtance. To our great ſurprize, we found it to be an iſland in the middle of the ſea, very high, near two leagues in length, and one in breadth; which iſland had never been inhabited, and was in the end unfortunate to us, as from the imprudence of the commodore,



his ship was lost by running on a rock, in the night of Saint Lorenzo, being the 10th of August, and went to the bottom without a possibility of saving any thing except the crew: she was a vessel of three hundred tons burthen, in which every thing of consequence to the undertaking was lodged.

“ In order to remedy as much as possible the misfortune which had happened, the commodore ordered me to repair with my ship to the above island, to discover where the ships might ride with safety; my boat having nine sailors on board, for the purpose of easing the vessel, he ordered them to stay behind, and suffered me to depart without the boat. I soon reached the island, which was at the distance of four leagues, where we found an excellent harbour, in which all the ships might safely ride. I here waited for the commodore and the rest of the fleet eight days, when not arriving, we began to be uneasy, and the crew of my ship so unhappy, that I found it impossible to appease them. On the 8th day a vessel appeared in sight, but lest they should not see us, we made sail towards them to meet them on the way. Soon as we approached, and the necessary compliments had passed, they informed us that the commodore's ship had gone to the bottom, that the crew was saved, and my boat remained with the squadron. You may easily conceive what I suffered, at one thousand leagues distance from Lisbon, in a gulph, and my complement of men deficient. Notwithstanding, we made the best of it, and returned to the island, where we took in wood and water by means of the ship's boat in company. We found the island uninhabited, with plenty of water and many good springs, well wooded, and full of a great variety of birds, land as well as water fowl innumerable, and so tame that you might easily take them with the hand: we took such a quantity, that we loaded the boat with them. We saw no other animals but large mice, rats, moles, lizards with two tails, and some serpents.

“ Having taken in the necessary provision, we sailed with a south wind, as the king had given us particular orders, that in case of the loss of any one of the squadron, or the commodore, we should steer for some of the new discoveries made in the last voyage. With this intention we sailed, and the first land we made, we discovered a port, to which we gave the name of the Bay of All Saints; and it pleased the Almighty to give us such favourable weather, that we made land in seventeen days, being three hundred leagues distant from the island we had quitted. Here we found neither the commodore, nor any other vessel of the squadron. After waiting two months and four days without seeing any one arrive, I and my consort determined to run along the coast. We made a run of two hundred and sixty leagues, and entering a harbour, resolved upon building a fortress, which we accomplished, and left a garrison of twenty-four men, which my consort had saved out of the commodore's ship. We passed five months in this port, employed in building the fortress, and in loading our vessels with brazil wood, as we could not proceed farther for want of hands, and a deficiency of rigging.

“ We now determined to return to Portugal, and accordingly left the twenty-four men in the fortress with provisions for six months, twelve guns, and a number of small arms; and having quieted the natives, of whom we have made no mention in this voyage, not because we did not see or keep company with them, having been forty leagues within the country, with only thirty men in company; where we saw so many things, that I must defer speaking on the subject till I come to my fourth journal. This land lays eighteen degrees south-west of the line, and fifty-seven degrees to the



the westward of Lisbon, according to our calculation. We then took leave of our people and the shore, and steered our course north-east, intending to go straight for Lisbon. In seventy-seven days, after great fatigue and many dangers, A. D. 1504. we entered the port of Lisbon the 18th of June, where we were received with a most incredible degree of satisfaction, the whole city having given us up for lost."

## CHAPTER V.

*Exploits of Pacheco. Voyage of Lope Soares. Almeed sails to India as viceroy. A fleet returning to Portugal, discovers Madagascar. Francisco Gnaia's voyage. Laurence Almeed discovers Ceylon, and defeats the fleet of Calicut. Vasco Gomez Abreo sails for India. Diego Sequiero and other commanders sail to India.*

WE now find no particular detached voyage until that of Andrea Corsali, in the year 1515; yet as the exploits of the Portuguese in the East Indies consist of expeditions by sea, they compose a very interesting series of voyages; which have been selected from the original by, and which we shall give from Osorio.

Trimumpar, king of Cochin, and the Portuguese in his kingdom, A. D. 1504. were embarrassed with a heavy war. The zamorin, as we have already mentioned, had levied a formidable army, and fitted out a strong fleet, before the Albuquerque sailed for Portugal; Pacheco having parted with them at Cananor, sailed for Cochin. When the king perceived what an inconsiderable force was left, he was very uneasy with respect to the behaviour of the Portuguese, for he accounted it only madness with such an handful of men to oppose the enemy, and was at last of opinion, that a trick had been put upon him by Francis Albuquerque. Distracted with this thought, he went to Pacheco, and earnestly conjured him to speak his mind with openness and candour; telling him at the same time, that he had behaved to the Portuguese with so much fidelity, that if they proved treacherous to him, he should have the greatest reason to complain of their ingratitude and injustice.

Pacheco, moved with indignation at his calling in question his honour and fidelity, was unable to conceal his resentment; he expostulated with the king in a very warm manner, and concluded with telling him to be of good courage, as he was determined to fight to the last in defence of his honour and dignity. This raised the king's spirits, and afforded him fresh hopes: he gave the management of the war to Pacheco, who immediately sent for the Arabian merchants, whom he endeavoured to animate with courage, and advised them not to abandon a place where they had hitherto lived so advantageously. This prevented many who intended to leave the city, from pursuing their design. Pacheco mean while sailed backwards and forwards in the river, and stationed soldiers in all the passages, to prevent any from quitting the island, and took all necessary measures for the safety of Cochin.

Not content with acting on the defensive, he likewise resolved to annoy the enemy, and made incursions upon the territories of Repelin, and the adjoining country. The



zamorin being informed of these things, marched his army towards Repelin, thinking to cross over to Cochin by means of a ford. Pacheco prepared to oppose his passage, and disposed his men in the following manner. In the largest ship he left five men, placed thirty-five in the fort under the command of Ferdinand Corea, twenty-six on board one of the caravels under Pedro Raphael, and as the other caravel was repairing, he fitted out two small vessels, one of which he gave to Diego Perez with twenty-three soldiers, and reserved the other for himself with twenty-two men. The whole force on board these ships amounted only to seventy-one men. Before they departed, they declared in the most solemn manner that they would either die honourably, or return crowned with victory.

The king of Cochin had at this juncture only five thousand soldiers, the rest had deserted to the zamorin; of these he gave Pacheco five hundred men; A. D. 1504. and with these forces he set out on the night of the 16th of March.

Having fallen down with the tide, he reached the ford by day break; he sailed thence to the harbour of Repelin, and landed without difficulty: the next day the zamorin appeared with his whole army; he had also fitted out a fleet of one hundred and sixty ships, rowed with oars; of these seventy-six were paroas, which according to the direction of two Milanese, had been covered with sacks stuffed with cotton, to receive the cannon balls. These men had likewise cast several brass cannon, and made other warlike engines. They contrived also that twenty paroas linked together with chains, should be sent with the rest of the fleet. The commanders were ordered to attack the caravel, and to endeavour to seize her with their grappling irons. Pacheco by an iron chain fixed the caravel at a little distance from another vessel, and this vessel in like manner to a third, so that they covered the whole breadth of the river. The enemy approached, and by their appearance and firing their cannon, so struck the people of Cochin, that they all took to flight. The situation of the Portuguese was now almost desperate; however, they first obliged some of the paroas to sheer off; but those which were chained together bearing down, and plying the Portuguese with their missile weapons, the latter were fatigued to such a degree they could scarce stand; however, a lucky shot separated the paroas, and soon after they sunk eight of them, and the fight ended at last in favour of the Portuguese, of whom several were wounded, but not one killed. The enemy lost above one thousand men.

The king of Cochin was transported with joy on this victory. Pacheco refitted his vessels that were in the action, and the other caravel. The zamorin's superstition afforded him an opportunity, as he would not risk another battle until a day appointed by the augurs; when he put to sea with a fleet of two hundred ships of war and eighty small vessels, having on board fifteen thousand soldiers. He dispatched seventy paroas to attack the ship left to defend Cochin. Pacheco on hearing of this, sailed thither with one caravel and another small vessel. On his approach the enemy fled to Repelin, and Pacheco returned to his station. The caravel left there had in his absence been attacked, and both she and the small vessels much damaged. However, he arrived in time to surprise the enemy, and compelled them to retreat, having lost seventy paroas and two hundred and ninety men.

The emperor of Calicut made a second attack, in which he was again compelled to retreat, and lost twenty paroas and six hundred men. He now grew tired of the war, but was by the prince of Repelin, the council, and the two Milanese, persuaded



to make another trial by two fords, in which he was again repulsed; and the plague soon after breaking out in his army, put a stop for some time to his proceeding. When it ceased, he renewed his attacks in a very formidable manner. His army was divided into two lines, the last of which, headed by the zamorin himself, consisted of thirty thousand men. They carried likewise by water a large float of timber, pitched and bound with tow: this they intended to fire and send down on the Portuguese ships. Their fleet they divided into two lines, the first consisting of one hundred and ten paroes, well manned, and some of them chained together; the second line of one hundred large ships and eighty pinnaces. They brought likewise by water eight turrets, the contrivance of an Arabian, formed by fastening the hulls of two paroes together by means of a floor of planks, on each side of which was raised a wall of boards eighteen feet high, and on the top a platform, on which the men stood to throw their darts and arrows. Some of these were so large as to hold forty men. They were designed to be brought down the river at the ebb tide.—To counteract these engines, Pacheco got several masts of eighty feet in length, and those he secured together by bars of iron, until he formed a float of equal breadth: this he fastened with six anchors at a moderate distance from the prows of the ships, to secure them from these castles. He also raised scaffolds on the decks of the ships equal to the height of the castles.

The ebb tide brought down these castles at day break. They set fire to the float of timber, but the masts kept it from the ship. When it was consumed, they advanced with their largest turret, which was likewise kept off by the masts; and they were obliged to attack the Portuguese with their missile weapons. The latter played their artillery, brought down one of the turrets, and soon after another: most of the paroes were sunk or shattered.

The zamorin mean while attempted to pass the ford, but was repulsed. This engagement lasted from morning until evening, and was very bloody: the enemy lost many ships, and a considerable number of men. The zamorin now despairing of success, was preparing to return home, and from this ill success, was so sunk in melancholy, that he would have resigned his kingdom, but for the persuasions of his mother. It was computed that he lost nineteen thousand men in this war.

Soon after this war was over, Pacheco received intelligence that the Arabs had entered into a conspiracy to destroy the Portuguese at Coulan. He sailed thither, and compelled the magistrates to adhere strictly to the treaty with the Portuguese, which said that no ship should be permitted to take in spices until the Portuguese ships were loaded. He found some Arabian ships with spices on board, which he unloaded, paid the value for them, and put them on board the Portuguese vessels. He afterwards cruized along the coast of India, and took several vessels.

This year Emanuel fitted out another fleet for India, under the command of Lope Soarez Alvarenga. He arrived safe in India with a fleet of thirteen ships. Having in his way touched at Mozambique, he found letters there from Pedro Ataide, giving an account of the formidable war carried on against the Portuguese by the zamorin. He received the same intelligence from the king of Melinda; he therefore made all possible expedition to the island of Anchidive, where he found Antony Saldanna and Roderic Laurence, who had wintered in that place; but as the spring was now begun, after a short stay here, he sailed for Cananor,



Cananor, where he was informed by the king, and Gonzalo Barbosa, agent for the Portuguese affairs, of the great exploits performed by Pacheco.

The day after his arrival, there came to him an Arabian, with a Portuguese boy, who brought a letter from some Portuguese who had been detained prisoners at Calicut ever since Cabral was in India. The purport of this letter was, that the power of the zamorin was now considerably weakened; that his people were willing to enter into measures for the common safety; that the leading men of the state had therefore entreated them to write to the Portuguese commanders, and endeavour to accommodate matters between them and the zamorin. They concluded with prayers and entreaties, that Soarez would grant a peace, since the Portuguese in general would thereby reap considerable advantages, and they in particular would be delivered from a wretched slavery.

Soarez having read this letter, dismissed the Arabian, but was desirous to detain the Portuguese boy; but the youth positively refused to stay, saying, he would forfeit his liberty, or life itself, rather than be guilty of such a breach of faith, which would very probably bring the most cruel death upon his Christian brethren; Soarez therefore allowed him to depart, and soon after sailed for Calicut. Upon his arrival, he was waited on by the most eminent persons of the city, who offered to supply him with fruits and provisions of all sorts: these however he refused before a peace was concluded; for he said no presents could be grateful to him from the enemies of his country. Cojebequo, the Arabian, came likewise, with two of the captives, to treat about peace. Soarez declared positively, he would enter into no treaty, unless the Portuguese and the two Milanese were first delivered up. They replied, they were ready to give up the Portuguese, but that they could not surrender the Milanese, without being guilty of the highest breach of honour. The behaviour of the Calicutians, in this particular, was certainly just and honourable; but the Portuguese general seemed not so solicitous to free from slavery many of the Portuguese, as desirous to gratify a spirit of revenge, in punishing the two deserters.

Soarez, however, actuated by pride and resentment, did not consult the safety of the Portuguese captives, nor that of Cojebequo, who, by his friendship to our people, had involved himself in the greatest dangers; for upon their refusing to comply with his demand, he fired upon the city, and demolished many of the buildings.

He then departed for Cochin, where he waited upon the king, and, in the name of Emanuel, praised his fidelity to the highest degree, and gave him many valuable presents. He sent Pedro Mendoze and Vasco Caraval with two ships to cruise along the coast as far as Calicut, to protect the Portuguese allies and annoy their enemies. He likewise dispatched Alphonso Lopez Costa, Pedro Alphonso Aquilar, and Roderick Abraam, to Coulan, to load their ships with the spices procured by the bravery and assiduity of Pacheco. Pacheco himself, having taken in his cargo, came soon after to Cochin, where he was received by Soarez in the most honourable manner, and treated as a man of his merit deserved.

While Soarez remained at this place, he received an account that the citizens of Cranganor, who continued in the zamorin's interest, were in arms; that they had fitted out eighty paroas and five other ships, which were under the command of one Maimam; that Naubeadarim was likewise at the head of a great army, which increased daily.

Soarez



Soarez being apprised of these things, resolved to sail directly for Cranganor, in order to frustrate these designs of the enemy. They accordingly set out on this expedition, in the silence of the night, with fifteen long boats, twenty-five paroas, and one caravel. There were in this fleet one thousand Portuguese, and as many Cochinians; besides these, the prince of Cochin waited at the ford of Paliput with eight thousand soldiers; thence he continued his march by land, whilst the Portuguese sailed with great alacrity to the place where they intended to attack the enemy. The Portuguese in the first line attacked them with great fury; Maimam and his sons made so stout a resistance, that the engagement continued much longer than any one could expect; but these three gallant men being at last killed, the sailors and soldiers threw themselves into the water. The Portuguese in the second line having likewise attacked the enemy's paroas, defeated them with very little difficulty. The Portuguese, thus victorious by water, now landed their forces, and were joined by the prince of Cochin. An engagement ensued, when great numbers of the enemy were slain; the rest fled into the city in so much consternation, that they did not attempt to defend it, but entering at one gate, rushed out at the other. The Portuguese entered the city at the same time, and fired the buildings. The houses were mostly built of wood, and covered with palm-trees, so that the flames spread very quickly. In the midst of this confusion, the Christian inhabitants came to the Portuguese, earnestly entreating them to save those houses where they performed divine worship. They accordingly endeavoured to do so; but notwithstanding their utmost efforts, many of the Christian churches were destroyed. The houses of the Arabians and Jews which escaped the flames, were plundered. All the ships and paroas of the enemy were likewise burnt. After this expedition, Soarez and the rest of the Portuguese returned to Cochin.

As we have frequently made mention of Cranganor, it may here be proper to give some account of the place, with the customs and manners of its inhabitants. This city lies to the north of Cochin about sixteen miles. It is situated on a winding river, which at a little distance from thence discharges itself into the sea. The city was at that time large and populous, being, upon the account of trade, frequented by people of many different nations. It was tributary to the zamorin, though in other respects a free state, being governed by magistrates elected by the people. The Pagan inhabitants differ very little in their customs from the rest of the people of Malabar. The Christians who reside here are generally very poor, and their churches of a mean appearance. They keep the Sabbath in the same manner as we do, in hearing sermons, and performing other religious duties. The high-priest, whom they acknowledged as the head of their church, had his seat near some mountains towards the north, in a country called Chaldæu. He had a council, composed of twelve cardinals, two bishops, and several priests: with the assistance of these he settles all affairs relating to religion, and all the Christians in these parts acquiesce in his decrees. The priests are shaved in such a manner as to represent a cross on their crowns. They administer the sacrament in both kinds, making use of the juice of pressed grapes by way of wine, and allow the laity to partake of both: but no one is admitted to this solemn ordinance till he has made a confession of his iniquities. They baptised not their infants till they were forty days old, except in danger of death. When any one amongst them is seized with a fit of sickness, the priest immediately visits him, and the sick person is greatly animated by the holy man's supplications. When they enter their churches, they sprinkle themselves with holy water: they use the same form of burial as in other catholic



catholic countries. The relations of the deceased give great entertainments, which last a week; during which time they celebrate his praises, and put up prayers for his eternal happiness. They preserve the sacred writings in the Syrian or Chaldean language, with great carefulness; and their teachers are ready, in all public places, to instruct every one. They keep the Advent Sundays, and the forty days of Lent, with great strictness, and observe most of the festivals which we have in our church, with the same exactness. They compute their time likewise in the same manner as we do, adding a day to every fourth year. The 1st day of July is kept as an holiday, in honour of St. Thomas, not only by the Christians, but many of the pagans also. There are likewise convents for the priests, and nunneries for their women; who adhere to their vows of chastity with the utmost probity. Their priests are allowed to marry once, but excluded from taking a second wife. Marriages amongst other people cannot be annulled but by the death of one of the parties. When a woman becomes a widow, she forfeits her dower, if married within a twelvemonth after the death of her husband. These are the customs and manners, which the Christians in Cranganor, as well as many other parts of India, have observed with the utmost fidelity, from the time of St. Thomas. The body of this apostle is reported to have been buried in the city of Meliapur, in the kingdom of Narasingua.

When Martin Alphonso Souza, viceroy of John III. was in India, some brazen tables were brought to him; on these was engraved some inscription, but the characters so little known, that scarce any body could read them. However, there was at last found a Jew, famed for his knowledge in ancient languages, who, though not without great difficulty, made out their signification: the purport of which was, that the king who reigned in these parts at the time of St. Thomas, had assigned him a certain space of ground to build a church. We have likewise another testimony of the truth of this affair, given in a letter wrote by the bishop of Cochin, in the year 1562, to cardinal Henry, where it is mentioned that there was a chapel built on the top of a hill, in the city of Meliapur, afterwards called St. Thomas, when inhabited by Portuguese: that in this chapel St. Thomas was murdered when performing divine service; and in this place the Christians in these parts used to meet every year, about a week before Christmas, and offer up prayers. There were found on this hill a cross cut out of stone, with the image of a dove perched on the top of it, surrounded with an arch of stone, about which there was some old writing: the oldest and most knowing antiquaries were consulted, but none could make out the character of the writing, till at last a bramin from Narasingua expounded it in this manner: that St. Thomas had been sent by the Son of God into these parts, in the reign of Sagam, to spread the light of Christianity; that he had there built a church, and performed many wonderful things; and that this holy apostle, when kneeling at the altar of God, had been run through with a spear by a bramin.

Lopez Soarez arrived back at Lisbon, where he was received both by A. D. 1505. the king and all the nobility with the greatest demonstrations of respect and joy; but Pacheco above all attracted the admiration of his countrymen. The king ordered a public thanksgiving on his account, and made a pompous procession with the court, from the cathedral to St. Dominick's church. He made Pacheco walk by his side, that all might see what respect he paid to bravery. Nor was Emanuel satisfied with doing him this great honour, he likewise wrote letters to almost all the Christian princes, wherein he extolled Pacheco's actions with due applause,



applause, that his fame and renown might spread through Christendom. But that it may appear how uncertain all human affairs are, it may not be amiss to inform the reader what reward was paid at last to the merit of this brave man. When the king understood that Pacheco's circumstances were narrow, (for he had spent all in his service) and that he had brought nothing home from India but great glory, after encountering such danger, he appointed him governor of a town in Africa, called St. George de Mina, whence the gold used to be imported into Portugal, that he might have an opportunity of bettering his condition in that government. But Pacheco being greatly envied there, was accused by his enemies of having defrauded the king of a great quantity of gold, and of having been guilty of many scandalous and villainous practices. The king therefore ordered him home in irons, where he lived in a very miserable condition, in close confinement for a considerable time, till the affair being more carefully enquired into, it appeared that the crimes laid to his charge were either without any foundation, or such as did not deserve such severe punishment. Then indeed he was released from prison, and restored to his dignity, but did not meet with a reward suitable to his great merit, and spent the remainder of his days in obscure poverty.

Whilst these things were transacted, Emanuel fitted out a large fleet for India. In this he sent Francis Almeed as commander in chief, and appointed him likewise to act as his viceroy in the east.

Almeed steered his course to India; but being hindered by bad weather and long calms, he made but slow progress in his voyage, and could not make the Cape of Good Hope. It was then winter in those parts, and the Portuguese were harassed with continual storms; besides, the pilots mistaking their course, sailed too far to the southward, where the days were extremely short, the sun being then in the northern tropic. The thickness of the air, the immoderate showers of rain, and great fallings of snow, made them likewise seem shorter than they really were, and the men also suffered greatly by the excessive cold. At length, on the 20th day of June, they doubled the cape; Almeed then ordered the fleet to keep near the land. On the 2d of July a violent storm arising, greatly distressed the fleet. The tempest being abated, they sailed along the coast of Caffres, and at last made the port of Quiloa. Almeed, upon his arrival there, directly sent a person with his compliments to the king; but seeing his majesty neither came in person, or sent an apology, began to suspect him of some hostile designs, and therefore resolved to besiege the city. When it was high water, and the sea washed the walls of the town, he landed five hundred brisk fellows, whom he divided into two battalions. The enemy being now terrified, fled from the city, and Almeed entered without obstruction, but suspected the enemy lay in ambuscade, in order to attack him; he therefore halted, and ordered his son to march on with great slowness and circumspection. Most of the inhabitants left the city, and the few who remained were struck with such a panic, that they had neither courage to fly or fight. The plunder, by Almeed's orders, was heaped together in a large house, and distributed among the soldiers; he received nothing for himself but one arrow. He then began to build a fort near the shore, in a place very proper for repulsing an enemy: whilst it was building, he sent a messenger to the citizens, telling them, they had reason to be thankful for being delivered from the usurpation of a cruel and perfidious tyrant, and restored to liberty, under the auspicious reign, and by the singular kindness of Emanuel,



nuel, a most powerful and benevolent prince. Almeed promised to defend them from all hostile invasions, by the power and arms of the Portuguese; and that they might confide the more in his promises, he told them, he would make Mahumet Ancon their king, whose fidelity, goodness, and prudence, they had frequently experienced. He therefore desired them to return to the city, and make an alliance with their best friends, under whose protection they might enjoy their properties with safety. They gladly received this message, and making Mahumet ride before them in great state, they all followed him with joyful acclamations. Almeed, in the name of his master Emanuel, having proclaimed him king, presented him with a golden crown, and imposed on him an annual tribute. Mahumet bound himself by an oath to perform a constant obedience to king Emanuel, and to behave in all respects as a most faithful vassal.

In the mean time the two commanders Gonzalo Paiva and Ferdinand Bermudo, came to Almeed from Mozambique. He had sent them thither to sound the inclinations of the governor of the island, and to see if the Portuguese had left any letters there, whereby he might get intelligence of the state of affairs in India. They brought him word that all was quiet among the islanders, and at the same time delivered him letters from Francisco Albuquerque and Lopez Soarez, which had been left with the governor of the island, by these commanders when they were sailing for Portugal; these gave favourable accounts of every thing in India. When Mahumet came to pay his compliments to Almeed, he begged of him, with great submission, to set at liberty all the Arabian prisoners, which was readily granted. Mahumet having thanked him for this favour, made another request, worthy to be recorded to posterity:—"There was," said he, "a strict intimacy and friendship, founded on the most sacred ties, betwixt me and Alfudail, our late king, whom the tyrant you have expelled most treacherously murdered. Was Alfudail alive, I would resign the kingdom to him; for I shall never prefer any regal power or wealth to my duty and fidelity: but as he is no more, I earnestly beg and entreat, that I may be allowed to send for his son, and appoint him heir to the crown; not that I think my own sons unworthy of that honour, but was I to settle the succession on them, it would be doing the highest injustice to the children of the late king, and I should think I deserved to be branded with everlasting infamy; it would not only bring disgrace on myself, but likewise on my posterity; therefore I chuse rather to leave my sons an example of fidelity and honesty, than the largest patrimony and most opulent kingdom." The Portuguese were filled with the highest admiration when they saw a Mahometan pay so religious a regard to friendship, and condemn sovereign power with such greatness of soul. Alfudail's son was accordingly sent for, and all the citizens, by Almeed's orders, took the oaths of allegiance to him, as heir apparent to the crown. Almeed appointed Pedro Terreira Fogaza governor of the fort, and took particular care to give him all necessary directions for the defence of the place.

The admiral having sailed from this place, four days after arrived at the mouth of the harbour of Mombaza. He sent Gonzalo Paiva before to sound the depth of the water; Paiva carried with him two Arabian pilots, well acquainted with the entrance to the harbour. He executed his orders, and approached the fort; upon which the garrison began to annoy him with their cannon: he, on the other hand, fired upon them with his largest guns. During the engagement, a shot from the Portuguese set fire to the enemy's magazine, filled with gunpowder and other combustible matter: this so terrified the garrison,



garrison, that they abandoned the fort, and fled to the city. Pavia having sounded the depth of the harbour, returned to Almeed, and informed him that nothing was to be feared from the shallowness of the water; Almeed therefore entered the harbour with his fleet, and came to anchor near the town. He then sent one of the captains to acquaint the king, that the Portuguese had come to Mombaza with no hostile intention; that his master, king Emanuel, was a prince of so much goodness and generosity, that those who submitted to his authority found themselves happier than if they remained independent.

An Arabian was sent with this message, but the inhabitants would not suffer him to land, threatening to tear him in pieces if he set his foot on shore. "Depart instantly," they cried, "and tell the Portuguese commander, that hitherto he has had to do with the women of Quiloa, but must now deal with men of courage." Almeed that night ordered John Novez, with another captain, to go on shore and endeavour to seize one of the inhabitants, from whom they might have intelligence. They accordingly landed in great silence, and took prisoner a person who happened to be one of the king's domestics. This man being brought before Almeed, and terrified by threats, declared that the king, upon the news of the taking of Quiloa, besides his own army, had taken into his pay four thousand mercenaries, and expected two thousand more; that he had besides a large magazine of arms, and was well furnished with all necessities, whereby he was confident he could repulse a much greater army from his city and fortifications. Almeed, however, resolved to besiege the place; he accordingly next day ordered his son, and some other officers, to land with all possible expedition, and to set fire to that quarter of the town nearest the shore. This order was so speedily executed, that many houses were actually set on fire before the enemy could make any opposition: they at length collected their forces, and attacked our men, who sustained their charge with great resolution. A fierce battle ensued; in this seventy of the enemy were killed on the spot, whilst the Portuguese lost only two men. Meanwhile, the flames spreading most furiously, made great devastation in the city. Next morning, before day-break, Almeed went on shore with all his forces. The flames, not quite extinguished, had so far dispelled the darkness of the night, that the Portuguese could easily perceive there were none of the enemy on the shore to hinder their landing; yet Almeed fearing some ambush, did not attack the city before day-light. In this affair the enemy lost fifteen hundred men, and above two thousand were taken prisoners: of these Almeed kept about two hundred of the greatest distinction, and some of the finest women; the rest he set at liberty. Many of the Portuguese were wounded, but only five killed, among whom was Ferdinand Decio, a man of great renown, who had been wounded in the foot by a poisoned arrow.

Mean while Vasco Gomez Abreo arrived in the harbour of Mombaza; his ship had been separated from the fleet by a late storm. The fleet now steered for Melinda, but the weather proved so tempestuous, they could not make that place, but were driven into a bay about three leagues from it. Here Almeed found likewise two ships which had been separated by a storm, one commanded by Lopez Chanogua, and the other by John Homo. Almeed was extremely desirous to pay his respects to the king of Melinda: this he was unable to do in person, being obliged to remain with the fleet, which could not at that time get out of the bay by reason of the tempestuous weather. However, he dispatched a person in his name, to wait upon his majesty, and to carry him the presents from king Emanuel.



As soon as the weather was favourable, the Portuguese stood away for the island of Anchédive, where they arrived on the 13th of September. Here Almeida received a letter from Gonzalo Agidio Barbosa, which was to be delivered to the first Portuguese commander who should touch there from Portugal: by this he was informed, that Gonzalo had procured spices sufficient to load several ships; moreover, that three ships richly laden were expected from Arabia, and that if the Portuguese would keep a good look out near that island during the month of September, these vessels would probably fall into their hands. Almeida having received this intelligence, immediately dispatched Homo to Cochin, Cananor, and Coulan, to give notice of his arrival, and to desire the Portuguese agents, with all expedition, to get ready their loadings. He likewise appointed Lopez Chanogua and Gonzalo Paiva to cruise in those seas, in order to intercept the Arabian ships. He then set about building a fort in a place near the sea. On this spot there were some ruins, amongst which he found several red and black crucifixes; hence he conjectured this island had been formerly inhabited by Christians.

About this time arrived Pazagna, whom Almeida, before he doubled the Cape of Good Hope, had appointed commander of part of the fleet, and with him came Antonio Vasco. Gundiffalvo Vasco, pursuant to Almeida's orders, remained at Quiloa, and Lucas Fonseca wintered at Mozambique. Lopez Sancho's ship was wrecked, and all on board perished, except five men, who were taken on board another ship half dead.

A few days after Chanogua and Pavia returned with some ships, on board of which were several Arabians. They had likewise taken some small vessels, and among the rest an Indian sloop, on board of which there was a Portuguese, whom Barbosa had sent with a letter to Almeida, acquainting him, that one of the Arabian ships had already arrived at Calicut, and the other two were daily expected: that there had come in the vessel already arrived four Venetian artists, who understood the art of casting cannon; sent by the sultan of Egypt to the zamorin: that the sultan of Egypt was fitting out a large fleet against the Portuguese, and that formidable preparations were also making at Calicut. Almeida having received this advice, sent Chanogua and Paiva out again. He also built a large galley with materials he had brought from Portugal, manned her with Arabian rowers, and gave the command to John Serrano, who was likewise joined with two frigates to scour the seas.

At this juncture Merloa, king of Onor, ten leagues from Anchédive, sent deputies to Almeida to treat of peace. The pirate Timoia was then at Onor, and concurred with the king in desiring the friendship of the Portuguese. Almeida received both into his protection: by them he heard of a strong castle a little way off, called Sincatura, which belonged to the kingdom of Daccam. The governor was a vassal of the king of Goa, who had frequent wars with the king of Onor. Almeida ordered his son to sound the depth of the harbour, and Laurence accordingly set out with pilots for that purpose. He found the depth of the river which runs by the castle to be five fathoms at the mouth, and a little farther three and an half more. The fort, situated on a hill, was garrisoned by one thousand men: these, when they perceived the boats, hastened to the shore, among whom was the governor, who, on the Portuguese hoisting a flag of truce, concluded a treaty of peace, which was ratified nine days after by Almeida. Before the Portuguese left Anchédive, they descried a large vessel freighted with horses from Persia. The Portuguese attacked her in their long boats: the Persians and Arabians on board being struck with a panic, jumped into their boat, and made



made towards the shore, and the ship ran aground, when a sudden storm arising, the Portuguese were in the greatest danger. There were nine of the horses put by the Portuguese on board their long boat, which was driven on shore by force of the waves, and the horses delivered to the Arabians to keep till the storm was over. The Portuguese sailed for Anchédive, and after the storm ceased, returned for their horses. The inhabitants made answer, that the king of Onor had them in his custody. Almeed sent to demand them of him, and received such an answer as plainly shewed these people were void of faith.

Almeed left Pazagna with a small garrison in the fort of Anchédive, and sailed for Onor. As soon as he entered the mouth of the river, he ravaged the country, and burned several ships in the harbour. The king, who was at no great distance, seeing his navy in such danger, came with four thousand men to oppose the Portuguese. The fire raged with violence, and lest it should be extinguished by the enemy, he ordered Laurence to attack those who came for that purpose. The Portuguese obliged them to retire, after a sharp conflict, and having lost many of their men. Almeed was wounded in his right thumb. The king now sent deputies to sue for peace. Almeed told them he would send his son to settle a peace, and next day sailed for Cananor.

Homo mean time informed the Portuguese and their allies in India, of the arrival of Almeed, and of the powers with which he was invested. At Coulan he learned by Antonio Sala, the Portuguese agent, that the king's ships, at the instigation of the Arabians, had been refused the spices due by treaty. The Arabians had at this time thirty-four ships in the harbour, which had been loaded before the Portuguese could procure any part of their lading, although it was expressly stipulated by treaty, that no spices should be given the Arabians before the Portuguese had received their whole cargo. Homo being a bold and resolute man, stripped the Arabians of their helms and rigging, which he delivered to Antony Sala, with orders to keep them until the Portuguese ships were loaded. Homo sailed from thence, and in his course took two Arabian vessels, and put their crews in irons. He put three Portuguese pilots on board each ship; he could not spare more, and as the wind was fair, he thought them sufficient to steer into port. He was now in sight of Almeed, and just entering Cananor, when on a sudden the Arabians broke loose, murdered the Portuguese, put the ship about, and quickly got out of sight. Almeed resolved to build a fort at Cananor, and determined not to depart until it was finished. While he remained here, ambassadors came from the king of Narfingua.

That kingdom lies in the eastern part of India, within the Ganges; it extends a considerable way westward, and borders on the countries adjoining to Goa, with the inhabitants of which the people of Narfingua used to wage continual wars. The country is adorned with many cities, and watered with several rivers. The soil is fertile, and affords all the diversions of fishing, fowling, and hunting. The country is likewise stored with abundance of all sorts of cattle. The people are extremely addicted to superstition; their temples or pagods are built with vast magnificence: these, like the rest in India, are filled with the images of monsters, and many strange figures, to which they pay divine honours. Their bramins, consisting of men as well as women, preside in religious rites, and are held in great honour. There is another religious sect, called Banians, who are esteemed with no less veneration: these carry about their necks a stone called tambarane, about the bigness of an egg; it is perforated in the middle, with three strings running through it: this they say represents the Deity, and  
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is beheld with the utmost devotion. The banians abstain from fish and flesh: they are allowed to marry once, and when they die, their wives are buried alive near their graves. The widows of other persons, after the death of their husbands, are carried in great state to the funeral pile, where they are burned amidst the songs and acclamations of all their relations and servants, who attend the ceremony. They keep every Friday as a holiday, or sabbath: they likewise observe many other days throughout the year, by singing hymns, and performing the ceremonials of religion, according to the custom of their country. They believe the immortality of the soul, and that there will be a future state, in which mankind are to be punished or rewarded, according to their behaviour in this world. The people are of a tawney colour; they dress elegantly, and are extremely fond of women, on whose account they often quarrel and fight duels. The person who gives the challenge, usually solicits the king for a spot of ground where the affair is to be decided; and if the champions are men in high repute for their gallantry, his majesty himself generally becomes a spectator of the combat: he gives a small golden chain to the conqueror, who is obliged to maintain this honour by his sword, otherwise he forfeits all his glory already acquired; for any one may dispute his claim to this trophy; and the chain is always taken from him that is worsted, and given to the person who comes off victorious in the combat. This custom of duelling is not confined to the military gentlemen only, for artists and mechanics often enter the lists about the excellency of their workmanship.

Bisnagar is the largest city in this kingdom, being four miles in compass, and surrounded with walls: it is very populous, and adorned with many stately buildings and most magnificent pagods. The place abounds in all sorts of commodities, imported from many different countries. All merchants trading here are obliged to pay certain duties; those only are excepted who bring horses from Persia and Arabia. The king himself buys up all the horses, many of which he retains for his own use; and he gives away in presents, or sells the rest to whom he pleases. The royal palace is a most spacious and magnificent edifice; it is surrounded with beautiful gardens, in which there are several well stocked fish ponds. When the king goes abroad, he is always attended with a numerous body of guards: his subjects treat him with the utmost respect; any, almost worship him as a deity: his table is always furnished with the most exquisite dishes: his body generally shines with ointments, and his dress sparkles with gold and diamonds. This prince never marries, but he keeps a vast number of concubines, who are all of noble descent. When he dies, his body is burned on a pile of the most odoriferous woods; here likewise all his confidents, domestics, and particular friends, throw themselves; and with such alacrity do they hurry thus to sacrifice themselves, that it appears plainly they esteem it glorious and honourable to die with their sovereign. The prince generally administers justice with great impartiality, and is particularly careful to protect the merchants from all injuries. He keeps under him many governors or lieutenants; these, however, if guilty of oppression or injustice, are either put to death, or have some corporal punishment inflicted on them. He heaps together vast treasures, and thinks it unlawful to expend those left him by his ancestors, unless on the most urgent occasions: by this means he has generally in his possession vast quantities of gold, silver, and diamonds of the largest size; in which the country very much abounds. The king keeps about him a great number of soldiers, who have horses and provisions every day allowed



allowed them from the palace: those who have once listed in his service are not at liberty to quit the kingdom, unless they have express leave from his majesty. He likewise maintains a considerable number of foot soldiers. Much more might be said concerning the customs, luxury, and magnificence of the king of Narfingua; this, however, I shall pass over.

The king then on the throne, having heard much of the fame of the Portuguese in India, was desirous to make a league with them; he accordingly sent a deputy to Almeed with letters and presents, which he desired, in his name, to be transmitted to Emanuel. The ambassador was received by Almeed with the highest marks of honour, treated with the utmost respect, and dismissed with many considerable presents. Almeed, at the same time, wrote letters by him to the king of Narfingua: in these he assured his majesty that he would do every thing in his power to promote the strictest and most sincere friendship betwixt him and his royal master.

After the departure of the Narfinguan ambassador, Almeed went ashore in a long boat; and he ordered a tent to be pitched in a grove of palm-trees, where the king of Cananor visited him. After a deal of friendly conversation, the viceroy asked leave of his majesty to build a fort: this, he said, would not only defend the Portuguese against the insults of the Arabians, but would also be a bulwark for himself against the invasions of his enemies. His request was readily granted, and the work being set about with great expedition, was in a few days brought to its full height. It was called St. Angelo, and Lopez Britto, with one hundred and fifty Portuguese, was left governor.

About this time Almeed received an account of the melancholy fate of Antonio Sala, who had been left agent for the Portuguese affairs at Coulan. John Homo, as we have already mentioned, had, with more bravery than prudence, stripped the Arabian ships of their helms and rigging, and had given them to be kept by Antonio, till the Portuguese should receive their lading. He himself left the place, and sailed to Almeed; but the Arabians, provoked by this insult, inveighed against the Portuguese in the most bitter terms. In order to effect their mischievous designs, they stirred up the people, and urged them to revenge this injury. The people being inflamed, attacked Sala, who, only accompanied with twelve Portuguese, fled to a chapel built in honour of the virgin Mary; here they made so gallant a defence, that the enemy were unable to break in upon them. The Arabians seeing they could not make themselves masters of the chapel without a considerable loss, got together a parcel of wood, and set fire to the chapel, where all the Portuguese perished in the most miserable manner. Pedro Raphael was then in the harbour, but as the affair was so sudden and unexpected, he could not bring assistance to his friends: however, in revenge he burned five Arabian ships lying in the harbour, and immediately sailed for Cochin, where he found Almeed, whom he informed of this tragical affair. As soon as the viceroy received this account, he ordered his son to sail directly for Coulan, and to destroy all the ships in that harbour. Laurence executed his orders with so much expedition, that he came in sight of the town, and burned twenty-seven of the enemy's ships, before they were apprized of his arrival. John Homo's commission was taken from him as a punishment for his rash conduct.

Soon after Almeed went ashore, where he was received by the king of Cochin with the highest marks of respect and honour. But this was not that prince who had so much endangered his life and crown by his fidelity to the Portuguese. He had ab-  
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dedicated the throne, and retired to a temple, where he dedicated his time entirely to the study and exercise of religious duties. He had resigned the regal power to his sister's son, Nambadar. Almeed thought it needless to offer presents to a prince who seemed to set at nought all worldly wealth and grandeur; but he resolved to bestow them on the young king, who as successor to the crown, in his opinion, had likewise a right to the rewards due to the virtue, fidelity, and friendship of his uncle.

A. D. 1506. Almeed having loaded eight ships, ordered them to sail for Portugal. On the 1st of February, the fleet came upon an unknown country, which was covered with thick woods, and abounded in cattle. The Portuguese descried ten small boats, aboard which were several naked blacks, with short fleecy hair, and armed with bows and arrows. They made towards Ferdinand Soarez's ship; twenty of them went aboard; these were treated with great civility, for the Portuguese invited them to an entertainment, and made them a present of some wearing apparel. The Portuguese did not understand their language, so that they were obliged to express themselves to each other by signs. These men departed, in outward appearance extremely well pleased; but when they had advanced a little way from the ship, they began to return these civilities by discharging their arrows on the Portuguese, who, provoked by this ingratitude, fired their guns upon them. Ferdinand Soarez, observing some of them near Roderigo Freira's ship, called to him to take them prisoners: accordingly twenty-eight were seized. The fleet having cruized along a little farther, came to anchor in a bay, where they went ashore, and took in a supply of water. In this place a body of the natives attacked the Portuguese, who were obliged to retire to their ships, from whence they plied them briskly with their cannon. Several of the barbarians were killed, and the rest were driven to flight. This behaviour of that people plainly shewed they were of a savage and inhospitable disposition. The Portuguese did not at first take this country for an island; but when they had sailed along the coast, and doubled some of the capes, they discovered it to be an island. It was formerly called Madagascar, but the Portuguese gave it the name of St. Laurence. It lies to the east, opposite to that part of Ethiopia called Caffres. This fleet arrived at Lisbon the 24th of May.

Soon after Almeed's departure from Lisbon, Emanuel equipped another A. D. 1505. fleet of six sail, which he sent to India under the command of Francisco Gnaia. When they were upon the western coast of Ethiopia, one of the captains, named John Laçteo, endeavouring to strike a large fish, was carried over-board and drowned. Another commander went ashore to get some provision, but venturing too boldly amongst the natives, was killed, with several of his crew. They steered from thence for the Cape of Good Hope, but keeping too far to the southward, their water was frozen, and themselves were so benumbed with cold, that they could hardly work the ships. However, they at last with great difficulty doubled the cape, and coasting along Caffres, they came to anchor in Sofala. Gnaia with his four smallest vessels (for his two largest could not enter) went into the harbour. The king was a man of seventy years of age, and had lost his sight, but before he met with that misfortune, he had greatly signalized himself by his gallantry and warlike prowess. The town was not large, nor were the houses magnificent in the outside; they were mostly surrounded with thick hedges, and within they were hung with silk tapestry. The name of the king was Zufe; he received Gnaia with great civility, and expressed



expressed the utmost respect and friendship for Emanuel. His majesty was surrounded with several guards, who were mostly Arabians: they were naked to the waist, and covered from thence to their knees with silk or cotton. They wore a poinard by their side, and a silk or cotton turband on the head. After many expressions of kindness, Gnaia asked leave of the king to build a fort, which, he said, would be of great service to his majesty himself. This request was readily granted. After the king and Gnaia parted, one Zacote, an Arabian of great authority and influence, waited on Gnaia, with whom he formed a strict friendship, and informed him in every particular relating to the nature of the country, and the manners of the inhabitants.

The Portuguese admiral set about building the fort with great forwardness, and in a few months it was finished, for the natives themselves assisted in the work. He then sent some of his fleet to India, and others to Zuiloa: he himself remained in the fort with a sufficient force. The Arabian merchants at Sofala were not a little chagrined at the civility shewn to the Portuguese: several of them accordingly waited on the king, whom they advised to beware of the perfidy and treachery of the Portuguese, who, they said, under a mask of friendship, concealed the most wicked designs. The king being spurred on, secretly got together a body of men, and appointed a day to fall upon the Portuguese. Gnaia being informed of this plot by Zacote, held himself in readiness to repulse the enemy. On the day prefixed they attacked the fort with great fury: the conflict for some time was fierce and obstinate; but the enemy were so terribly annoyed by the darts and cannon from the fort, that they at last betook themselves to flight. The king had retired to his couch, and notwithstanding his age and blindness, he shewed amazing intrepidity in this extreme danger. Several of the Portuguese were wounded, amongst whom was Gnaia himself, who received a wound in the neck. Emanuel Ferdinand, the Portuguese agent in those parts, observing this, attacked the king and cut off his head. The prince being thus slain, Gnaia ordered his men to abstain from all further violence, and to spare the people, whom he wanted to gain by acts of clemency; that as they had already seen convincing proofs of the courage of the Portuguese, they might now experience their tenderness and humanity in distress. Gnaia now thought proper to settle this state, and to reward Zacote for his fidelity and services. He accordingly, in the name of his royal master, created him king, and enjoined the people to obey him as their sovereign. Zacote, on his part, took the oaths of allegiance to Emanuel, and promised to behave always as a faithful tributary.

The air of this country was extremely unwholesome; it abounded in fenny marshes, and these were dried up by the scorching heat of the sun. The Portuguese were seized with an excessive weakness in the body, and a dimness of sight: this by degrees turned into a wasting consumption, which carried off several, amongst whom was Gnaia himself. In his room Emanuel Ferdinand was appointed admiral by the unanimous consent of all the officers.

When Almeed received intelligence of the death of Gnaia: he immediately dispatched Novio Vasco Pereira to command the fort of Sofala.

Francisco Almeed also sent his son Laurence with nine sail of ships to cruize near the Maldivé Islands, which are about eighty leagues west of Cochin. They are almost numberless, and divided from each other by little narrow channels. Laurence's in-



structions were to intercept all the Arabian ships passing that way. But so great was the strength of the current in those parts, that he could not make the Maldives, but was driven into an island opposite to Cape Comorin, called Ceylon, and separated from thence by a narrow sea; many supposed it to be the Tabrobana of the ancients.

Laurence, with his whole fleet, put in at a port of this island which the inhabitants called Gabalican. The king, who was at no great distance from this place, having notice of the arrival of the Portuguese, sent a deputy with presents to the admiral, and to solicit a treaty of friendship. Laurence received him with great civility, and gave him many considerable presents. He likewise sent Pelagio Soufa, one of his officers, a man of great distinction, to wait upon the king, and to conclude a treaty. This gentleman being conducted to the palace, found the king seated there with great pomp and majesty: his whole dress sparkled with diamonds, and his room, though at mid-day, was illuminated with a vast number of wax tapers, which in that island was looked upon as a piece of state and magnificence. Pelagio and his attendants were treated with the highest respect, and a treaty was concluded on these terms; that this king should pay Emanuel yearly, by way of tribute, two hundred and fifty thousand pound weight of cinnamon; and that on the other hand, Emanuel should take him under his protection, and order his commanders to defend the ports and maritime towns of Ceylon from all hostile invasions. Laurence concluded this treaty on condition that his father consented thereto, and confirmed it by his authority. The cinnamon, however, was immediately put aboard the ships, for the king so much dreaded the power of the Portuguese, that he wanted at any rate to gain their friendship. By the permission of the king, he erected a marble pillar, on which was carved Emanuel's arms: in this it was expressed, that he, in the name of Emanuel, had taken possession of that island.

Laurence now returned to his father at Cochin, where he was ordered to Anchédive, to fortify the citadel there, and to survey that coast. Emanuel Pazagna was at the same time sent to Cananor by Almeed, to assist in building and fortifying the castle there. When Laurence was at Anchédive, one Lewis Wastman, an Italian, came to him. This man had travelled through many countries in the habit of an Arabian merchant. He at length arrived at Calicut, where he gave himself out to be an Arabian. There he heard that a large fleet was fitting out in order to destroy the Portuguese. Lewis in his heart detested the Arabians, and as soon as an opportunity offered, embarked aboard a vessel, in order to go to the Portuguese viceroy, but in his course he fell in with Laurence. He informed him of the warlike preparations making at Calicut.

Mean while the Calicutian fleet was completely equipped. It consisted of eighty large ships, and one hundred and twenty paroas, furnished with men, arms, cannon, and every other necessary. Laurence sailed against the enemy with nine ships, aboard which were eight hundred Portuguese, all men of distinguished courage, and extremely well armed. There were likewise some Indian auxiliaries, but these inconsiderable, and not to be much relied upon. The engagement began near the coast of Cananor: the sounding of trumpets, the wild shouts raised by the enemy, and the frequent firing of the cannon, made the scene at first appear most terrible to the Portuguese, till at last the ships grappling each other, came to close quarter. Laurence attacked the flag ship, which, after several unsuccessful attempts, he at last seized with his grappling irons. The fight was maintained with great obstinancy on both sides:

Laurence



Laurence immediately boarded her, and was followed by Philip Roderigo, John Homo, Ferdinand Petreio Andrade, Vincent Pereira, Roderigo Pereira, and several other brave fellows. There was aboard the enemy's ship six hundred men, who in this extreme danger fought with the most desperate resolution: but all of them were at last either killed or taken prisoners, excepting a few who saved themselves by swimming. The enemy's flag ship being thus taken, Laurence went to the relief of Nunez Vasco Pereira, who, though his vessel was very small, yet had engaged and grappled one of the largest of the enemy, which by her superior bulk, had like to have run him down. His men in this extreme danger, fought with amazing intrepidity; but they were so annoyed by the enemy's darts and weapons, that they thought they must all have been destroyed. But on Almeed's coming up, this ship was also taken, and of five hundred aboard, all were cut to pieces, excepting a few who swam ashore. In the enemy's fleet, there was likewise several merchant ships, who were under the protection of the ships of war. These, when they observed two of the largest ships taken, began to fear the event: they therefore took the opportunity, whilst the Portuguese were engaged in the fight, to sail off. Some of them made to the port of Calicut, and others steered their intended course: the rest of the enemy's ships of war nevertheless maintained the fight with great obstinacy, firing their iron and brass cannon, and sometimes fighting hand in hand with their spears and swords. One of the Portuguese ships being surrounded by the enemy, was in the most extreme danger. The fight for some time was maintained with great obstinacy on both sides: the Calicutians, however, were at last entirely defeated, after having lost three thousand men. Ten of their ships and many of their paroas were sunk: nine of their largest ships were taken, in which was found a considerable booty. The Portuguese lost only six men in the action. Laurence having been thus successful, sailed for Cananor, where he was received by the king with all demonstrations of joy, and his bravery was highly extolled by every body.

Mean while Zabaio king of Goa having received intelligence of the mighty preparations made at Calicut, and that the Portuguese fleet was sailed from Anchédive, was resolved to seize this opportunity of carrying on his hostile designs. By the advice therefore of a certain Portuguese, who had abjured his religion, (one of the condemned exiles) he fitted out sixty ships to attack the fort of Anchédive, and the command was given to this Portuguese, who having been bred a ship carpenter, had formerly been of great service to the Portuguese in repairing their ships. His name was Antonio Ferdinand; but after he renounced his religion, he called himself Abedella. This man having come before Anchédive with his fleet, began to assail the fort; but he met with so brave a resistance from Pazagna the governor, that he lost many of his men, and was obliged to desist from the attempt with great shame and infamy. But Almeed considering that the Portuguese could reap but little advantage from Anchédive, and that the fort being at so great a distance from Cochin, could not be maintained but at a vast expence and great danger; he therefore resolved, with the approbation of all his officers, to demolish it. He accordingly dispatched his son with a fleet to raze it from the foundation. Laurence executed his orders with great expedition, and having taken Pazagna and the rest of the Portuguese aboard his fleet, he returned to his father at Cochin.



The following year Emanuel fitted out fourteen ships for India; A.D. 1507. these, at different times, as they were ready, sailed from Lisbon. None of them, however, reached India that year. Vasco Gomez Abrego, one of the commanders, was appointed governor of the fort of Sofala. When they came upon the coast of Ethiopia, Vasco ordered a torch to be fixed on the stern of John Chanogua's ship, the best sailer in the fleet, and the rest to follow her. This vessel, however, by the carelessness of the pilot, was shipwrecked, but most of the crew swam ashore, many of whom falling into the hands of the natives, were put in fetters, and detained till they were ransomed by some of the Portuguese sailing upon that coast. Roderigo Soarez, one of the commanders, fell in with an Arabian ship manned with five hundred men, which he took, after an obstinate engagement, and put to the sword all the Arabians aboard. Three other ships were lost; and those that escaped, being unable to make India, wintered at different ports on the African coast.

But as soon as it was known in India that the Portuguese had received no assistance that year from Portugal, the Arabians began to be greatly elevated; for now they thought was the time to destroy the Portuguese; they therefore, in the most earnest manner, entreated the zamorin not to neglect so favourable an opportunity. The zamorin accordingly, with the utmost diligence, made all necessary preparations for a war. Almeed received intelligence of this by his spies and deserters; and that he might shew the enemy he did not stand in need of any assistance, he immediately fitted out two fleets; one consisted of two gallies, two large ships, and one paroa: he gave the command of this to Emanuel Pazagna, with orders to protect the ships sailing from Cochin towards Cape Camorin. The command of the other fleet, consisting of eleven ships, he gave to his son Laurence, who was to cruize near Cochin, to prevent any sudden invasion from the enemy. Gundissalvo Vasco Goes, one of the commanders in this fleet, not having a sufficient quantity of provisions, was obliged to sail for Cananor to get a supply. As he was on his return from thence to join Laurence, he fell in with an Arabian ship, which he attacked with great fury. The Arabians made no resistance, for they said they were our allies; and in testimony thereof, they produced letters of protection from Lorenzo Britto, governor of the fort at Cananor; for ever since the Portuguese began to build forts in India, no ships were allowed to sail in these seas, unless they had letters from some Portuguese commander, otherwise they were liable to be taken and plundered by the Portuguese; but if they had such credentials, they were suffered to steer their course without any molestation. The Arabians in this ship accordingly shewed their passport, by virtue of which they reckoned themselves entirely safe: but Goes, either blinded by avarice, prompted by the natural cruelty of his temper, or hurried on by his antipathy to the Arabians, said it was a forged passport, or fraudulently obtained. He said, he knew them to be enemies of the Christians; that they had hostile designs against the Portuguese, and declared he would punish them for their villainy. He accordingly plundered the ship, and having stowed up those miserable wretches in the sails, he then sunk the vessel with his cannon. This barbarous action was not only contrary to the laws of nations, and ties of humanity, but also extremely rash and impolitic at such a juncture. The Portuguese had not yet laid a sufficient foundation for an empire in the east, and their strength was then inconsiderable; they ought therefore, by the most faithful and humane behaviour, to have endeavoured to procure the affections of the Indian nations.

About



About this time the king of Cananor died; his successor was a most inveterate enemy of the Portuguese, for he had come to the throne by the zamorin's interest. He applied himself with the utmost vigour in making preparations against the Portuguese; however, for some time he thought it necessary to keep his designs secret, but they were discovered to Britto by the prince who was next heir to the crown of Cananor; he also informed him, that the zamorin, besides other engines of war, had sent the king of Cananor twenty-four brass cannon to batter the fort, and moreover promised to assist him with thirty thousand men. Britto expressed himself in the most grateful manner to the young prince for this intelligence, and promised he would do his utmost endeavour to make a proper requital for such extraordinary friendship. He thought it extremely dangerous for any of his men to be in the city, and therefore commanded them to keep within the fort. He also dispatched a messenger to Almeed to inform him of the danger with which he was threatened. Almeed immediately sent his son with a supply of men, arms, and ammunition, to strengthen the garrison, that they might be enabled to hold out a siege.

The following year Emanuel fitted out sixteen ships for India. A. D. 1508. Four of these he gave to Diego Sequiero, with orders to sail beyond the Ganges to Malacca, to examine the situation of the principal city of the same name, one of the most principal marts in the east. He also instructed him to take a survey of the island of Madagascar, which, according to report, was very extensive, and abounded with all manner of commodities. Sequiero accordingly sailed from Lisbon on the 5th of April.

George Aquilar was appointed admiral of the other twelve ships, who was ordered to cruise with five of them on the northern side of Cape Guardafu, at the mouth of the Red Sea, to intercept all the Arabian vessels sailing to India. The other seven ships had also their particular commanders, one of whom, Francisco Pereir Pestana, was appointed governor of the fort at Quiloa. The rest were ordered to sail directly for India.

Aquilar sailed about five days after Sequiero, but his squadron was dispersed by a sudden tempest. Pestana's ship having lost her mast and rigging, was obliged to put back to Lisbon; from whence, after being refitted, she set sail again on the 19th of May. The season of the year being so far advanced, Pestana was not able to reach Quiloa, and therefore was obliged to winter at some islands lying to the south of Mozambique.

The commanders bound for India having undergone various hardships, at last arrived at Cochin. Aquilar perished by shipwreck; Duarte Lemos, another of the captains, a relation of Aquilar, having reached Mozambique, would not depart from thence till he was certain of the fate of Aquilar; but he was soon convinced of the admiral's unhappy fate by the wreck floating on the water, where planks, broken masts, casks, &c. were seen scattered on the surface.

By the unanimous consent of all the other commanders, Melos was chosen admiral. As soon as the season of the year would permit, he sailed with Pestana (who had now reached Mozambique) for Quiloa. Lemos having gone aboard Pestana's ship, gave his own to Vasco Sylveira, and then they proceeded for Cape Guardafu. Pedro Ferreira Fogaza, who commanded the fort of Quiloa till the arrival of Pestana, according to his instructions



instructions, went for Melinda, where he remained till the proper season for sailing came about. As soon as the wind favoured, he went and joined Melos, who having now seven sail of ships, directed his course for Zocotora. The admiral touched at those places, which belonged to the tributary princes, and collected the tribute: those who refused to pay what they had agreed upon, he obliged by force to comply. He had an inclination to storm Magadoxo; but as the place was strong by its natural situation, it threatened great damage to the Portuguese ships, and was extremely difficult of access from the sea, the rest of the officers dissuaded him from this enterprize. Whilst the fleet lay here, it happened, by the carelessness of the watch, that George Quadra's ship, had her cables cut, and was carried a great way out to sea by the swiftness of the tide; so that when the sailors and soldiers aboard awaked, they knew not where they were. They endeavoured to stop her progress by rowing against the wind till day-break; but even then being equally puzzled, they allowed the ship to go before the wind, and were at last driven into the port of Zeila, situated at the entrance of the Red Sea, on the Ethiopian coast. Here the whole crew were taken prisoners by the Arabians. Lemos being persuaded from his design on Magadoxo, steered for Zocotora, where he appointed Pedro Fogaza governor of the fort.

Having passed Cape Guardafu, Lemos steered for Ormuz. Upon his arrival, he sent a messenger to the king, to inform him, that he was come there by the command of Emanuel, and was ready to give all the assistance in his power to promote the security of the island, and the dignity of his person. He also entreated him to bury in oblivion all the injuries received from Albuquerque, and henceforth to look upon the Portuguese as his friends and allies. With regard to the defence of the island, he added, that he knew the king of Ormuz was surrounded with many enemies, against whom he hoped the Portuguese would be a safeguard. But that they might live more securely in the island, and be more enabled to defend the city, he said there was great necessity for a fortress, which would be no less serviceable to the king himself than to the Portuguese; he therefore begged he might be allowed to finish the fort which had been begun by Albuquerque. Coje Atar made answer, that he would punctually perform what he had promised to Albuquerque; but that he would not permit the fort to be built. He accordingly paid fifteen thousand ducats, as the tribute which had been settled. He then invited Lemos ashore, with the rest of the officers, and treated all the Portuguese in the most polite manner. Lemos not having a sufficient strength to carry his designs by force, was therefore obliged to stifle his resentment. Having remained in this place two months (for the season of the year would not permit him to depart sooner) he departed, and sailed for Mascate, from whence he dispatched Vasco Sylveire for India, to desire a reinforcement of ships from Almeed. He touched next at the island of Socotora, where he contracted a distemper from the unwholesomeness of the marshy soil; so that for the recovery of his health he returned to Melinda.

Albuquerque, who by this time had come to the government of India, sent Antony Noveiro to recal Alphonso Norhona. He likewise sent a letter to Lemos, informing him, that he had been lately so much distressed by the zamorin, and the other enemies of the Portuguese, who always watched every opportunity to harass them, that he durst not therefore, at that time, venture to lessen his fleet; but as soon as these disturbances were settled, he said he would come himself to his assistance; for he had formed a design of sailing to the Arabian sea, to engage the sultan's fleet, which he  
had



had been informed was to be there in a short time. This report, however, proved groundless.

When Noveiro arrived at Ormuz, Lemos was not yet returned from Melinda. Mean while Francis Pereire Berred and Alphonso Norhona, having gone aboard Noveiro's ship, went to sea, to try what booty they could find. They took one very large ship, richly laden, belonging to Cambaya. Elated with this success, they resolved to wait no longer, and accordingly sailed for India. After they had passed Baticale, they met with a most boisterous storm, and the pilot of the prize being an Arabian, steered her for the port of Dabul, where she run upon the shelves, and was dashed to pieces. The Portuguese were made prisoners, and carried to Zabaim. Noveira, being harassed by the same storm, attempted to make the port of Daman, but his vessel was likewise shipwrecked. Alphonso Norhona, and some others, having jumped into the sea, endeavoured to save themselves by swimming, but all of them perished: those who remained on board were made prisoners by the king of Cambaya. Francisco Pantoia, who had likewise been sent to Socotora by Albuquerque, in his way thither, took a large ship called Meris. She had suffered greatly in the late storm, and was commanded by a near relation of the king of Cambaya. When Pantoia reached Socotora, Duarte Lemos was then returned from Melinda: he claimed the Meris as his right, notwithstanding all the remonstrances made by Pantoia, because she had been taken in those parts which were under his jurisdiction: he therefore took the ship, and all her cargo, into his power.

Lemos sailed from thence to India, where he was received in the most honourable manner by Albuquerque, who used all possible means to procure his affection and esteem; yet, notwithstanding all his endeavours, he could not succeed. When he communicated to him his design of storming Goa, Lemos did indeed promise him his assistance; but privately he run down this resolution, and detracted from the reputation of Albuquerque, by saying that Goa could not be taken; or even if it could, it would be of no service to the Portuguese. This discourse pleased many, and might have raised great dissensions, had not Albuquerque, partly by dissimulation, and partly by complaisance, checked the growing evil; for he omitted nothing to soften this envious or ambitious man. However, he could not prevail on Lemos to perform his promise; for he would not give him the least assistance to carry on the expedition against Goa. But it happened by a lucky chance, that the seeds of contention were happily removed; for soon after Goa was taken, there came ships from Portugal, with letters from Emanuel, wherein Lemos was ordered to deliver up his ships to Albuquerque, and return to Portugal.



## CHAPTER VI.

*Voyage of Tristan Cugno and Alphonso Albuquerque to India.*

A.D. 1506. **T**HIS year a fleet of eleven ships was equipped for India, and Tristan Cugno was appointed admiral. At the same time there were five more given to the command of Alphonso Albuquerque, who was to succeed Almeida in the government of India.

Cugna reached Mozambique in December, where he wintered some of the fleet; but being separated by stress of weather, all his ships could not make that place. Lopez Costa was driven into the port of Sofala; Leonela Coutign put into Quiloa; Alvaro Tellez, with the utmost danger, at last made Cape Guardafau: here after he had repaired his ship, and refreshed his men, he took several considerable Arabian prizes, and afterwards steered for Zocotora to join Tristan Cugno.

Roderigo Pereira Coutign met likewise with very boisterous weather, and was driven into a very pleasant bay in the island of Madagascar. Whilst he lay here, eighteen youths of the island rowed to his ship. These he invited aboard, entertained them in the kindest manner, and decked them with cloaths. Two of them he so far engaged by his generosity, that he prevailed on them to remain with, and carried them to Cugna at Mozambique.

Cugna having heard much concerning the extent of Madagascar, and at the same time not yet thinking it a proper season to sail for Socotora, he consulted with Alphonso Albuquerque, who approving of his resolution, he determined to steer for that island, in order to inform himself of the manners, customs, and extent of the country, as well as the soil, which in outward appearance seemed extremely fertile. He took with him Alphonso Albuquerque, Antonio Campo, Emanuel Tellez, Francisco Tavora, John Gomez Abreo, Roderigo Pereira Coutign, and Tristan Alvarez. The rest of the commanders were left with the fleet at Mozambique. The admiral touched at some of the ports of that island, but when he attempted to land his men, he was opposed by a formidable body of the natives, of whom he killed several, and put the rest to flight. He surveyed the whole coast lying towards Ethiopia, and intended to have sailed round the island; but when he was about to double Cape St. Maria, a sudden storm arising, prevented his design being carried into execution. At this time Roderigo Pereira's ship having run upon the shelves, was sunk, and the greatest part of the crew perished. Cugna then gave a signal for the rest of the ships to tack about, and he again shaped his course for Mozambique.

But John Gomez Abreo had turned the Cape before the storm began, and cruising along the southern coast, discovered a river in Maratans, a province of that island. Here he intended to water, when all of a sudden, several of the natives in small boats surrounded the ship, and by their outward gestures expressed the utmost friendship towards our people, offering them fish, roots, and sugar canes, in great plenty. The Portuguese captain, allured by the friendly behaviour of these people, ordered his pilot, a man versed in many languages, to go aboard one of their boats, to endeavour to have a conversation with them; and, if possible, by presents, to entice some of them to come aboard the ship; but as soon as they received the pilot, they plied their oars with



with so much vigour and dexterity, that they quickly got out of sight of the Portuguese. Their unexpected departure very much surpris'd Abreo: he immediately ordered the long boat to be got ready, and having furnished it with guns, he himself, with twenty-four more, went aboard. When he approached the shore, he saw the same boats with the pilot making towards him, without the least apprehension of danger. The pilot, by signs, gave him to understand, that the people were friendly and hospitable, and that he should therefore offer no hostilities. The pilot also told the Portuguese that he had been introduced to the king, who behaved to him with the utmost humanity, having presented him with a silver chain, together with rings and bracelets of the same metal, and had sent him back, in his name, to congratulate the Portuguese commander, and to solicit his friendship, which he was desirous to cultivate and promote by all the services in his power. Abreo being greatly taken with this courteous behaviour, went ashore, where he was met by the king, who by all possible methods endeavoured to gain his esteem and affection. An entertainment was prepared in the manner of the country, nor was there any thing wanting which the island could afford, and the day was spent in agreeable conversation.

It being now almost sun-set, the captain took his leave, and went aboard the long boat, when all of a sudden the weather grew extremely boisterous: the whole heavens was overspread with darkness, and the sea ran so prodigious high, that he could not return to the ship, but was detained on shore four days, when this storm abated and the sea became calm. But Abreo having cruized along the coasts, without finding the ship, returned to the king, who again received him with all the marks of affection, and endeavoured to sooth this dejected man by the most kind and hospitable usage. But all his endeavours were ineffectual, for Abreo finding himself thus abandoned, and cut off from all hopes of seeing his native country, became quite inconsolable, and was so much affected with his misfortune, that he soon after pined away with melancholly and despair, as did also eight of his companions. The rest having repaired the long boat, took leave of the king, who expressed the utmost regret at their departure, and directed their course for Mozambique. But in their way meeting with the ship commanded by Lucas Fonscca sailing for Sofala, they were taken aboard and conveyed to Mozambique.

Here it may be proper to give a short description of Madagascar, called the island of St. Laurence by the Portuguese, who discovered it on that Saint's day. Its length is about twelve hundred miles, and in breadth about four hundred and eighty. The island is divided into many different kingdoms: the inhabitants in the inland parts are Pagans, but most of those near the sea coast are of the Mahometan religion. The natives are partly black and partly tawney in complexion, with short woolly hair. The better sort are cloathed in cotton, but the poorer people only cover their private parts. Any man there may have as many wives as he pleases. The country is extremely fertile, yielding fruits of all kinds with very little culture. The ground is covered with many delightful woods and forests, filled with trees of all sorts, especially the citron, which yields the most grateful fragrancy. The soil produces vast plenty of roots, which the natives use instead of bread. The sugar-cane grows here in great abundance, and ginger also, which the people eat green, not knowing the art of drying and preserving it. The island abounds in fine springs of the most excellent water, and there are likewise many silver mines in the country: in short the place is very agreeable, and affords all the diversions of fishing, hunting, and fowling. The natives are a people of



the utmost simplicity, and naturally humane in their disposition. They knew nothing of navigation, having only a few boats for fishing. In war they made use of no other arms but light darts, but afterwards, by their communication with the Portuguese, they gained more experience in warlike affairs. This much may at present suffice concerning the disposition and manners of these islanders.

Tristan Cugna having set out from Mozambique touched at Melinda, where he had a friendly conference with the king, to whom he gave several presents from his Portuguese majesty. He then delivered to his care three persons sent by Emanuel as ambassadors to the king of Ethiopia, whom the Portuguese used ignorantly to call Prester John. One was a Portuguese named Ferdinand Gomez Sardo; another a Moor called John Sancho, who had turned Christian; the third was one Mahomed, an Arabian, born at Tunis. These the king of Melinda took under his protection, promising that they should be safely conducted to Ethiopia lying above Egypt.

Cugna having finished his business at Melinda, now sailed for Hoya, a city about eighty miles distant, which at that time waged war with the king of Melinda. Having taken this place by storm, he plundered and burnt it, and killed several of the Arabians. He then proceeded to another city sixty miles farther, which being unable to make resistance, surrendered to Emanuel's arms, and agreed to pay a yearly tribute. He steered next for Brava, a strong and well fortified city, and the most celebrated mart on that coast. Having anchored in this port, he immediately sent Leonel Coutign to wait on the head inhabitants of the place, offering them peace in the name of Emanuel, and inviting them to a friendly alliance. They pretended not to be averse to a treaty; but this was only a piece of dissimulation, in order to detain the Portuguese, for the season was almost at hand, when such boisterous winds usually blew in those parts, as would dash to pieces the very ships in the harbour. Cugna having discovered this artifice, resolved immediately to assault the city. Before day-break he drew up his men on the shore, and formed them into two lines; the first, which consisted of nine hundred men, he gave to Alphonso Albuquerque; and he himself headed the second, in which there were six hundred soldiers. In the city there was a garrison of four thousand men; of these two thousand immediately sallied forth, and engaged the Portuguese. The conflict was severe, but the Portuguese charged the enemy with so much fury, that they at last obliged them to give ground. They made a regular retreat into the city, and shut the gates against the Portuguese, who immediately surrounded the place, examining with the utmost carefulness where they could force an entrance. Mean while the enemy from the walls annoyed them with burning torches, and all manner of missive weapons. Albuquerque having at last discovered a weak part in the wall, began the attack there. The besieged immediately flocked thither, and opposed the Portuguese with amazing intrepidity. The fight was continued with the utmost fury on both sides, till Cugna came up, whose approach struck such a damp into the enemy, that they fled with great precipitation. The Portuguese soldiers wanted to pursue them, but were restrained by their commander. The city being plundered, vast booty was carried aboard the ships. Great numbers of the enemy were slain, and many taken prisoners, but most of these were again set at liberty. The Portuguese lost about fifty of their men, and several were dangerously wounded; eighteen more perished in the long boat, which through insatiable avarice they had loaded so immoderately that she overset: nay, so great was the inhumanity of the soldiers and sailors, and such their eagerness after spoil, that they cut off the arms of several women, to  
come



come at their rings and bracelets the more readily. But Cugna having severely punished the authors of this cruelty, deterred others from the like barbarity. The city being plundered, Cugna ordered it to be fired, and thus it was reduced to ashes, the enemy at a little distance beholding the dismal spectacle.

He then steered for Magadoxo, whither, as he had done at Brava, he sent Leonez Coutign with offers of peace and friendship. The people at this place made a very formidable appearance: great numbers of foot, and cuirassiers were patrolling on the shore; the walls of the city were lined with armed men, and a considerable body of troops were drawn up before it. Coutign being afraid to land, sent one of the Bravan captives to let the people know, that the Portuguese came not to denounce war, but to offer peace. In Coutign's sight they tore the captive to pieces, and threatened to serve him in the same manner, if he should dare to come ashore. Coutign therefore returned to Cugna, to whom he related the cruelty and insolent menaces of the enemy. Cugna was for storming the city, but at the persuasions of all his officers and pilots, he dropt this resolution. The place was almost inaccessible, strong by its natural situation, and defended by a numerous garrison: the station for our ships extremely dangerous, and very much exposed to the enemy: besides the winter was approaching fast, and the season for sailing almost elapsed, so that if our people should have miscarried in this attempt, their fleet and army would in all probability have met with inevitable destruction.

Cugna therefore with all expedition sailed for Socotora, where he quickly arrived with all his ships. This island is generally reckoned to be that formerly called Dioscoridu. The country is very mountainous, and abounds in all kind of corn and fruits. The natives are tawny. They profess the Christian religion: their churches are built after the manner of those in Christendom. They have crosses on their altars, but make no use of images. They keep the same fasts as other Christians, which they religiously observe with the strictest abstinence, not even eating fish at such times. They marry only one wife. They have likewise days set apart in honour of the saints, which they celebrate with great solemnity, and they pay tythes out of their corn and fruits to their priests, with the utmost punctuality. But notwithstanding they assume the name of Christians, yet they seem to be quite ignorant of the doctrines of our holy religion. They know nothing of shipping, and are a people quite sunk in laziness and indolence. Moreover, such is their pusillanimity and want of spirit, that they tamely submit themselves to the yoke of a few Arabians, and when oppressed in the most grievous manner, they never once think of asserting their natural liberty. The king of Fartak, a province of Arabia Felix, at that time held them in the most miserable thralldom; and, in order to take away from them all hopes of liberty, he had built a fort near the sea, which he fortified and furnished with all manner of warlike stores, and appointed his son, a youth of great bravery, to reside there as governor.

Cugna determined, if possible, to make himself master of this fort, that he might thereby deliver the Christians from slavery. However, he first sent a deputy to Abraham, the king's son, commanding him immediately to evacuate the fort, and quit a country which his father had unjustly seized. Abraham returned for answer, that being subject to his father alone, his orders he would punctually obey, but he despised the commands of any other monarch. He therefore bid the Portuguese prepare for war; the affair, he said, was not to be decided by empty words, but by force of arms.

Cugno



Cugna accordingly, with great expedition, got every thing ready for an assault, and sounded the depth of the water in that part he thought most proper for a descent ; but Abraham in the night fortified that place, throwing up a trench, and stationing some soldiers for its defence. Cugna having ordered his men to go aboard their long boats, formed them into two divisions, and he himself, at the head of the first, approaching the shore about day-break. Albuquerque who commanded the second line, observed another place, which, the water being high the day before, appeared then very dangerous, but now it appeared quite otherwise ; being resolved, therefore, to perplex the enemy by a double danger, he ordered his men to row thither with all their vigour, where they accordingly landed, without the least obstruction. Cugna not observing this, made towards a grove of palm-trees opposite to where some of the enemy were posted. Abraham having marched out of the fort with a party of soldiers, was hastening to reinforce those who defended the trench ; but having perceived Albuquerque and his men drawn up on the shore, he directly altered his course, and made towards the place where the greatest danger seemed to threaten. Albuquerque, clad in armour, attacked him with vast intrepidity : Alphonso Norhogna, one of Albuquerque's officers, at the same time likewise charged the enemy with great fury, so that they were at last obliged to retire ; but Abraham, in order to cover the retreat of his men into the fort, withstood the shock of the Portuguese with the utmost resolution, and greatly distinguished himself by his gallant behaviour. He was at last left in the field with eight soldiers only. Norhogna observing this, hastened to engage him singly : the conflict between these two commanders, while it lasted, was very severe, but it continued but a short time ; for the Portuguese coming up, surrounded these few of the enemy, who seeing their fate inevitable, were resolved to sell their lives dear ; they fought with the most desperate resolution, and, before they fell, wounded many of the Portuguese.

Cugna, in the mean while, when endeavouring to land at the place he had fixed upon, was opposed by the enemy's soldiers posted there for that purpose ; but having attacked them very briskly, he at last put them to flight, and the Portuguese having got ashore pursued the enemy. Albuquerque's party having met with the enemy flying to the fort, drove them back again with great precipitation ; a few of them, however, got safe into the fort. Cugna being wholly intent on besieging the fort, would not allow any of his men to pursue those who fled. The Portuguese therefore, pursuant to his orders, came before the place, and attempted to break down the gates, thinking that the enemy, being struck with a panic, would make but a feint resistance ; but it happened quite otherwise, for the besieged, from the towers, threw stones and all manner of missile weapons on the Portuguese. Albuquerque was so stunned with the blow of a stone, that he continued speechless a long time. Cugna then commanded a retreat to be sounded, and ordered a large cannon and the scaling ladders to be brought ashore. The piece being planted opposite the gates, soon demolished them. The enemy seeing their gates broke down, knowing their numbers to be so small, and that they could not withstand the Portuguese rushing in from all quarters, they therefore betook themselves to the strongest tower in the fort. The Portuguese having forced their entrance, took possession of another tower opposite to that which the besieged intended to defend. The enemy made so gallant a defence, that Cugna was not a little concerned to think that such brave fellows should be thus slaughtered ; he therefore gave them to understand, by an interpreter, that he would willingly save them, and give them liberty, on condition



condition that they would surrender. They returned for answer, that they accounted an honourable death greatly preferable to a shameful surrender. The tower was at last taken, with the slaughter of all those who defended it, excepting only one man, who proved a most excellent pilot. Of the Portuguese there were only eight killed, and about the same number wounded.

The fort being thus taken, Cugna sent a messenger to the inhabitants of the town, to let them know, that according to the king of Portugal's instructions, he had come into these parts to restore them to liberty; for Emanuel could not endure to think that a Christian people should any longer groan under the oppression of the Arabians. The townsmen, with uplifted hands, returned thanks to heaven for this deliverance, and prayed for prosperity to Emanuel. Cugna and all the Portuguese repaired to one of the Arabian mosques, which being purified and consecrated, they performed divine worship there, and offered up thanksgiving for their success. The fort having several additions made to its fortifications, Alphonso Norhogna was appointed governor thereof, pursuant to the orders of Emanuel.

Cugna sailed from thence for India on the 10th of August, and A.D. 1507. having anchored in the port of Cananor, made a treaty of peace with the prince of that place. He proceeded next for Cochin, where he was received by Almeed, the viceroy, with the highest marks of honour and affection. A few days after his arrival, Almeed having received intelligence that there were several Arabian ships, richly laden, lying in the port of Panane (a considerable town belonging to the zamorin, about fifty miles off,) escorted by a formidable fleet of Calicutian ships of war, under the command of one Curial, a commander of great experience, he resolved to attack them in the harbour.

Tristan Cugna offered his service, and very readily joined him in this expedition. Almeed accordingly set out for Panane with twelve ships of war, drawn up in line of battle. The viceroy having taken a captive, was informed by him that the enemy's ships were not yet launched, but lay along the river in their docks; that Curial had fortified the mouth of the river on each side with a rampart, which was defended by a strong body of soldiers; that the town likewise was strongly fortified, and well garrisoned; and that Curial had under his command four thousand men, partly Arabians, and partly naires, in the zamorin's service.

Almeed had brought with him only seven hundred Portuguese. With this body he attacked the enemy, of whom three hundred fell in this action. Many more perhaps would have been killed, but Almeed would not allow his men to pursue them to any great distance. The Portuguese had only eighteen killed, but several were wounded. All the enemy's cannon was carried aboard the fleet.

Almeed having been thus successful, departed from Cananor, from whence he sent Tristan Cugna with five ships, richly laden, for Portugal\*.

• Osorio.



## CHAPTER VII.

*Exploits of Albuquerque and Almeed by Sea in India.*

A.D. 1509. **A**FTER the taking of Socotora, on the 20th of August, Cugna and Albuquerque parted, the former for India, the latter for the coasts of Arabia and Persia, in pursuance of the orders they had from the king. Albuquerque had with him seven sail, and four hundred and sixty fighting men. The first place he touched at in the kingdom of Ormuz, was Calayate, a town once very populous and still beautiful and strong, the buildings after the manner of Spain. He sent a message to the governor, who offered him refreshment, and established a peace.

He went on to Curiate, ten leagues farther, and was ill received. Storming the town, he met with a vigorous opposition, but entered it, after killing eighty of the enemy, and the loss of three Portuguese. After plundering the place, he burnt it, together with fourteen vessels that were in the harbour.

From hence he sailed eight leagues farther, to Mascate, a place stronger than any of the others, and full of people, who resorted to it from all parts, hearing the destruction of Curiate. The governor fearing the like disaster, made peace, and sent great store of provisions, and the Portuguese went ashore for water; but on a sudden the cannon of the town began to do great execution on the Portuguese ships, which drew off hastily, not knowing the cause of this turn, till some time after they understood that two thousand men, sent by the king of Ormuz for the defence of the place, were just arrived, and their officers refused to stand to the peace. Albuquerque had received no small damage from the great cannon, which was played very smartly; but landing his men at break of day, he assaulted the town so courageously and fortunately, that as the Portuguese entered in at one gate, the Moors ran out at another. The place was plundered.

This done, he sailed to Soar, all the inhabitants whereof fled, except the governor and some of the Moors, who offered it up to Albuquerque, and received it back to hold of king Emanuel, paying the same tribute he had given to the governor of Ormuz.

He then sailed for Orfucum, fifteen leagues farther, where he found little to do, the inhabitants having deserted it. The town was plundered for three days, during which time he prepared to enter into the harbour of Ormuz.

The city of Ormuz is situated in a little island called Gerum, at the mouth of the Persian gulph, about three leagues in compass, so barren that it produces nothing but salt and sulphur. The buildings of the city are sumptuous; it is the great market of all goods brought thither from the east, west, and north; which is the reason, that though it has nothing of its own, it abounds in all things, and is plentifully supplied from the province of Mogastam, and the islands Quixome, Lareque, and others. About the year 1273, king Malec Caez possessed all the lands from the island Gerum to that of Baharem, and bordered upon the king of Gordunxa, of the province of Mogastam. This king, artfully obtaining of Malec the island of Gerum, as a place of no worth, after he was fortified therein, drove him out of all his country; and translating the city of Ormuz, where the king kept his court before, to this island, he grew so formidable, that the king of Persia, fearing he would refuse to pay the tribute the other had done, prepared to invade him; but the king of Gordunxa prevented him, by imposing on himself



himself a yearly tribute, and offering to do him homage, by his ambassadors, every five years.

In this tyrant began the city and kingdom of Ormuz, afterwards possessed by his heirs and others, for the most part violently. When Albuquerque arrived there, Ceyfadin, a youth of twelve years of age, reigned, and over him Coje Atar, a man subtil and courageous, who hearing what had been done by Albuquerque, made preparations, laying an embargo on all the ships in the harbour, and hiring troops from the neighbouring provinces, Persians, Arabians, and others, so that when Albuquerque came, there were in the town thirty thousand fighting men; among them four thousand Persians, most expert archers; and in the harbour four hundred vessels, sixty of considerable bulk, with two thousand five hundred men.

Albuquerque was not ignorant of the reception designed him; but to shew those people the greatness of his resolution, he entered that port about the end of September, and came to anchor between five of their greatest ships. To excite terror, he fired his cannon, and the shore was soon covered with above eight thousand men. Receiving no message from the king, he sent on board the largest of those ships, which came from Cambaya, and seemed to ride admiral, the captain whereof presently came on board Albuquerque's ship, and was received by him with civility and state. Albuquerque told him he had orders from Emanuel to take the king of Ormuz into his protection, and grant him leave to trade in those seas, provided he paid a reasonable tribute; but if he refused, his orders were to make war. It was doubtless no small presumption to offer a king the liberty of his own seas, and impose conditions upon him, with only four hundred and sixty men against thirty thousand, and seven ships to four hundred; but the success justified these proceedings, and verified those actions, which to some have appeared fabulous. The Moor delivered this message to the king and his governor Coje Atar, and presently returned one Coje Beyrame, excusing their not having sent to know what we demanded in that port, and promised the governor would come next day to treat. He came not, but the messages continued, only in order to gain time to fortify the city, and receive further supplies. Albuquerque saw into the design, and told Beyrame he need only return with the acceptation of peace as offered, or the declaration of war. He brought answer, that the city of Ormuz used not to pay but to receive tribute. Night coming on, it appeared they prepared to fight, by the noise of warlike instruments, and shouts that was heard from the walls and ships. The morning discovered the walls, shore, and vessels, covered with armed men; the windows and tops of the houses filled with both sexes and all ages, as spectators of what should ensue. Albuquerque having held a council, and given necessary orders, began to play his cannon furiously, and was answered by the enemy. They taking the advantage of the smoke, which hindered the sight, attacked the Portuguese ships with one hundred and thirty boats, well manned, which did some damage with showers of arrows, but received more, many being sunk, and the rest forced to retire by the Portuguese artillery. Yet they made a second attack, but were so received, that the sea was coloured with blood.

By this time Albuquerque had sunk two of the great ships, and taken a third, though with great opposition, forcing the Moors to leap into the sea. The mean time the other captains had mastered other ships, and perceiving themselves victorious ran along the shore, and set fire to above thirty ships, which cutting their cables, were drove flaming upon the Persian coast, where they burnt others that lay aground. This struck so great a terror into all the multitude, that they fled for shelter to the city, and Coje

Atar



Atar sent to offer all that Albuquerque had demanded, who stopped further proceedings, but perceiving the deceitfulness of the Moor, threatened a greater effect of his anger in case he persisted in acting deceitfully.

Albuquerque lost only ten men in this action, but most of the enemy's vessels, with vast riches, were either sunk, burnt, or torn to pieces, and one thousand seven hundred of them killed.

Coje Atar, considering the damage received, and what might ensue, called a council, where it was agreed to submit to what was demanded by Albuquerque. The articles were drawn, and sworn to by both parties; their substance was, that the king of Ormuz did submit himself to king Emanuel, with the tribute of fifteen thousand xeraphins yearly (a xeraphin is worth about half a crown) and should assign the Portuguese a place to build a fort. The fort was immediately begun, and much advanced in a few days, but Coje Atar could not bear with it. He pretended ambassadors were come to receive the tribute they used to pay the king of Persia, and therefore desired Albuquerque to give them an answer, since his king was now subject to the crown of Portugal. He guessed at the design, and bid Coje Atar send somebody to him who might carry the answer; the messengers being come, he put into their hands bullets and spears, telling them that was the coin the tribute should be paid in. Coje Atar finding his plot fail, endeavoured to corrupt the Portuguese with money. He prevailed with five seamen, (one of them a founder, who cast some cannon there,) to desert.

Albuquerque began to revenge this affront, but with little success, because the captains employed, opposed it. Coje Atar perceiving this, at night fired a boat that was building on the shore, and one of the Portuguese deserters cried from the wall, Alfonso de Albuquerque, defend the boat with your four hundred men, and you shall meet seven hundred archers. Albuquerque burning with rage, attempted to fire some ships in the arsenal, and failed. He resolved to besiege the city, and having taken some that carried in provisions, cut off their hands, ears and noses, and sent them in to the great terror of all. There was a hot dispute about filling up some wells that supplied the besieged, insomuch that they were filled with carcasses of men and horses, the captain and guard that maintained them being all slain. The king and Coje Atar came to second this action, and Albuquerque was in great danger, his retreat being cut off, but a fortunate cannon ball opened a way, putting the enemies horse into confusion. Albuquerque in these actions found his men ill disposed to obey; among the rest, three captains resolving to leave him and sail for India. This troubled Albuquerque, yet he resolved not to desist, though two captains that staid with him opposed him, desirous to accompany the others; but he used them with such severity, that they were forced to obey him. From Baharem to Queixome, a fleet sailed with relief of men and provisions. Albuquerque having pursued, and missing of it, returned to Queixome, and fell upon five hundred archers sent to the king of Ormuz by him of Lara, under the command of his two nephews, and slew them and most of their men, having but eighty with him; the brothers he sent to Coje Atar as a present. The town was burned. Finding he had but few men left wherewith to continue his enterprize, and those harrassed, and winter coming on, he resolved to go to Zocotora, and gave leave to John de Nova to sail for India.

Whilst this happened at Ormuz, the soldan of Cayre set out a fleet of twelve sail, and fifteen hundred men, commanded by Mir Hozem, to oppose the Portuguese in India. The timber whereof these ships were built, was cut in the mountains of Dalmatia,



matia, by procurement of the Venetians. A nephew of the foldan carried it in twenty-five ships, with eight hundred mamalukes, besides seamen. Andrew de Amarall, a Portuguese, commanded then the gallies of Malta; he knowing that timber was designed against the Portuguese in India, attacked the twenty-five ships of the enemy, with six hundred men in four gallies and six ships; and after a sharp engagement that lasted three hours, took seven and sunk five, the rest fled to Alexandria, whence the timber was carried up the Nile to Cairo, and thence on camels to Suez.

At this time the viceroy, don Francisca de Almeyda, was upon the coast of Malabar, and had sent his son don Lorenzo to guard those of Cananor and Cochin, and ran as far as Chaul with eight ships. On his way he took some ships of the Moors. Chaul is seated on the bank of a river two leagues from the sea; one of the chief of that coast for greatness and trade, subject to the Nizam Aluco, by whose order don Lorenzo was well received. They had some intelligence of this fleet of the foldan, but gave no credit to it, till it appeared in sight as don Lorenzo was diverting himself on shore with his officers. They hastened to the ships, giving such orders as the shortness of the time permitted, and were scarce aboard when the enemy entered the harbour, with many demonstrations of joy, designing to board the Portuguese admiral, and the rest of the ships to board the others. The Portuguese were so placed, that the enemy passed between them, and Mir Hozem coming up with don Lorenzo, poured in ball, arrows, granadoes, and other fire works, but was so well answered, that he gave over the resolution of boarding, though the Portuguese vessel was much less than his. The others had the like success, and so passed on; night approaching, they prepared themselves for the next morning.

Don Lorenzo gave the signal of battle, and endeavoured to board Mir Hozem; the like was done by the others, but only two gallies succeeded, which took two of the enemy, having put all their men to the sword. Mean while the cannon was furiously played on both sides. Don Lorenzo seemed to have the upper hand, when Melique Az, lord of Diu, came with a great number of small vessels well manned, to the assistance of Mir Hozem. Don Lorenzo sent two gallies and three caravels to hinder the approach of that relief. They executed it so effectually, that they obliged him to fly to another place for shelter, and the fight continued till night parted them, each striving to conceal his loss from the other. The Portuguese captains met in council, the result was, that it was a rashness to persist in that enterprize, Melique Az being so near with such powerful assistance, that it was convenient to take the open sea, either in order to escape, or to fight with less disadvantage. Don Lorenzo resolutely expected the morning, only making some motion to save the ships of Cochin that were in great danger. Melique Az imagining this motion was in order to fly, launched out from his retreat, not at all daunted to see many of his vessels torn in pieces by the cannon, and charged briskly; then don Lorenzo's ship running foul of some stakes that were drove in the river, made so much water, there was no preventing her sinking, though don Lorenzo laboured indefatigably till a ball broke his thigh, and ordering himself to be set against the main mast, where he stood encouraging his men, till another ball broke his back. The body was thrown under deck, and followed down by Laurence Freyre Gato his page, who bewailed him with tears of blood as well as water, being shot through the eye with an arrow. After a vigorous resistance the Moors entered the ship, and found the page by his master's body, who rising to defend it, killed as many as covered it, and then died upon them. The ship sunk at last. Of above  
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one hundred men that were with don Lorenzo, only nineteen escaped; in all the ships were lost one hundred and forty; of the enemy six hundred. The other captains got to Cochin (where the viceroy was) with the news of his son's death, which he received with wonderful resolution.

A. D. 1508. This year, about the beginning of April, seventeen ships sailed from Lisbon, which being all separated by bad weather, at length met at Mozambique, except one that was cast away on the islands of Tristan de Cugna; these ships, with those of the foregoing year, came together to India, and gave courage to the Portuguese to resist their enemies. The king ordered that don Francisco de Almeyda should resign the government to Alfonso de Albuquerque, and return home in one of the trading ships. But he suspended the execution of this order. Previous to this were the actions of Albuquerque at Ormuz and Socotora, where he wintered and relieved the Portuguese, who were there oppressed by famine. To this effect he went himself with his ship to Cape Guardafu, and sent Francis de Tavora towards Melinde, and two vessels to Cape Fum, to make prize of some ships for their provisions; they found what they sought, and so put a stop to the growing evil. He then resolved for Ormuz, though too weak to effect what he intended, yet at least to sound the designs of that king and his friend Coje Atar. By the way he resolved to be revenged on Calayate for injuries done to some Portuguese. This town is seated beyond Cape Siagro, called also Cape Rosalgate, at the mouth of the Persian gulph. On the back of it is a mountain, which has only some passes, that open a communication to the neighbouring country. One of these passes is just opposite to the town through which is managed most of the trade of that province of the Arabs called Ayaman, because (as they say) first inhabited by people of that name, which signifies plenty, or abundance. This land is full of populous cities, fruitful, and of great trade. Albuquerque no sooner arrived, but he landed and entered the town, some of the inhabitants flying to the mountains, and others being slain in the streets. Albuquerque staid there three nights, upon one of which one thousand Moors entered the town by surprize, and did much hurt; but the Portuguese gathering, killed many, put the rest to flight, and burned the place. They got great quantity of provisions, which was most of the booty, and arrived at Ormuz the 13th of September. Alfonso de Albuquerque presently advertised the king and Coje Atar of his arrival, and they answered, that as for the tribute of fifteen thousand xeraphins they were ready to pay it, but would not consent to build the fort. He therefore resolved again to besiege the island, and ordered Martin Coello, with his ship, to guard the point Turumbaca, where the wells are; James de Melo he posted opposite to the island Queixome, he and Francis de Tavora lay before the city. Thence he viewed the growth of the fort, for Coje Atar had finished it, making use of what the Portuguese had began, the better to oppose them. The success was much the same as the other time, but he was in great danger himself, and Diego de Melo, with eight private men, being killed, he returned to India, having taken a ship that carried much pearl from Baharem, and Francis de Tavora took one of Mecca.

The viceroy having sent Albuquerque to Cochin, and dispatched the trading ships homeward bound, under Fernando Soerez and Ruy de Cunna, who perished by the way, and ordered other matters, sailed on the 12th of December from Cananor towards Diu in pursuit of Mir Hozem. He had with him nineteen vessels of different sizes, and in them sixteen hundred soldiers and seamen, whereof four hundred were Malabars. All India was alarmed at this motion of the viceroy, but chiefly the Zamorin  
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and Melique Az, who had used all necessary precautions to secure himself against this danger. The viceroy being landed with his officers in the delightful island, Anchedita, made them a grave and learned speech, touching upon the great actions performed, and reflecting upon the damage received from the Turks; shewed how much they were obliged to God, their king and country, to revenge that defect, and the death of his son, with many more circumstances, and concluded, that the more to terrify the enemy, it were convenient first to fall upon the city Dabul. On the 30th of December the Portuguese entered the port and took it. He gave leave to plunder, which was hindered by the sudden firing of the town, so that in a few hours it was reduced to a heap of ashes, and therefore the booty did not exceed one hundred and fifty thousand ducats. It was afterwards known that the viceroy was the cause of the conflagration, fearing the men, taken up with those riches, might retard his other design. The ships in the harbour suffered the same fate, with no small confusion among the Portuguese ships, the crews of which were scarce able to endure the flames so near them. The viceroy had laid in no great store of provisions, not doubting to get enough along that coast; but very little was found here, where most was expected, the furious flames having devoured all. He thought to remedy this, by sending to the neighbouring villages, but he was again disappointed, because all were destroyed by the multitude of locusts.

The viceroy parted from Dabul without provisions, hoping to get them along the coast. Payo de Sousa run up a river in his galley, having seen some cattle upon the shore, and hoping to take some of them; the owners opposed, and killed him and George Guedez. James Mendez succeeded in the command of the galley, and met another passing from Diu to Dabul, which was well manned, and commanded by a courageous and expert Turk, who no sooner discovered the Portuguese galley, but, keeping his men close, so that only they that rowed were in sight, he drew on James Mendez to board him without suspecting any danger, when the Turks that were hid immediately rushed out, and nearly took the Portuguese galley, but the crew recovering themselves, gained their galley with the death of all the Turks, without losing one of their own men. The chief prize taken was a noble and beautiful Hungarian young woman, who was brought to the viceroy, and by him given to Gaspar de la India, who gave her to James Pereyra of Cochin, and he married her for her virtuous qualities, so well suiting with her birth and beauty.

Farther on they took in the river of Bombaim, a bark, with twenty-four Moors of Guzerat, by whose means the governor sent some sheep and rice, whilst cattle was brought from other places. The same was done at the fort of Maim; for the people terrified at what had happened at Dabul, fled to the mountains.

The viceroy arrived at Diu on the 2d of February. Melique Az, lord of this city, was about twenty leagues off, with his army against Resbuti, but had still advice of the motions of the Portuguese fleet, which scarce anchored before the city, when, with wonderful celerity, he flew thither. He had already used precaution, that Mir Hozem might not perceive how little he was inclined to assist him; and that he might not altogether exasperate the viceroy, as both of them equally feared him. The viceroy considered the strong situation of the place, which was much improved by art, also the courage and conduct of Melique Az, and Mir Hozem, and the number of above two hundred vessels well manned, and furnished with all things necessary. Having called a council, it was resolved, that Nunno Vaz Pereira should be the forlorn hope with his ship, in which were one hundred and

twenty



twenty fighting men, most gentlemen, and of known valour. He was to be seconded by George de Melo, with the like number, who was to be followed by Peter Barreto de Magallanes, and he by Francis de Tavora, then Garcia de Soufa, and so the other vessels, carrying from twenty-five to eighty men each. The night was spent, particularly on the side of the Portuguese, in preparing for the battle, as the danger was to be encountered next morning. Accordingly, between nine and ten in the morning, when there was flood enough for the ships to swim, the admiral gave the signal for entering the port. The vessels of Melique Az ran to hinder the entrance of the Portuguese, showering bullets and arrows, which immediately flew ten men in James Perez's galley that led the way to Nunno Vaz; yet Nunno pressed forward, and pouring his shot among the great ships, sunk one. He was in great danger, however, between two of them, when George de Melo came up with such fury, that running foul of one of the two he drove it upon that of Nunno Vaz, and thereby gave way to Sebastian de Miranda to board it, which he performed. Then George de Melo went on to another, as did the other captains in like manner. The viceroy, in the midst of the enemy's vessels, gave them a sufficient diversion, that they might not hinder the other ships from what they were doing; and though they did him some damage with their continual fire, he destroyed them with his, till the paroas of Calicut fled, spreading the news along the shore that the Turks were victorious. Mir Hozem being wounded, in despair slipped out of his ship, disguised, into a brigantine, and thence to shore, where taking horse, he never stopped till he came before the king of Cambaya, no less fearful of the fury of the Portuguese than the falsehood of Melique Az, who had assisted him with his vessels. The absence of Mir Hozem did not discourage those in his vessel; for being boarded, they never yielded, but were all slain. A great ship belonging to Melique being attempted by some of the Portuguese, who were not able to carry her, the viceroy discharged all his cannon upon her, and sunk her. Antony de Campo took a galley. Ruy Soarez, one of the last in order of battle, but not in courage, running through all, placed himself before the city, and playing most dexterously, took two gallies, having forced the crews to quit them, in such a manner, that the viceroy seeing him at a distance, in a glorious emulation cried out, "Who is that who so much excels the rest? Oh that I were he!"—The victory being now no longer doubtful, because some harm was done us by the artillery on the shore, the viceroy made up to the ships, where the Portuguese gallies and other lesser vessels killed all that leaped into the sea, so that the water was the colour of blood.

This victory was not cheap, for the Portuguese lost near forty men. Of the enemy above 1500 were killed. The ships being plundered, there were great riches found in them; and by the great variety of books in several languages, it was judged, the men were of sundry nations; among the books were some Latin, Italian and Portuguese. Of all the vessels that were taken, the viceroy ordered four ships and two gallies should be preserved, the rest were burned. The victory would have been more glorious, had not the conquered been treated with such barbarous cruelty, that many, not without reason, judged the unhappy end of the viceroy and other gentlemen, to be a just punishment of that crime.

Next morning Melique Az pretending to be much pleased with the viceroy's victory, sent Cide Ale, a Moor of Granada to wish him joy. There was a report, that the city was in a great consternation, fearing the conqueror would assault it, and that many were filled with this apprehension. The Portuguese finding the viceroy inclined to ad-  
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*Silva pinx.*

*Wooding Sculp.*

*Engraved for a General Collection of Voyages, from an Authentick Copy from the Royal Printing house at Lisbon.*







mit Melique Az his deceitful congratulation, began to mutter, and complain that he stopped the course of his good fortune, which the enemies began now to fear. He, calling together the principal men, told them, that he had no regard to Melique Az, but to the king of Cambaya, who was a friend, and whose city that was; that the town was strong and they were tired; that of twelve hundred men he commanded, only six hundred were able to bear arms; that though the town was taken, it could not be maintained; and that they might be revenged against Melique Az on his trading ships. All agreed there should be no more said of the assault, and to give ear to the Moor. The viceroy received him courteously, and told him, that two motives chiefly brought him to that port, the one to be revenged on the Turks, the other to recover the Portuguese that were taken, and who were to him, as his children. The first doing he had obtained, and the second he must gain by having them delivered to him; that they should also deliver to him all the artillery and ammunition belonging to the Turks that were in the ships haled in, and they should be burned. All this seemed little to Melique Az, and was performed with such expedition and exactness, that he settled a profitable peace with the viceroy, who left one of the prisoners there to load two ships with such things as were wanting at Cochin and Cananor. He dispatched don Antonia de Norhona with provisions, and some of the booty of the ships, to relieve his brother, don Alfonso, at Zocotora. Then the viceroy sailed, and arriving at Chaul; whose king terrified with the late victory, became tributary. Passing by Cananor, he was there received with honour, and at Cochin in a triumphant manner; but before he had laid aside his festive ornaments, he was accosted by Alfonso de Albuquerque, pressing him to deliver up the government according to the king's orders. The answer was, he should give him leisure to put off that heavy robe, and there would be time enough afterwards. Albuquerque pressed, and the viceroy delayed.

The king of Cochin, urged by these divisions, delayed the lading with pepper of two ships that were to return home, till Albuquerque was possessed of the government. In fine, the viceroy sent Albuquerque prisoner to Cananor, where he was courteously entertained by the governor, who then was Lawrence de Brito, to whom in a few days the viceroy wrote, that he should treat his prisoner as one who soon must govern India.

King Emanuel being informed of the preparations made by the foldan of Cairo at Suez, resolved to send a powerful relief to India. This consisted of fifteen sail, commanded by don Fernando Coutinho, who had an extraordinary power given him, the king (as was thought) having some idea of the disagreement which was like to be between the viceroy and Albuquerque. Nothing of note happened till he arrived at Cananor, whence he carried Alfonso de Albuquerque to Cochin, treating him as governor of India. Though there passed some acts of civility between the viceroy and Coutinho, the rest was not suitable; for the ship he had prepared to pass to Portugal, was denied him, and he was obliged to take another he had no mind to. He sailed with two more on the 19th of November, and had fair weather till he past the Cape of Good Hope, when he said, now (God be praised) the witches of Cochin are liars, who said we should not pass this cape. He put into the bay of Saldanna, to take water; and some men going to exchange goods with the blacks, a servant of the viceroy treated two of them so ill, that they knocked out his teeth, and sent him away bloody. Some gentlemen looking upon this as an affront, persuaded the viceroy to go on shore; when they ought to have advised him to punish his servant for abusing people where they sought relief. He yielded to this, but so much against his will, that as he



went into the boat he said, "Ah! whither, and to what end do they now carry me " at sixty years?" Hereby declaring, that was an action of youth. There went with him one hundred and fifty, the flower of the ships. They passed on to a miserable village, and returned with some cattle and children; when, one hundred and seventy blacks coming down from the mountain, whither they had fled, attacked them in defence of their children, casting stakes with sharp points, hardened in the fire, so furiously, that in a little time they killed fifty gentlemen, and among them the viceroy, who died kneeling on the sand, with his eyes lifted up to heaven, struck through the throat with one of these stakes. George de Melo returned with the wounded men to the ships, and when he thought the blacks were withdrawn, went ashore and buried the viceroy and the rest. George de Melo carried the news to Lisbon, where it was received with great grief.

Alfonso de Albuquerque, now possessed of the government, prepared to fall upon Calicut, with don Fernando Coutinho. The design was kept private, but the zamorin provided, as did all the princes of that coast, when the Portuguese were in motion. They set out from Cochin with thirty vessels and one thousand eight hundred men, besides some boats of Malabars, who followed in hopes of plunder. They arrived at Calicut the A. D. 1510. second of January, consulted about the difficulty and manner of landing, and ordered that part of the fleet which belonged to Albuquerque, should be committed to the care of his nephew don Antonio de Norhona; and Coutinhos part to Rodrigo. Every one strove to be so posted as to land first. The Portuguese were in arms all night, and so tired in the morning, that they had more mind to sleep than to land, though the desire of landing had kept them from sleep; but they soon recovered, the signal being given, and the cannon firing. Coutinho had eight hundred men, and some field pieces: Albuquerque had the same number, and besides them six hundred Malabars. They marched with more confusion than order, each striving to be foremost; the first attacked the bulwark of Cerame with George de Cunna and Francis de Soufa; they found there six hundred men, who made a vigorous resistance, till Albuquerque coming up, they quitted it. Albuquerque being fearful of the disorder of his men, gave notice to Coutinho, who running with all speed to his relief, and the colours being already set up, judging it had rather been a contrivance of the governor, than disorder of the men, took the liberty to say unto him, "What means this Sir? Was you ambitious the rabble of Lisbon should report you " were the first at taking Calicut, which you so extol to the king? But I shall go to " Lisbon and tell the king I could have entered it with only this cane in my hand. " And since I find no body to fight with, I will not be satisfied till I enter the palace of " the zamorin, and dine in one of his rooms." This said, without expecting the answer Albuquerque was about to make, he marched with his men towards that palace, where the zamorin was not. He was tired when he reached it, being above five leagues from the shore, the road encumbered with palm trees; and having marched hard, and met with opposition by the way, he rested a while in a plain before the palace. Which being then attacked, though well defended, was entered; the Moors flying to the mountains. The Portuguese now possessed of the palace, began plundering without shame or sense of honour, and with as much disorder, as if their enemy had been destroyed. The enemy now reinforced, returned, and falling upon their disordered men, put all into confusion, killing many under their burthens, and doing great



great harm, though Vasco de Sylveyra signalized himself, killing two of their chiefs; whom they call caymales. In the mean time Albuquerque had entered the city, and fired it; and having nothing to employ him, marched to see what Coutinho had done. He found all about the palace thronged with armed men, and that Coutinho was within in imminent danger. Finding it best to hinder the enemies from pressing upon him, he sent him word he waited his coming. Coutinho did not answer till the third message, and then returned, that Albuquerque might march, and he would follow, being busy in gathering his men, who were dispersed about the house. Albuquerque marched, and the enemy pressed him, doing great damage, till news was brought that Coutinho's life was in great danger. He endeavoured to return to his relief, but was hindered by the multitude of the enemy, who slew many of his men, and wounded him with a dart in the throat, and a stone in the head, in such a manner that he was carried senseless to the shore. By this time Coutinho and many more were slain in the palace, and several on the way, being oppressed by the multitude, and spent with the labour and heat, and stifled with the dust, doubtless would have all perished; if James Mendez Vasconcellos, and Simon de Angrade, whom Albuquerque left in the city with two thousand men, had not stopt the fury of the enemy, and obliged them to retire. There happened as great a contest about being the last on shore, as had been about landing first, not considering that all their misfortune had proceeded from that foolish dispute. At last they failed, having lost eighty men, and among them many of note, of which Coutinho was one. Albuquerque being come to himself, gave several orders at sea, and dispatched the trading ships homeward bound; and when arrived at Cochin, made preparations for a third attempt upon the island Ormuz.

We shall now endeavour to give some account of what was done by two of the captains spoken of in the beginning of the chapter. One of these two captains was Duarte de Lemos, who, after a storm, arrived at the place called Medones de Oro; from thence he went to Madagascar, or the island of St. Lawrence, and thence to Mozambique, where the rest of his squadron joined him. George de Aguiar being lost he took upon him the command of the coast of Ethiopia and Arabia, given him by the king, that government being then divided into three parts. From Mozambique he sailed to Melinda; then set out to visit some islands of that coast, that had neglected to pay the usual tribute to Quiloa since it was taken. Monfia submitted immediately; Zanzibar made resistance, but the people were drove to the mountains, and the town plundered. At Pemba the same happened, the inhabitants flying to Mombaza, leaving nothing in their houses; but some little plunder was taken in a fort whither the sheik had conveyed such things as he had not time to secure otherwise. Lemos gave the necessary orders at Melinda, particularly in relation to the factory for the trade of Zofala. Hence he sailed with seven sail for the coast of Arabia; one vessel commanded by Gregory de Quadra, was insensibly separated from the rest in the night on the coast of Magadoxa, and carried by the current to the mouth of the Red sea, where the city Zeila is seated, and was there taken. Lemos resolved to take a view of Ormuz, and managed the towns of that coast more with cunning than force. The same at Ormuz, where he received of the king and Coje Atar, the fifteen thousand xeraphins, imposed on them as tribute by Albuquerque, and was well treated. Hence he sent to India, Vasco de Sylveyra, who was killed at Calicut. Then he sailed to Zocotora, and gave the command of that fort to Peter Ferreira, sending to India, don Antonio de Norhona, who took a rich ship of the Moors which being manned by some Portuguese, was cast



away in a storm between Dabul and Goa, and the men made prisoners: his own ship was stranded in the bay of Cambaya, where he and some others endeavouring to escape in the boat, were all lost; about thirty that remained in the ship were taken by the Moors and sent to the king of Cambaya. Lemos, on his return to Melinda, took a vessel richly laden. The winter being passed, he returned to Zocotora, and found there Francis Pantoja, who came from India with provisions, and had taken a rich ship of Cambaya, the great wealth whereof he shared with Lemos his men, saying they had a right to it, as being taken in the precincts of his government. A rare example of justice. Lemos finding himself unprovided for other undertakings, sailed to India, and was received by Albuquerque with great pomp and civility.

The other of the two captains mentioned was James Lopez de Sequiero, who was entrusted with the discovery of the island of Madagascar and Malacca. In the island St. Lawrence he arrived in the port of St. Sebastian. He run along the coast, making use of a Portuguese as interpreter, who had been left there, and forced by necessity to learn the language. He spoke with a king called Diaman, and was by him civilly treated, but had no intelligence of any spice or silver, the great end of his voyage. Having had much trouble and no profit, he sailed to India. Don Francisco, then viceroy, received him well, and to assist in the discovery of Malacca, gave him another ship, commanded by Garcia de Sousa. He passed by Pedir, and that king sent him some presents, and made him great offers. The same did the king of Pacem; in both places he erected crosses. At last he anchored in the port of Malacca, and terrified the coast with the thunder of his cannon, so that all the people running to the ships and vessels in the harbour, shewed the apprehension they had of their new guest. A boat came to Lopez's ship to inquire who they were; he answered, there was an ambassador from the king of Portugal, who came to propose such things as might be advantageous to that city. There came back a message from the king in doubtful language, such as is usual when the designs are pernicious; for some foreign merchants, enemies to the Portuguese, had persuaded him and his favourite Bandara, with the powerful argument of rich presents, to destroy James Lopez. The third day Lopez sent Hierom Teixeyra with a handsome retinue as ambassador, who was well received on the shore, placed upon an elephant, and so carried to the king, from whom he returned well pleased.

All this was but a bait to ensnare the Portuguese, and therefore the king gave out he would do Lopez the honour to dine with him in publick. He sent to invite him, and the invitation was accepted, till he was informed by a friend of Jao Utimutiraja, that the invitation was to murder him. He then gave credit to the advice sent him from a Persian hostess by Duarte Fernandez after she had endeavoured to come aboard at night, and was not admitted by Sequeyra, judging it some love intrigue, but it proved one means to save those ships. Lopez excused himself by counterfeiting an indisposition. Another way was contrived to carry on the treachery, which was by offering a lading of spices, saying it was requisite to send for it to three several places. This took so well, that thirty men were sent according to agreement, whilst a fleet of several vessels was behind a point of land, ready to assault the ships; at the same time thirty were killed in the town. Mean while a son of Utimutiraja came to visit Lopez, and found him playing at draughts. He persuaded Lopez to continue his game, that he might the less observe him, who offered a thousand times with a dagger to kill him, and only waited the sign from the town, when a seaman, who was centinel upon  
one



one of the tops seeing a throng, and hearing a noise, cried out, "Sir, fir, treachery, treachery!" Lopez threw away the draught-board with such fury, that Utimutiraja's son and those with him, in a consternation leaped into their boats: all was done that could be expected upon a sudden, and having sunk many of the enemies boats, they forced the rest to retire, and left sixty of our men in slavery, and eight killed, they sailed; and soon after took two vessels bound for Malacca. Lopez arrived at Cape Comorin, sent Teixeira and Sousa with their ships to Cochin; resolving to return to Portugal alone, being fearful of Albuquerque, because he had sided with the viceroy.

Albuquerque having now fixed every thing for his design upon Ormuz, dispatched the trading ships, and other affairs with great expedition. About the A.D. 1510. end of January he sailed from Cochin with one thousand seven hundred men in twenty-one vessels of several sorts and sizes. Albuquerque, at the river Onor, sent for the pirate Timoja, who, desirous of his friendship, and being powerful, came presently with much provision. He being skilful in the affairs of Asia, Albuquerque communicated his design to him; but Timoja persuaded him from it, shewing how much better it was to attempt Goa, which was unprovided, and would be more advantageous. This pleased Albuquerque, and hereupon calling his captains to council, it was proposed to them by Timoja; the design was approved of and commended by all. Timoja furnished twelve ships, giving out he would accompany the Portuguese to Ormuz, to the end that Goa might be less provided. Timoja had been dispossessed of his fortune, and ill treated by his kindred and neighbours. The desire of revenge, and recovering what he had lost, caused his love to the Portuguese.

On the 25th of February Albuquerque came to anchor in the port of Goa. It was necessary to sail up the river, on whose bank the city is seated; therefore he sent his nephew don Antonio de Norhona and Timoja to sound it. A light vessel leading the way, saw a brigantine of the Moors, and giving chase, found they drew under a fort, well stored with artillery and four hundred men, commanded by Yaçu Gorgi, a valiant Turk, to secure the entrance of the river. Don Antonio seeing the other in the chase, pressed after him; and though the attack of the bulwark seemed difficult, they made an attempt, and after a stout resistance took it: the commander having almost lost a hand, and not able to stop the flight of his men, retired to the city. Mean while Timoja, not to be outdone, took another bulwark on the continent, defended by some artillery and thirty men. Then they founded the river. Next day as Albuquerque entered the river, he was met by Mirali, and other chief men of the city, who came to surrender it, upon condition that their lives, liberties, and estates, should be secured. The reason of this surrender was, that the Turk Yaçu had terrified them with the relation of what they had seen a few Portuguese do, and that a Jogue (these are religious men; and among those people esteemed saints and prophets) not long before had declared that Goa would soon be subject to strangers. Albuquerque accepted the offer, and anchoring before the city on the 17th of February, was received on the shore as if he had been their natural prince. He mounted a horse they brought him, with rich furniture; at the gate he received the keys, and went on to the palace built by Sabayo. He found there much cannon, arms, tackle, and many horses. Next he gave such orders as were to the satisfaction of all the city; he dispatched several embassies to divers kings, which produced no effect, and only shewed the greatness of his mind. The neighbouring



bouring towns depending on Goa came instantly to make their submission, and were kindly received.

Albuquerque understanding that ships of Ormuz, and the coast of Arabia were lading at Baticala, sent four vessels thither, which took and carried them to Cochin, sending plenty of provisions to Albuquerque.

The Moors now began to exercise their treachery. Those whom Albuquerque most relied upon conspired against him, and after four months revolt, notwithstanding the most faithful Timoja blamed his confidence. They had delivered themselves up so easily, to shun their own ruin, and gain time till Ismael Hidalcam prepared to come to their relief. It so fell out, and he came on with great power, sending before his famous general Camalcam, with fifteen hundred horse and eight thousand foot. Albuquerque disposed his men with great diligence and order to receive him.

The first step was to secure the heads of the conspiracy, and the chief being Mir Cazem, to whom he had given the command of four hundred Moors, and his nephew, they were hewed to pieces by his guards; others were hanged in public places, and some kept prisoners, there being near an hundred convicted.

This discovery, with the punishment, terrified the city. Camalcam attempted to pass over to the island, having prepared boats to that effect. Don Antonio opposed him, and took twelve boats. Many of the enemy were killed, and many devoured by the crocodiles, wherewith that river abounds. Nevertheless Camalcam landed in the island, which was quitted by the Portuguese, and some cannon would have been lost, had not two masons maintained it, though the Portuguese fled, till they were killed; and the cannon brought off.

After some resistance, all retired into the city. Camalcam encamped about it, playing his cannon effectually; Albuquerque did what the place permitted; and now comes up Hidalcam with sixty thousand men, whereof five thousand were horse. Part of this army passed the river, and the rest was divided into two parts, one commanded by a famous officer, the other by his mother and women, who maintained their soldiers by the gain of four thousand common women they had with them; so that the women lived upon them, and they upon the women.

The siege was closed by the coming of the king, and no opportunity left Albuquerque to act any thing considerable; it was therefore resolved in a council to abandon the city before day. This was executed with great hazard; for the way to the ships began to be stopped by Hidalcam, and Albuquerque had his horse killed, yet got off without loss, after a siege of twenty days.

It was resolved to winter in that sea; and to effect this he drew into a bay, though not commodious, was the best there; and because the port of Pangi, with much artillery, incommoded them, they had no remedy but gaining of it. Three hundred Portuguese were appointed for the attack. Don Antonio de Norhona, with a party, was appointed as a reserve, to relieve where there was most need, and Albuquerque to guard the shore. At the same time that they prepared by night to appear with the day before the fort, there marched five hundred men, sent by Hidalcam, to reinforce it. The joy of these people was so great, that those without as well as those within, being drunk, mistook the Portuguese, one side thinking they were the relief sent them, and the other believing it was the garrison come out to receive them. They were undeceived by the execution done upon them, three hundred and forty being slain, and the rest routed, with the loss of only one Portuguese accidentally drowned. The same happened



happened at the bulwark Timoja had before gained at Bardes. Hidalcam hearing of this, was so terrified, that he went from the city, and his fear was the greater, because some conjuror had told him he should be killed by a great shot near some river. He sent some ceremonious messages to Albuquerque, to discover what was doing aboard the ships, whose answers still added to his fear. By this means he exchanged those Moors he had kept prisoners, for the Portuguese that were left in the city at their abandoning it.

Albuquerque had intelligence that some vessels were preparing to burn his ships; this he resolved to anticipate by firing them; and they being drove up the harbour, Don Antonio de Norhona was killed in the action. This man used to moderate the violent passions of his uncle Albuquerque, who immediately after shewed the effect of his rigid severity, by hanging a soldier because he found him with one of the slaves he called daughters, that he used to give in marriage: and when some of the officers asked him what authority he had to put this in execution, he putting them under deck, lifted his sword over them, saying, that was his commission against all that were disobedient, and then broke them all. They all suffered much hardship this winter, especially hunger.

This year king Emanuel had dispatched two squadrons for India, one of seven, the other of four ships; after them went out two ships more, and a third to settle a trade at Madagascar. The four ships under James Mendez, were those Albuquerque met at his setting out from Goa, and gave him the news of the other ships that were on their way, which was a great satisfaction to him, being the better enabled to prosecute his great designs. Gonfalo Sequiero, with the seven ships, arrived at Cananor soon after Albuquerque, who communicated the enterprize upon Goa, but was over-ruled by Sequiero, and went to Cochin. By the way he obtained a victory over the Malabars of Calicut, who opposed his lading pepper; he then dispatched Sequiero with the trading ships homeward-bound, and soon after Duarte de Lemos, with four more, and then turned his view again to the affair of Goa. James Mendez, who commanded the four ships, and was before inclinable to the design, now excused himself. Albuquerque finding this, commanded him and his captains, upon the severest penalties, not to stir without his orders. It troubled them, because they feared losing the opportunity of going to Malacca, whither the king sent them; but they obeyed. Albuquerque set out from Cananor with twenty-three sail, and therein fifteen thousand fighting men. He passed by Onor to join Timoja, whom he found busied in his wedding, being to marry the daughter of a queen: he desired to be honoured with the presence of Albuquerque, and obliged him to land, which proved very dangerous, for a storm arising kept them on shore three days; and when he returned to his ships, a boat with thirty men was lost. Timoja sent with him three ships, and promised to join him at Goa with six thousand men.

On the 22d of November, Albuquerque anchored the second time before the bar, calling to mind the dangers he had there escaped, and the discontent that was among some of his officers, he thought fit to sooth the principals with an obliging harangue, and therewith won all their affections. At break of day, on the feast of St. Catharine, the city was assaulted with great slaughter of the enemy that maintained the shore, but (though it seem strange) not one Portuguese killed. The enemy fled to recover one of the gates of the city, and the Portuguese to enter with them. Here the fight was renewed,



newed, till many Portuguese forced their way in, doing great execution in the streets. They cleared all to the palace with great danger, and the loss of five men of note there was a most furious contest begun with equal valour on both sides. Albuquerque now having done what became him, came up, and fortune appearing wholly on the Portuguese side, the Moors fled, and abandoned the city, endeavouring to get over to the Continent, but through haste and confusion perished in the river. After the victory it was found, that of nine thousand fighting men who defended the town, six thousand had perished, and fifty Portuguese. Medeorao, who commanded the three ships sent by Timoja, behaved himself well. Timoja, with three thousand men, came too late; he was only witness to the slaughter. The booty of horses, artillery, arms, provisions, and ships, was excessive, and such as was necessary for the great designs Albuquerque had conceived.

The dead were honourably buried; those of the enemy in the bellies of the crocodiles of that river, into which they were cast. Not one Moor was left alive in the island. The Gentiles, who were countrymen, were restored to their farms, and the government of them given to Timoja, and after to Melrao, a nephew of the king of Onor. Whilst Albuquerque settled these affairs, he received many ambassadors with congratulations of his success from several princes of Malabar. Many of Hidalcán's officers then, and afterwards, made inroads as far as Goa, but always returned with loss; James Mendez and his two other captains desirous to get to Melacca, stole away out of the port by night, contrary to Albuquerque's orders. He sent after them, and being brought back prisoners, he ordered they should be sent to answer it in Portugal, and two pilots condemned to be hanged at the yard-arm. Some were suspicious that Albuquerque detained James Mendez, lest he should take Malacca, which action he designed for himself; others said, he kept him from the danger Sequiero met with there, that enterprise requiring a great power.

Albuquerque providing for the safety of Goa, laid the foundation of a fort, which he called Emanuel, being the king's name.

The city of Malacca whither Albuquerque now directed his course, is seated on that part of land, being a Peninsula, commonly called by the name of *Aurora Chersonesus*, and upon that channel which parts the island Sumatra from the continent of Asia, about the middle of that channel, in something more than two degrees of north latitude, stretched along the shore about a league. It is divided by a river, and the two parts joined by a bridge. The buildings of wood, except the mosque and palace, which were of stone. It afforded a pleasant prospect to the sea, and was well secured with fortifications. The port was filled with abundance of ships, as being the great market of all those parts. It was first built by the Celates, a people for the most part employed in fishing, who joined themselves to the Malayes, that before inhabited the mountains. They were assisted by Parifamora, submitting to him. This man had been great in the island of Java, and expelled by a tyrant who usurped his lordship, fled to Sincapura, where being well entertained by that king, he rebelled against him, and was again cast out by the king of Siam, and so forced to wander about Malacca; a just punishment for his ingratitude. He having increased the new colony, gave it the name of his fortune; for Malacca in that language signifies a banished man. The country of Malacca is subject to inundations, full of thick woods stored with hurtful and dangerous creatures, chiefly tigers, which oblige many people to pass the nights on the tops of high trees, because they fetch them off the low ones with



with a leap. The men are courageous, the women wanton. The trade of the east and west makes Malacca most rich and populous. Mahomet reigned at this time, against whom the king of Siam had sent an army of forty thousand men, most whereof perished by sundry accidents, and partly by the treachery of Mahomet, which he practised with James Lopez de Sequiero; but now Albuquerque came to revenge them all. Mahomet feared the reward of his baseness, and therefore brought to his aid the king of Pam with a great force, and had now thirty thousand men and eight thousand pieces of cannon, and yet his fear was greater than his preparations.

Albuquerque sailing from Cochin, by the way took five ships of the Moors bound for Malacca, off Ceylon. The king of Pedir, in the island Sumatra, sent some Moors to visit him, and with John de Viegas, one of the Portuguese left behind by Sequiero, who, with others, flying from slavery, arrived at Pedir. The same was done by the king of Pacem. Nechoada Beeguea, of the principals of the treachery of Malacca, was fled from Pedir, and being beaten and taken at sea by Ayres Pereyra, to the general astonishment of all that beheld him, he shed not one drop of blood, though pierced with several mortal wounds; but scarce had they taken off his arm a bracelet of bone, when the blood gushed out. The Indians discovered the secret, saying it was the bone of a beast that breeds in Java, which has that virtue; it was esteemed a great prize, and brought to Albuquerque.

Next they met a vessel with three hundred Moors, so resolute, Albuquerque was forced to come up himself to take it, not without some danger. In this vessel was Geniall, the rightful king of Pacem, banished by the tyranny of the present possessor. Three other vessels were taken soon after, whereof one gave intelligence of the affairs of Malacca, in which port the fleet anchored on the 1st of July with much noise of warlike instruments and cannon, terrifying all the people that covered the shore; for the guilt of what they had before acted, made them sensible what this fleet was designed for; there being no surer foreteller of their punishment to wicked men than their own conscience.

Next day came a gallant Moor, with a deceitful message from the king to Albuquerque. He received him with great state, the greatest was that of his person and venerable beard, which had never been cut since he was at Ormuz, he saying it should never be cut till he sat for that purpose upon the back of Coje Atar; so it grew to such a length, that he knotted it to his girdle. He treated the Moor courteously, whose message contained, that if he came for merchandize it was ready. The answer was, that the merchandize he sought for, were some Portuguese that were in the city ever since Sequiero went away; that having got them, he would let the king know what more he demanded of him. The Moor at his return spread the terror of this answer, and it was generally agreed to buy off that danger by restoring the Portuguese, and paying a sum of money. Prince Alodim and his brother-in-law the king of Pam prevented the executing this, and made ready to defend themselves. Albuquerque began some military execution, whereupon the king restored the captives. Other messages were sent by the king in order to appease Albuquerque, who answered, that he offered him peace upon condition he permitted him instantly to raise a fort there, and he repayed the charge of his and Sequiero coming to that port, since his falsehood had been the cause of all the damage sustained; and that he must immediately return an answer, whether he chose peace or war. The king desired an accommodation, but his son and the



king of Pam opposed it. At last they all made the necessary preparations to repel the danger.

On the eve of St. James the apostle, the signal was given for landing, with great shouts and noise of guns; immediately the Portuguese leaped on shore, and mixed with the enemy. The hottest of the dispute was about gaining and maintaining the bridge, which Albuquerque had undertaken himself, and was vigorously defended till the enemy being pressed, leaped into the river, where many were killed and drowned. The prince and king of Pam bravely withstood another party of the Portuguese that would make their way to the bridge. King Mahomet came out on a bulky elephant, with two more carrying castles on their backs, whence flew a great number of darts. The Portuguese attacked the beasts, and so wounded them, that they fled, trampling their own men, and making way for the Portuguese to join those at the bridge. Albuquerque then fortified himself there, and because much harm was done with poisoned arrows from the tops of neighbouring houses, he caused them to be burned. Albuquerque bestowing great praises on his captains for their valour, and perceiving they were scorched with the heat, and faint for want of meat, retired with them to the ships about night, where ten died of poisoned arrows. The enemy's loss was not known. The king of Pam went away, on pretence of bringing more succour, but returned not.

Whilst Albuquerque rested in his ships refreshing his men, the king harrassed him, undermining the streets to blow up the Portuguese, and covering them with poisoned thorns that might gore the Portuguese at coming in; he planted more artillery in many places, and secured the bridge. Albuquerque sent Antony de Abreu in a vessel well manned, to gain it; from the bridge flew showers of bullets, and Deniz Fernandez de Melo seeing him near killed, endeavoured to carry him off to the ships to be dressed, but he with wonderful constancy said, "Though I have neither strength to fight, nor voice to command, I have still life to keep my post." Floats of wildfire were drove along the river to burn the vessel, and no remedy to prevent it, till Albuquerque effected it by gaining the bridge; then the vessel had liberty to act. The Portuguese commander entered the city through showers of bullets, arrows, and darts. Understanding the danger of the mines which were in a broad street, he took another way and gained the mosque; and at last with vast slaughter of the enemy, took entire possession of the city, having with him in this action only eight hundred Portuguese and two hundred Malabars.

In nine days time all the Moors were killed, or driven out of that great place. It was peopled again by strangers, and some Malayes, to whom leave was granted. Among them came that powerful native of Java Utimutiraja, whose son had like to have killed Sequiero. The soldiers had three days liberty to plunder. There were found three thousand pieces of great cannon out of eight thousand that king Mahomet relied upon, being with the rest retired to Bintam, where with prince Alodim he fortified himself.

This would have been of dangerous consequence, therefore Albuquerque sent out four hundred of his men, and with them went four hundred of Utimutiraja, and three hundred belonging to the merchants of Pegu. These put the prince to flight, took seven elephants with costly trappings, and retired. The king now wandered among the woods, blaming the obstinacy of his son and the king of Pam; so the father and son fell out and parted, each shifting for himself.

Albuquerque instantly built the fort, which he called *Famosa* for its beauty, and a church, dedicated to the visitation of our lady. He coined money (as had been done



at Goa) of several names and different value, which was proclaimed about the streets, and some scattered among the people. By these and other honourable actions he gained the hearts of the strangers, and secured this most important place.

Albuquerque, though he saw into the soul of Utimutiraja, knowing it sometimes convenient to trust an enemy, gave him the command of the Moors who remained in the city; but he kept private correspondence with prince Alodim, on pretence to restore him, but in reality with an intent to set himself up. This was not so private but it was discovered, and he, his son, and son-in-law, were apprehended, and, after conviction, publicly executed on the same scaffold they had erected for Sequiero. This was the first piece of public justice executed by the Portuguese in India.

Pate Quitir, a native of Java, to whom Alfonso gave that government, took a sum of money of the wife of Utimutiraja, whom he had succeeded, and a promise to give him her daughter, upon condition that he would revenge the death of her husband on the Portuguese, to whom she had offered one hundred thousand ducats for his life. Pate accepted the offer, with the same intention of seizing the city. The king of Campar also having this design, sent to congratulate with Albuquerque, offering his service, and asking the command of Pate Quitir; but this had no effect now.

Albuquerque received here several embassies, particularly from the king of Siam, who rejoiced to see his quarrel revenged, though by another hand. He also sent ambassadors to Siam, to Pegu, and two to discover the island of Malacca and Banda. They had all orders to publish every where what had happened at Maluca, and offer the trade of that place on better terms than it was before. All things being ordered the best the time would permit, he resolved to return to Cochin, leaving Ruy de Brito Patalim to command in the fort with above three hundred men, and the like number to guard the sea, in ten ships, under Fernando Perez de Addrade.

Albuquerque sailed from Malacca to Cochin with four ships. Off Cape Timia, in the island of Sumatra, his ship struck upon a rock, which so split the keel, that those in the poop and those in the forecastle could not come to each other; neither could the other vessels, by reason of the darkness of the night, come to relieve them till the approach of day, when Albuquerque was seen holding in his arms a girl chance had conducted to him in the confusion. Peter de Alpoem coming up, though with much danger, saved him. The loss he most lamented was the bone which hindered the wounded Moor from bleeding, and some iron lions of curious work, which he had designed for supporters to his tomb. Some men were lost.

Albuquerque went into Alpoem's ship, and prosecuting his voyage, took two Moorish ships, which, though richly laden, made not amends for his great loss. Immediately upon his arrival at Cochin, being informed of the distress of Goa, he dispatched thither eight vessels with men and provisions, and a promise of his speedy coming in person. There were then in the town one thousand men, and the besiegers were twenty thousand strong.

Six ships arrived in India from Portugal, commanded by don Garcia de Norhona, who had a tedious voyage, having spent a whole year without touching at any port; and though the men were tired and sick, yet they relieved some places. The mean while sailed from Portugal for India a fleet of thirteen ships, whereof one perished at the islands of Angoxa. This fleet containing one thousand eight hundred men, anchored at the bar of Goa on the 15th of August.



August. They presently visited the enemy in the fort of Benastarium, and then don Garcia and George de Melo with their squadrons passed on, carrying with them John Machado and others, newly delivered from the slavery of Cambaya.

Albuquerque rejoiced more than at his victories to see his nephew don Garcia with that command, the great succour he and Melo brought, the captives released, and all things concurring to further his designs. His satisfaction was increased by the arrival of Antony de Sadanna with the garrison of Quiloa, which place being of small importance, they had quitted. At the same time came an ambassador from the king of Persia, and one from Ormuz, to go to Portugal. Albuquerque ordered the affairs of Cochin to pass to Goa, and by the way left George de Melo in the fort of Cananor.

He was received at Goa as a public father, and being informed of the past as well as the present posture of affairs, he visited the fortifications, and studied how to drive Rotzomo Cam from his works. The sixth day from his arrival, being on an eminence with some gentlemen, viewing four thousand Moors and two hundred horse, who diverted themselves in the field, and although it was Friday, which was their sabbath, he could not hinder the Portuguese from rushing upon them, and driving them up to their fortifications, where was a hot skirmish, and the Portuguese proved victorious, having killed above an hundred men, and taken great booty, with the loss of only one captain and one man, with some wounded.

Albuquerque resolving to take that fortress from the enemy, gave the assault by land and sea; but thinking it was not vigorously carried on by sea, he leaped into a boat, and went so near that a cannon ball killed a man that steered the vessels, dashing his brains and blood on Albuquerque's beard. This so inflamed him, that he promised a reward to any one that should break that cannon; and immediately one of the gunners directed a ball into the mouth of it, which broke it to pieces and killed the canonier. This made way for the Portuguese to come up the river, and lay close siege to the fort, when Zufolari appeared on the continent with seven thousand men, coming to the relief of it; but finding nothing could be done, he retired with some loss sustained by the cannon.

Albuquerque sat down before the place with four thousand men, whereof three thousand were Portuguese, in two bodies, one commanded by himself, the other by his nephew don Garcia de Norhona. At first he received some damage, but afterwards did so much, that Rotzomo Cam surrendered, upon condition that he should leave the fort with all the cannon and ammunition, but would deliver all the slaves and renegadoes, which last Albuquerque punished by cutting off their noses, ears, right hands, and thumbs of the left, and sending them so maimed to Portugal. One of these was Ferdinando Lopez, who, to do penance for his sins, voluntarily staid with a black on the island of St. Helena, where he was afterwards serviceable to some ships, and began to sow that island.

Albuquerque endeavoured to bring Rotzomo Cam over to the Portuguese service, but succeeded not; yet his fortune terrified many princes.

The king of Calicut concluded a treaty with don Garcia de Norhona, whom his uncle had sent to Cochin to take charge of affairs. Those of Narfinga and Bifa, Hildacam and others sent ambassadors, to all which he answered, extolling the power of the Portuguese amity, and the terror of their arms; and being dispatched, sent after them messengers of his own to inform those princes, and gain intelligence of them.

Now



Now arrived at Goa, Matthew, ambassador from Prester John, in order to go to Portugal. He brought with him a piece of the holy cross, and letters from queen Helena, who governed that kingdom during the minority of her son David. The design of this embassy was to settle amity with the king of Portugal, and ask aid against the Moors, who ever infested that empire. The ambassador said, that at his master's court there were then three Portuguese, one called John, who stiled himself ambassador of the king of Portugal, and two who said they had been lately set ashore at Cape Guardafu, to discover the country. These were John Gomez and John Sanchez, set ashore there by order of Albuquerque himself, with a Moor for that discovery.

Finding the affairs of Goa in so good a posture, Albuquerque resolved to put in execution an enterprize he had been charged with by king Emanuel. This was the conquest the city Aden. He fitted twenty ships, without acquainting any one with the design. When ready to sail, he acquainted the captains with his intentions. The number of the men was one thousand seven hundred Portuguese, and eight hundred Canaras and Malabars. They set sail the 18th of February, and arrived safe at Aden. Miramirzan, governor of the town, sent to compliment Albuquerque, and a present of provision. Several messages passing, and no hopes of a surrender appearing, it was resolved to give the assault.

The city Aden is seated on the coast of Arabia Felix, near the mouth of the Red Sea, called by Ptolomy, Modocan. Over it appears the mountain Arzira, all a barren rock, in many cliffs. The town from the sea looks beautiful and strong. It is rich, and famous for the great resort thither of many nations; the soil so scarce of water, that it has only a few wells and cisterns. Even from the clouds it is scarce watered above once in two or three years; whence it is void of all trees, plants and orchards, the delight and pleasure of other towns.

Albuquerque found the enterprize was more difficult than it had been represented. On Easter-eve in the morning the Portuguese landed with scaling ladders, this being thought the proper method for gaining the place. It was doubtful who first mounted the wall, but several being already upon it, the ladders overburdened with the multitude that pressed to get up, broke several times, so that there was no hope of relieving those who had gained the top, and stood in great danger; and Albuquerque was forced to order them down a ladder made out of the broken ones, some fighting while the others came off. After four hours engagement, they retired with great danger and loss, sustained by the accident more than the enemy. George Silveyra and five men were killed; some died after of their wounds, and some with the fall from the wall.

Albuquerque complying with his ill fortune, and the persuasions of his captains, to save time, resolved to give over that attempt, and sail towards the mouth of the Red Sea. But first they took a bulwark that guarded the port, where many Moors were killed, and thirty-seven great pieces of cannon found.

The ships were all first plundered, and then burnt. The fourth day after their arrival they sailed out of this port, and arrived at the mouth of the Red Sea, next the coast of Arabia, which was much celebrated with great signs of joy by Albuquerque, as being the first of our nation that had entered those seas.

Albuquerque sailing along this sea, arrived at the island Camaran, abandoned by its inhabitants for fear of his coming. Here he took four ships richly laden, one belonging to the Soldan of Cairo, two more he had taken by the way. From this island he



visited others. There now appeared in the sky, visible to all, a red cross very bright, seeming to be about a fathom athwart, and of a proportionable length. They all kneeled, and Albuquerque made a devout prayer; the vision was celebrated with joy, with sound of music, and cannon, till by degrees it was covered by a bright cloud. He returned to Comorin, designing to winter there, the wind having failed him to sail to Ioda, as he had designed.

Here they suffered extremely by famine, and many died by sickness, caused by the ill food. Albuquerque sailed hence when the weather would permit, which was in July, resolving to appear again before Aden. He touched at the island Mehum, at the mouth of the streight, and called it Vera Cruz, because he erected there a very high cross on an eminence. He dispatched two ships to discover the city Zeyla, where they burnt two vessels in the harbour, and joined him again at Aden.

Albuquerque found this city newly fortified. The cannon on both sides was played with almost equal damage. Nothing considerable was performed, but some ships taken and burnt; he then sailed for India.

About the middle of August he anchored off Diu; the lord of it, Melique Az, more out of fear than affection, sent him some provisions, and a courteous message. Albuquerque knowing him, dealt cautiously, and demanded leave to raise a fort there; he referred him to the king of Cambaya; at the same time advising him to deny it, if asked. However, it was agreed a factor and some others should be left there to settle trade; and at parting Melique treated Albuquerque with such civility and cunning, that he afterwards said he had not seen a more perfect courtier, more fit to deceive, and at the same time please an understanding man. Afterwards leave was obtained of the king of Cambaya to raise a fort at Diu, upon condition he might build another at Malacca, and other reasonable proposals, which were admitted.

Two ships now arrived in India from Portugal, a third being cast away, but the men saved, and taken up by the others at Melinda; the captain of her was afterwards lost in a boat. Albuquerque went to Goa, and sent his nephew Norhona to dispatch these two, and three other ships homewards. They carried an ambassador from the Zamorin to king Emanuel, he being now in amity, and having permitted a fort to be erected where it was desired.

He likewise dispatched Don Garcia de Norhona to Cochin, and to encourage the work of the fort that was building at Calicut. He appointed four sail to cruise in the mouth of the Red Sea, under the command of his nephew Peter de Albuquerque, with orders to touch at Ormuz, and receive the tribute when it became due, and then discover the island of Baharem. He dispatched ambassadors, well attended, to several princes. James Fernandez de Beja went to the king of Cambaya, to treat about the fort of Diu, which he had consented to before, and now refused, induced thereto by Melique Az. The ambassador returned with presents to Albuquerque; among other things a rhinoceros, or abada, which was afterwards lost in the Mediterranean, being sent by king Emanuel to the pope, with other rarities of India. John Gonzalez de Castello Branco was sent to Hidalcán about the pretensions of Goa, to less effect than the other in the affairs of Diu.

In September arrived at Goa five ships from Portugal, under the command of Christopher de Brito; one was afterwards lost, bound for Cambaya; care was taken to dispatch the lading of the others. Albuquerque eased of these more profitable than honourable cares, prepared to set forwards, yet unresolved, whether he should steer to Ormuz or the



the Red Sea, the king having ordered both. In order to determine, he consulted with his captains. It was agreed the enterprize should be upon Ormuz, a determination suitable to Albuquerque's desires. On the 20th of February he directed his course thither. His fleet consisted of twenty-seven sail, with one thousand five hundred Portuguese and six hundred Malabars and Canaras. They anchored in the port of Ormuz the 26th of March. Immediately came aboard a visit, or with presents from the king. But what pleased Albuquerque best was, that he found there Michael Ferreyra whom he had sent to scheik Ismael of Persia, to procure amity with him, whereof he brought great hopes.

Raez Hamet was now possessed of the favour of the king of Ormuz, as Coje Atar had been with his predecessor, both these being dead. Among other things Albuquerque sent to demand of him the delivery of the fort he had begun there, and that he should send some principal men with the instrument of the submission of that kingdom made by king Ceyfadim. All was consented to, because there was no power to resist. The governor Raez Nordim came with his nephew to ratify all, to whom Albuquerque gave rich presents, and by them sent the king a rich collar of gold, no less valuable for the workmanship than the metal, and a standard with the Portuguese arms, to declare the union between both nations. Public demonstrations of joy were made on both sides for this agreement, with sound of warlike instruments and noise of cannon. On Palm Sunday Albuquerque took possession of the fort before begun, which in a few days rose to a great height, and Albuquerque with some of his captains went into the neighbouring houses.

While the fort was building, or rather finishing, Albuquerque persuaded the king it was for the safety of the city to put all their cannon into it, pretending thereby to secure them against their enemies, but in reality to disable them from offending him. Security is a powerful argument where there is fear. The king and his governor, though with some reluctance, consented to all that was demanded. The command of the fort was given to Peter de Albuquerque. Thus was that rich and powerful kingdom brought under the Portuguese subjection, rather to the advantage than detriment of its natural kings; more oppressed before by the tyranny of their ministers, than by the tribute they afterwards paid.

These affairs settled, Albuquerque applied himself to dispatch the trading ships homeward-bound. He sent for this purpose his nephew Don Garcia de Norhona with most of the fleet to Cochin, and staying behind himself to conclude such affairs as required his presence. Soon after he fell sick, and the disease increasing, was persuaded for the recovery of his health, to go to India, which he consented to, to the great grief of the king, who looked upon him as a father. By the way he met the news, that there were arrived in India twelve ships from Portugal, who brought orders for him to return home. Lope Soarez who commanded them, being appointed his successor; hearing this, he cried out, "Lope Soarez, governor of India; it is he, it could be no other. Don James Mendez and James Pereyra, whom I sent prisoners for heinous crimes, return, the one governor of Cochin, the other secretary? It is time for me to take sanctuary in the church, for I have incurred the king's displeasure for his subjects sakes, and the subjects anger for the king's sake. Old man fly to the church, it concerns your honour you should die, and you never omitted any thing that concerned your honour." Then lifting his eyes and hands to heaven gave God thanks a



governor came so opportunely ; not doubting he should die. He was soon seized with a profound melancholy, and arrived at Dabul, almost in the arms of death, and there writ his last lines to the king. Upon the bar of Goa (which he called his land of promise) he gave up the ghost on the 16th of December, in the sixty-third year of his age, in his perfect senses, and like a good Christian. He was second son to Gonçalo de Albuquerque, lord of Villaverde, and of Donna Leonora de Meneses, daughter of Alvaro Gonzeles de Atayde, first count of Atouguia. He had been master of the horse to king John the Second ; was of a moderate stature, his countenance pleasing, and venerable by his beard which reached below his girdle, to which he wore it knotted ; that was white, and his complexion fair ; his picture shews he wore his breeches, doublet, cloak, cap, and coif, all black, with gold trimming ; the waistcoat striped with green velvet, with small spots like studs. It was doubted whether he was a better man or officer. When angry, his looks were somewhat terrible ; when merry, pleasant and witty. He was twice before Ormuz, twice before Goa, and twice before Malacca, three famous islands and kingdoms in Asia, over which he gloriously triumphed.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### *Voyage of Andrea Corsali from Lisbon to India, and the Red Sea.*

**R**AMUSIO, from whom this voyage is translated, tells us, that he obtained two letters of Corsali's, which, by advice of a nobleman of Padua, he prefixed to Alvarez's account of the conducting an ambassador to the celebrated Prester John. The first letter only falls within the compass of our design.

Ramusio, who also explains the motives of this voyage, tells us, that many different ambassadors were sent to Prester John, who was then about seventeen years of age, and who took the name of David. And such an effect had the report of the several battles which were gained by the Portuguese, that the queen Helena, grandmother of the said king, who then held the reins of government, determined to send an ambassador to Portugal, and fixed upon an Armenian named Matthew, who was master of various languages ; in order to give him still greater credit at the court to which he was going, he had a young Abyssinian to accompany him.

Having embarked on board a vessel in a port of the Red Sea, they sailed for India, and landed at the city of Goa, where, at that time, don Alphonso Albuquerque was viceroy, who received them most graciously ; and having put them on board his galley, dispatched them to Lisbon, where, as soon as they arrived, they delivered their credentials and letters from queen Helena.

As soon as the letters and credentials were opened and read by king Emanuel and his officers of state, they all appeared in a state of suspense and doubt, thinking that the things offered were too considerable to wear the face of probability, and at length began to doubt whether these ambassadors were dispatched from the queen Helena or no. These sentiments pervaded the whole court ; but the king, ever anxious to continue, and as much as possible to augment the friendship then subsisting between her majesty and himself, and to avail himself of the countenance and power



power of a kingdom of that consequence and import to his affairs in India and the Red Sea, made choice of an ambassador named Edward Galvam, whom he dispatched, in company with the said Matthew, ambassador from queen Helena, charged with very considerable presents, on board the squadron bound to India, commanded by don Lopez Soarez.

As soon as this officer arrived at Cochin, and had taken in water and victualled his whole fleet, he determined to return towards the Red Sea, in order to land the said Matthew and Edward Galvam. Here they found Andrew Corsali, who embarked on board the fleet, and who wrote the following letter from India :

“ Unwilling to break the promise I made you previous to my departure, I was induced to inform you of the success of my voyage to India ; and though it may not be so diffusive as I wished it, and in many parts by no means correspondent to my own ideas, yet I could not withhold from you what was a tribute due to friendship, relying on your candour for the criticism it may meet with, and offering, only as an apology, my first resolution, to give you the whole in a more ample manner the first convenient opportunity.

“ From the time we quitted Lisbon we sailed with the wind in our favour, always having it a south-east or a north-east ; and beyond the line, in thirty-seven degrees south latitude, opposite the Cape of Good Hope (the climate being cold and windy, the sun in the northern signs, and the night fourteen hours long), we saw a singular range of stars, moving about in infinite number in that part of the firmament opposite to our polar star.

“ From this time we began to alter our course, and steered due north, having the Cape of Good Hope in view, and dropped anchor off Mozambique, a barren island, not very considerable, close in with *terra firma*, situated in fifteen degrees under the antarctic pole, inhabited by Mahometans, under the dominion of Portugal, of no other use than a convenient port to touch at for ships going to India. The *terra firma* is inhabited by a savage race of people, as is the whole coast from the streights of the Red Sea as far as the Cape of Good Hope, and they are all of the same language ; and from the Cape of Good Hope as far as the Cape de Verde Islands, they speak a different language. On this coast, beginning at Cape de Verde, as far as the Red Sea, we found no merchandise but gold, which is carried for sale to Sofala, a territory of the king of Portugal, in the neighbourhood of Mozambique, where great quantities of amber and ivory are found.

“ During our stay at Mozambique, we found two small Portuguese vessels, which came from the island of St. Lawrence, opposite Mozambique, and may be reckoned among the great islands which have been found in our times. This island is very productive, abounding in cattle. There are great quantities of rice and other seeds, on which the natives ordinarily subsist. Here are likewise silver, ambergris, ginger, Turkey corn, and cloves, not like those of India, but shaped more like our acorns. They have great quantities of honey and sugar canes, which they make no use of, and of which they have no idea as a productive article in commerce ; also saffron like the Indian, lemons, citrons, and oranges, in the greatest plenty. The country is well watered with rivers, and every where abounding with the finest springs, and in many parts of the island most excellent harbours. The people are savage, and their language differs from those of Mozambique ; they are not so black, but have woolley curled hair, like  
the



the rest of the natives on that coast. The harbours are under the command of the Moors, who, with cotton cloth and other merchandise of India, come and purchase the produce of this island. They informed us, that near to this island there is another small one, named Cētacabam, abounding in silver, the probability of which is strongly confirmed by the quantity which is manufactured in Mozambique and all along the coast, and which was hitherto totally unknown to the Portuguese.

“ We quitted Mozambique, and pursued our voyage to India, keeping to the north and north-east, it being our direct course always going before the wind; for in this part of India, the wind blows west and south for six months, which are proper for coming to India; and from June to November, the other six months, north-east and east, which serve to return from India.

“ In twenty-five days we reached Goa, a distance of three thousand miles, with a wind so favourable that few navigators have made it in less time. Here we crossed the line a second time, having the sun for our zenith, making no shadow; and being already returned to the arctic pole, we had seen the north star in six degrees. Certain clouds which rose above the horizon, rendered it impossible for the sight to distinguish any star under six degrees of elevation. Within an hundred leagues of India the sea puts on a milky appearance that proceeds from the bottom, which is a white sand, or at least this is my opinion of the matter. An infinity of serpents is also another unerring sign of the approach to India. These serpents are supposed to be carried down by the torrents from the land, during their fall in the spring season.

“ In three days we had the pleasure of discovering land. Sailing along the coast, the first place touched at was the island of Goa, which is fifteen miles in circumference, and situated in sixteen degrees north latitude. It is joined to the main land, surrounded on the west by the sea, on the north and south by the coast, on the east by part of *terra firma*, called Palleacat, from whence runs a river, which, dividing in two parts, embraces the said island. There Albuquerque has built a most beautiful fortification, a mile in circumference, surrounded with walls and a ditch, with houses within the fortrefs, and regular streets, after the European fashion, and is, in fact, the most perfect thing, and the most important possession the Portuguese have in India. The island is inhabited by Pagans, who, from being better treated by us than by the Moors, feel a certain degree of partiality in favour of the Portuguese. The best silversmiths in India reside here.

“ The original sovereign of this island, was Idalcam de Sabio, the king of Paleneate, a Mahometan, of Turkish extraction, a man of a warlike spirit. The natives of this kingdom are Pagans, of a swarthy complexion, but good features and a pleasing aspect. They are cloathed after the manner of the Turks, particularly the merchants; the Bramins are habited somewhat after the manner of our priests; the rest of the natives have only a piece of rag tied round the middle to cover the private parts, the rest of the body being naked. The land is highly fertile and abounds with many of our European fruits, and others, the natives of India. There are here great quantities of animals wild as well as domestic. Some distance within the country tigers and serpents of a most enormous size are found in quantities. The rivers are full of crocodiles, some of which are twenty feet long, every other part corresponding; they frequently fall out of the water, and prey upon whatever animals they find near the banks of the river.

“ The island is greatly productive, and its revenue is every day considerably increasing from the quantity of horses which come from Ormuz, in the gulph of Persia, and



and are sold to the persons of rank of Paleanet, and of the kingdom of Narfinga. They are obliged to resort to this island, for if they presumed to disembark them elsewhere, the Portuguese, who are masters of the sea, and under whose permission and pass, they sail, would undoubtedly seize upon their vessels, and the whole would be confiscated. Perhaps you will not be a little surprized at hearing that a horse, like one of ours, sells here for four hundred, five hundred, and sometimes seven hundred ducats; and when it is any thing more than ordinary, nine hundred, a thousand, and two thousand ducats. For each horse a duty of forty ducats is paid to the king; and in one year the sum paid for the duty on horses imported, amounted to the sum of thirty thousand ducats. For this reason it happened that the commandant, with a squadron of twenty-five sail and three thousand men, repaired to Ormuz, which is situated in the gulph of Persia, and after taking the place, killed the governor, who was in rebellion against his prince. Having reduced the city to its obedience, he built a fortress, which, independant of its strength and the other buildings thereto belonging, is one of the most important situations in India, as no merchant from Persia, Armenia, Arabia Felix, or in short any other nation who comes into the gulph of Persia, can take horses, carry spices, &c. without first going to Ormuz, taking out a pass, and paying the duty to the king of Portugal.

“ In the island of Goa, as well as all throughout India, there are an infinite number of Pagan edifices; and in a small island adjoining called Dinori, the Portuguese have destroyed a considerable Pagan temple, built with great taste, and adorned with many curious statues of black marble.

“ After quitting Goa, we sailed along the coast, keeping to the southward, and arrived at a place called Batticala, to receive the tribute paid to the king for permission to navigate these seas. It is subject to the king of Norfinga, a Pagan prince. Here as well as in two other places near, called Onor and Brabaron, grow immense quantities of ginger, mirabolan, corn, sugar, and rice, which the merchants load for the Red Sea, Aden, and Ormuz. It is situated in thirteen degrees north latitude. The natives are similar to those of Goa, and their language is nearly the same.

“ Above Batticala you see two mountains, from the summit of which rise two rivers, which winding and running down the back of the mountain towards the sea, have the appearance of two beaten ways, and has a wonderful effect at a little distance. Here the natives are called Conconi and Decani, and in Balagat, Commari; and near Batticala begins the coast of Malabar, where the pepper grows, and where the language and the customs of the natives are different from those of Goa and Commari. This country points south, and ends at Cape Comorin, called, according to Ptolemy, Pelusa; and turning to the north to a place called Camaira, formerly Messoli. The said Cape Comorin is in eight degrees north latitude, but that of Camaira I cannot at present exactly ascertain.

“ From Batticala we went to Cananor where the king's magazine of arms is kept. The king made a visit to the new governor, attended by two thousand of his guards, armed according to the custom of Goa, and presented him with a beautiful gold chain, highly ornamented with rubies and pearls, valued at a thousand gold ducats. Cananor is in twelve degrees and an half north latitude.

“ From Cananor we sailed to Calicut, the capital of the Malabar country. From the buildings, public as well as private palaces, temples, and the royal mansion, it is evident that this has ever been considered as the principal place in all India. Here the



the merchants from every other port, brought all their spices and other merchandize for sale. From the time that the Portuguese were established in India, they always took in their loading at Cochin, and Cananor, having been driven out of Calicut, and after that received by the king of Cochin. The king of Calicut has always been at war with the Portuguese, till within these two years the king finding himself without a remedy, entered into compact with the commandant, and gave him leave to erect a fortress in his territory, and which is now in possession of the Portuguese. The king paid a visit to the commandant, accompanied by four thousand of his soldiers, armed and accoutred, and made a present of a chain of gold, like that presented by the king of Cananor, but of much greater value.

“ The climate on the coast of Malabar is mild and temperate, never cold or hot, except about two hours in the day; the remainder being sufficiently cooled by the fresh breeze, which blows the whole night, and till mid-day. This country has never been visited by the plague, or any such calamity.

“ No one can navigate these seas without first having a licence from the Portuguese, at the risk of losing both ship and cargo if they sail without a proper pass; and this is properly secured by keeping forty sail of vessels perpetually cruising in those seas to intercept any vessels engaged in illicit commerce. The Portuguese vessels are so strong and well built, when compared with the vessels built in the country, that one is capable of opposing three or four. The country vessels employed in victualling and going from one port to another with provisions, are ever liable to be taken or plundered by the ships the Portuguese have out at sea. Such is their submission to them, that the natives in every part of India have suffered them to build castles and fortifications in whatever situation they thought proper, many of which were raised by Albuquerque. The principal fortification, the most important, and the last completed, is Ormuz, finished the last year; and which place is resorted to by all the merchants from Persia, Turkey, Armenia, or Arabia Felix, who either transport horses, or other merchandize into these parts, to carry away spices in return. Ormuz is an island in the gulph of Persia, and no one can pass the streights without bringing to at Ormuz, paying the duties, and taking out a pass. Ormuz is situated in twenty-seven degrees north latitude, with Arabia Felix to the south west, on the streight of Baharem, where there is a pearl fishery. To the north, by the river Tigris, from the city of Tauris, and all the other parts of Persia, are under the sovereignty of schiek Ishmael, called with us Sophi, whose territories join on those of the king of Samarand, which I believe to be the kingdom of the Parthians.

“ In Persia, lapis lazuli is found in great quantities, as also turquoises. The eastern confines of Caramania, at present called Rasigut, is a desert inhabited by Arabs and robbers.

“ Betwixt Goa and Rasigut, or Caramania, is a country called Cambaya, (where the river Indus enters the sea), inhabited by Pagans, called Guzerats, who are mostly merchants. In general they are dressed after the manner of the Turks; they do not eat of any thing which contains blood, nor will they permit any thing which has life to receive harm. Their food principally consists of rice and milk.

“ In this country are found indigo, liquid storax, cornelians, and calcedonians, in great abundance, of the last of which they make very elegant handles for their daggers and sabres. The complexions of the men are of the olive cast. They are very ingenious and excellent artificers. The country of Cambaya has the sea to the south.

Rafi



Rasigut or Caramania to the west, and Paleacat to the east. The kingdom of Paleacat joins to the territory of the king of Narfinga, who, though a Pagan, is the principal king in all India, and the richest of any on that side as far as the sea of Baticala, Onor, and Brazabor; and leaving Malabar, which lies upon the sea coast, reaches on the *terra firma* as far as the bay of Bengal, which is governed by the prince of Coromandel and Paleacat; and from thence to the Cape of Comorin, formerly called Pilura.

“ There are three other fortresses in the Malabar country, viz. Cananor, Calicut, and Cochin, where at present the Portuguese take in their lading of pepper and ginger for Portugal, not permitting ships to load for other places, and particularly for Aden and for Mecca, that they may not go to Alexandria; on which account particular attention is had, and a squadron every year dispatched to the streights of the Red Sea, to prevent other ships passing. Such precaution has been taken, that the Venetians are obliged to go to Lisbon to supply themselves.

“ The natives of Malabar are all Pagans, but some of the inhabitants are Moors, Jews, and Christians, from the island of St. Thomas. There are several churches in it, of tolerable architecture; one within five leagues of Cochin, at a place called Elongalor; the other situated at Colon. The persons who officiate at these churches are certain Armenian priests, who come to India as missionaries. The principal of all is in Coromandel, where Peter Andrew Strozzi was the last year. Here it is said lies buried the body of St. Thomas; there is yet visible an old sepulchral monument of stone, and near it another monument of a Christian Ethiopian of the kingdom of Prester John, who went in his company. In many parts of the church are inscriptions, but they are hardly legible. There is the form of a foot, hollowed out in stone, of a size much beyond the human, said to be a miraculous work of the above saint.

Near to Coromandel, anciently called Messoi, is another province called Paliacat, and formerly called Salaceni. Here is found an immense quantity of jewels of every sort, part of which came from Pegu, where the rubies are brought from, and part from an island opposite to Cape Comorin, called Ceylon. Here the greatest quantity is produced, and in greater variety than in all the other parts of India, viz. sapphires, rubies, spinelli, bastard rubies, topazes, hyacinths, chrysolytes, cats eyes, in much esteem with the Moors, and granates. It is said that the king is in possession of two rubies of a colour so beautiful and bright that they resemble a flame of fire; from which description I should be strongly induced to believe them to be carbuncles, a species not very common, and seldom found. Here great quantities of cinnamon are annually gathered, and much is every year exported; also great numbers of elephants, which the natives sell when young to the merchants of India, who tame them; and what regulates the price is the size of the animal, the value increasing in proportion to his growth.

“ This island is not laid down by Ptolemy, whom I find greatly deficient in many things; nor has he put down twelve thousand islands on the coast of Mozambique, in the way to Malacca, under the line. It is evident from the navigation of the Portuguese, that he is totally wrong in the longitude, beginning from the country of Senaras, as far as the islands which he calls the Islands of Good Fortune: he has mistaken the situation of Taprobana, as is evident from the sea chart brought from Rome by don Michael de Selva, preacher to the king.



“ Paliacat produces also ambergris and diamonds, but the last are not near so fine as those produced at Narfinga, being of a yellow cast, though they are in higher estimation with the Moors than those perfectly clear and transparent. In this place Peter Strozzi bought a most beautiful clear diamond, which weighed twenty-three carrats, though in its natural state, and many perfect and beautiful gems, which, on his return to Lisbon, he will expose to sale. I do not know of what country emeralds are natives, but here they are much more esteemed than all other gems.

“ The last fortress which the Portuguese hold in India is Malacca, a country of greater extent than any other, to which the ships of Bengal carry on a considerable trade. In this part of Bengal the river Ganges falls into the gulph, which takes its name from the said river, and is situated in twenty-three degrees under the tropic of Cancer. This gulph is also navigated by the people of Pegu, which joins on the coast with the said kingdom of Bengal and Liqui. In Pegu are found considerable quantities of rubies, lac, and benzoin. Malacca is situated in two degrees of latitude, said to be the Aurea Chersonesus.

“ The territories of Bengal and Pegu are governed and inhabited by Moors, and Malacca by the Portuguese. The Moors are always at war with the Pagans on *terra firma*.

“ From Malacca they sail to the island of Sumatra, said to be Taprobana, which has not been totally discovered and sailed round, on account of its size. Here are great quantities of pepper, which is carried to China; there are also grown here long pepper and benzoin; gold is also produced in no inconsiderable quantity. This year Giovanni D’Empoli, of Florence was sent there, as governor.

“ To the east are the islands called Malacca, which produce cloves, nutmegs and mace; in some of them aloes of every species grow in quantities, and several sorts of Sanders wood.

“ Sailing towards the east, it is said, lies the country of Piccinnæoli, and many are of opinion that this country extends to and joins with the coast of Brazil, which, from its considerable extent, has not been discovered, or positively ascertained. The Brazils are said to join with the Antilles Islands, belonging to the king of Castile, and with the *terra firma* of that prince. To the north the Chinese merchants sail through the gulph to the said Malacca, in quest of spices, and bring from their own country musk, rhubarb, pearls, tin, china, silk, and pieces of manufactured goods, such as damasks, sattins, and brocades in the greatest perfection. The natives are very industrious, their complexions not so good as the European, with small eyes, and their feet confined in small shoes. Their religion is Pagan. The last year the Portuguese made a voyage to China, but were not suffered to land, foreigners not being permitted to enter their habitations. Their merchandise they sold to good account, and said that spices in general bore as good a price in China as in Portugal, on account of the cold of the climate, and the natives being much addicted to the use of them.

“ Steering to the north, Malacca cannot be less distant from China than five hundred leagues. The king of this country never permits himself to be seen, nor ever speaks but to one person; and when any business is to be dispatched, he communicates it to one deputed for the purpose, he to another, and so on.

“ All the foregoing fortresses were built after our plans, by the last of our commanders in chief, don Alfonso Albuquerque, who on our arrival in India resided at Ormuz,



Ormuz, at which place were then resident many persons of distinction from the gulph of Persia, and among them the ambassador from the sopher, named Scheik Ishmael, a person of great credit. He made a present of some remarkable fine horses, a great quantity of turquoises, and a scimiter, very rich and highly ornamented, the sheath of gold, studded with pearls and precious stones. Scheik Ishmael was particularly anxious to obtain the friendship of the king of Portugal, and shewed a certain spirit of liberality and benevolence towards all the Franks. At the court of Persia there have been several Portuguese, who have been treated with the greatest politeness and civility by the said scheik.

“ While we were in India, about a month after this, don Garcia Della Crognia, nephew of the commodore, had some intention of going to the streights of the Red Sea, to destroy the army of the sultan, and build a fortress in Dalaccia, or in Snacham, an island in eighteen degrees of latitude, where several of the religious orders embarked when they were on their way from Ethiopia to Jerusalem; it being the will of the Almighty we should this year make a discovery of the Christians of Ethiopia.

“ After this the said commander in chief having left Ormuz, well provided with arms, and garrisoned with one thousand men, returned with sixteen sail to the Indian sea, and on his way received letters from Melchias, of Diupatam, a province of Cambaya, ordering him to return to Portugal, as another commander in chief was appointed in his room on the Indian station. Albuquerque finding, on perusal of his letters, that certain gentlemen which he had sent prisoners to Portugal were returned to India, loaded with honours, and taking it for granted that as the king had sent them to India, he disapproved of his conduct and was displeased; he therefore took it so much to heart, that he had a relapse of the complaint with which he had been attacked at Ormuz; and in going out of the boat at Goa, he finished his glorious earthly career; and if we attend to the numerous exploits of this great and celebrated man, in the course of ten years residence in this country, we shall find few who are deserving to be placed in competition with him; for in the cabinet and field he was equally great.

“ In India at present there are four thousand Portuguese, and in the course of a month one thousand are destined to go to Ormuz, and afterwards to the streights of the Red Sea, to stop the passage of the vessels to Mecca, and they are then to steer to the south, to those islands which are in number twelve thousand, to take all the vessels which shall be found navigating those seas without a proper pass; and after that to the island of Ceylon, and to the coast of Coromandel.”



## CHAPTER IX.

*Further Exploits of the Portuguese by Sea, during the Remainder of the Reign of King Emanuel.*

A.D. 1515. **T**HE great Alfonso de Albuquerque was drawing towards the last period of his life, when king Emanuel, as if he had foreseen it, sent a new governor with a fleet for India. The governor was Lope Soares de Albergaria; the fleet consisted of thirteen ships, and in them fifteen hundred fighting men, many gentlemen by birth, most such by their actions. Among them was Duarte Galvam, a person of learning, authority, and judgment, who went ambassador to Prester John, with rich presents. The governor being arrived at Cochin, by his reserve became disagreeable to many, and particularly to the king, who was used to Albuquerque's discreet civility. Don Garcia de Norhona, who took charge of the dispatch of the homeward bound trading ships, went away with them after no small disagreement with Lope Soares. Till this time the gentlemen had followed the dictates of true honour, esteeming their arms the greatest riches; from hence forward they so wholly gave up themselves to trading, that those who had been captains became merchants, so that what had been duty became a shame, honour was a scandal, and reputation a reproach.

This year sailed from Lisbon five ships under the command of John de Silveyra, three of them arrived in India, the other two were lost on the sands of St. Lazaro. The governor prepared, according to the king's order, for the Red Sea; and being informed, that the Soldan was fitting out a great fleet at Suez, he  
A.D. 1516. sailed in search thereof from Goa, on the 8th of February, with twenty-seven sail of several sorts and sizes. In this fleet were twelve hundred Portuguese, eight hundred Malabar soldiers, and eight hundred seamen of the same nation. He arrived before the city Aden, the commander whereof Miramirzan, finding himself defenceless, as a piece of the wall was beaten down by Ræz Soliman, made a virtue of necessity, and offered the keys to Lope Soares, affirming he would have done the same to Albuquerque, had not he begun by acts of hostility. Lope Soares pleased with this flattery, trusted to him, and did not take possession of the city, but went away in search of Ræz Soliman, thinking first to find him out, and then take the city; but he neither took Aden at his return, or met Soliman as he went. He went up the Red Sea, in quest of Soliman, but with bad fortune; for don Alvaro de Castro was lost with forty men through covetousness, he having taken some vessels, so overloaded his own with the goods, that it sunk. Other ships sustained much damage. Hearing that Soliman was drove by stress of weather to Jidda, and had no defence, he resolved to sail thither.

The port being dangerous, Lope Soares anchored a league from the city, in which there were such good cannon, that three or four pieces reached the ships at that distance. There came a messenger from Soliman, offering a private combat between man and man, or as Soares should propose. The challenge was received by Gaspar de Silva, and don Antonio de Meneses, but the governor would not permit it, saying he would answer ashore. He founded a channel that goes up to the city. Lope Soares de-  
layed



layed the landing two days, when his men began to complain of the delay. He appeased them by shewing his instructions, wherein he was ordered to fight the fleet, not to attack that city where there might be much danger and little profit; it was therefore resolved in council to desist. He retired to the island Camaran, whence he sent ships to several parts of that sea.

After suffering much through famine, by which some men died, and losing seventeen Portuguese, taken by the Moors, and carried to Jidda, Lope Soarez set sail, and appeared before the city Zeyla, on the mouth of the Red Sea, on the African shore, being the great market of those parts. The town was easily taken being unprovided, and burnt; the fleet then bent its course to Aden.

Here Soarez found how much he had been to blame in not taking possession when offered by Miramirzan; for he, finding his enemy now weaker, and the wall repaired, refused by delays what before he offered with haste. Lope Soarez fearing to lose time, durst not call Miramirzan to account, but set sail, designing to do the same at the city Barbora, as he had done at Zeyla. But the fleet was scattered by storms, and drove to several ports, and when they came after to hear of one another, it was found that above eight hundred men had perished by hunger, sickness and shipwreck.

Antony de Saldana arrived now in India with six ships from Portugal. A. D. 1517. gal. Soarez sent D. John de Silveira to the Maldivé islands, don

Alexis de Meneses to Malacca, Manuel de la Cerda to Diu, and Antony de Soldana with six ships, by the king's order, to the coast of Arabia. They arrived at the city Barbora near to Zeyla, a place not unlike to it, but much less. This was taken without resistance, the inhabitants being all fled. It was burnt, and the fleet, without doing any thing remarkable, returned to India at the time Lope Soarez was sailing for the island Ceylon.

The king of Columbo in Ceylon had a trade with the Portuguese, desired their friendship, and furnished them with cinnamon from the time of Albuquerque. Lope Soarez went thither now with a design to oblige him to pay tribute, and to build a fort as king Emanuel desired. He had with him seven gallies, two ships, and eight small vessels with materials and workmen for building, and seven hundred Portuguese soldiers. They had bad weather, but arrived safe. The king presently granted leave to build a fort, but the Moors soon induced him to alter his mind. He received Soarez in such manner as to put him to a difficulty; but in the end the enemies were put to flight. They had fortified themselves to hinder the work, and Lope Soarez did the same now to begin it. The king came to a composition, the articles were that he should be subject to Portugal, paying a yearly tribute of twelve hundred quintals of cinnamon, twelve rings of rubies and sapphires, and six elephants.

At this time arrived from the Maldives, John de Silveyra with four sail; in his way he took two ships of Cambaya; the king of the islands granted leave to erect a factory. He went with the same design to Bengala, where he was in great danger, for there a Bengalian young man that sailed with him, discovered the taking of the two ships which were sent to Cochin; so that he was looked upon as a pirate not worthy to be heard. It had been worse with him, had not John Coello arrived then with his ship from Pacem, being sent on the same errand by Ferdinando Perez de Andrade, to the king of Bengala. Don John de Silveyra, set sail hence after passing the winter with



with great hardship, especially from famine. He was invited by the king of Arracam to his port, who, with the messenger sent him a present, but all his kindnesses tended to destroy him at the instigation of the governor of the other port. This treachery took no effect, and he arrived at Ceylon at the time that Lope Soarez finished the fort, who gave him the command of it, and left Antony de Miranda de Azevedo with four ships to cruise in that sea.

About this time Fernan Perez de Andrade (sent by the king to make discoveries) sailing towards the bay of Bengala, arrived at Pacem the metropolis of one of the kingdoms of Sumatra, where he found Portuguese trading, and was well received of that king. Here he lost his biggest ship, burnt carelessly by a candle, and was thereby obliged to return to Malacca, sending John Coello in a ship of Bengala to wait for him there with what intelligence he could get till he returned from Malacca. Hence Coello set out with fresh instructions for China, and met with furious storms and other dangers. On the coast of Chiampa in taking in fresh water, it had like to cost him his life. At Patane he established peace and commerce with the governor, the same at other places, and spent the winter without reaching China. He returned to Malacca, and refitted for his voyage, on which he now set out with eight ships.

Arriving there after some dangers and difficulties, he had a conference with the three governors of this city, and sent to them Thomas Perez with an embassy and presents from the king of Portugal, to their king. He settled a peace with that city and traded in it and the neighbouring parts; then sailed for Malacca, having received advice of the dangerous condition it was in, by reason of the war with the king of Bintam and the discord between the Portuguese.

Fernan Perez loaded with riches, ammunition, and good success in China, was no less welcome at Malacca, than don Alexis de Meneses had been not long before.

About the end of March sailed from Lisbon nine ships bound for India, with fifteen hundred fighting men, all under the command of James

A. D. 1518. Lopez de Sequiero, to whom the king gave the government of India as a reward of his good service in Africa, his discovery of Malacca, and worthy qualities. At the Cape of Good Hope, one ship was in danger of perishing by means of a great fish, which running against her stuck the length of two spans of a long beak it has into her side; this was afterwards found to be the fish called the Needle. Lope Soarez presently resigned the government to James Lopez, and set sail for Portugal with nine ships. Sequiero began to act. Don Alonso de Meneses was sent against Baticala, because it refused to pay tribute. John Gomez went for Maldivia, where he was to command and build a fort. These things dispatched at Cochin, James Lopez went away to Goa, whence he dispatched others, Anthony de Saldana to the coast of Arabia, and Simon de Andrade to China.

James Pacheco going with two ships in search of the island of Gold, was lost, and most of his men.

This year king Emanuel sent a fleet of fourteen ships to the relief of

A. D. 1519. India, which was dispersed to several parts. The commander in chief George de Albuquerque and four more arrived in India. Six stayed at Mozambique. Some fell in with the coast of Brazil, where fifty of the men were killed, and one of the captains don Luis de Guzman wickedly slew the others and turned pirate, whereby he grew very rich, and at last died as he deserved. One was drove back to

Lisbon,



Lisbon, another watering at Matira lost some men, and six more at Oja, the king keeping them long with kind entertainment, the ship sailed and left them, and was lost upon a bank off of Quiloa, and the Moors of that island, Monfia and Zanziber, slew all but one young man. George de Albuquerque passed with much difficulty from Mozambique to India, not able to follow James Lopez de Sequiero to the Red Sea, as he had sent orders by Gonzalo de Louli, who by the way took up the men that had been cast a shore in the late storms.

James Lopez de Sequiero having dispatched the trading ships homeward-bound, commanded by Ferdinando Perez de Andrade, and settled other affairs, sailed from Goa on the 13th of February with a fleet of twenty-four sail, and in it one thousand eight hundred Portuguese, and almost as many Malabars and Canaras. On the coast of Aden, the ship Lopez was in struck upon a rock and was broke in pieces, the men were saved, and he went on board the galeon of Peter de Faria. At the entrance of the Red Sea they took a Moorish ship, who informed them there were six Turkish gallies at Jidda with one thousand two hundred men designed against Aden. The weather hindered his going in search of them, and it had been to no purpose, for they hearing of this fleet had haled in shore. James Lopez designed for the island Maqua, when by the way, on the 9th of April being Easter-Sunday, they thought they saw in the orb of the sun about the time of its setting, a little black flag with some motion. Being arrived at the island, they found the inhabitants were fled, yet they took some booty and vessels in the port, and some prizes in the neighbourhood. The inhabitants of Maqua had fled for refuge to the port of Arquico belonging to Prester John; the governor of the town sent a messenger with a letter to James Lopez, desiring he would make peace with those people that had fled to him for protection. He asked nothing in behalf of the town because they were all Christians, and because there was a prophecy among them, foretelling the coming of foreign Christians to settle a correspondence with them, which, on seeing the Christian colours, he looked upon to be fulfilled. James Lopez returned a courteous answer, and stood in shore, where some Christians came aboard to him. They told him their prince Prester John, had some years since, sent an ambassador whose name was Matthew, to a king of the other end of the world, whose fleet then conquered India, to inform him of those remote Christians, and demand succour against the Moors, but that he never returned. Sequiero hearing this, was convinced those men dealt ingeniously, because he brought that ambassador with him, and had orders from king Emanuel to land him safe in his prince's dominions. The ambassador was placed before them, who received him with great respect and joy, his joy was no less on being restored to his country after ten years absence. Next day came ten religious men from the neighbouring convent of the Vision with the same gladness to see him; they were received by the priests of the fleet in their surplices. There were great demonstrations of joy for the union of two such distant nations agreeing in the same faith, and the fruit of this meeting was, that those who from the beginning had not acknowledged the supremacy of the Roman church, now submitted to it.

The season being fit to sail (which in those parts is very uncertain) James Lopez set out from Ormuz, and went to meet George de Albuquerque at Calayate, where he found one ship arrived from Lisbon, of nine that sailed together, all the others afterwards came safe. One of these ships sailing before the wind beyond the Cape of Good Hope, stopped all of a sudden, the sails, though full, gave her no motion. The cause being examined into, it appeared that a great sea-monster bore the vessel upon its back, the



the tail about the rudder, and head up with the bowsprit, casting up streams of water. The sailors said it was the fish called *sambrero* or hat-fish, because the head resembles it, and such a one, though less, had been seen on the coast of Portugal.

Lopez dispatched the homeward bound trading ships under the command of Antony de Saldana. Being eased of this care he applied himself to that of the attempt upon Diu. In order thereunto he gathered the greatest fleet that had been seen on those seas, consisting of forty-eight vessels of all sorts; in them three thousand Portuguese, and eight hundred Malabars and Canaras. A great power lamentably disappointed as will appear in the sequel.

On the 9th of February, James Lopez appeared with all his pomp before Diu; Melique Az was then absent, being gone to the king of Cambaya, to prevent him granting the leave to the Portuguese for building the fort. And being suspicious this preparation was made against him, had fortified and intrenched the city in a wonderful manner. He had left in it against all accidents his son Melique Saca, and three brave commanders with a stout garrison. The governor having observed the difficulties, had it debated in council what was fit to be done, and all agreeing the city should not be assaulted, they afterwards accused him because it was not done.

James Lopez went to winter at Ormuz, some of the captains to several markets, and don Alexis de Meneses, with the rest of the fleet, retired to Cochin, with power from the governor to act as should be expedient in those parts.

Don Alexis, at his arrival at Cochin dispatched the trading ships for Portugal, and other appointed for several places.

George Albuquerque arriving at Sumatra, and assisted by the neighbouring king of Ara, proposed to the usurper to quit the kingdom to the lawful prince, who had submitted himself to the king of Portugal. Genial the usurper offered the same submission to keep his possession. The offer was refused, and Albuquerque went to attack him in his fort, which was scaled, and the gate broke open, but valiantly maintained by thirty men who were in a tower over it with the usurper himself, till Cid Cerveira with a musket shot, which went through his forehead, brought him down, whereupon the thirty men were dismayed and fled. Next day the dispossessed prince was restored with great state, and made tributary to king Emanuel, and a fort raised there as in other places.

At this time arrived at the same port, Antony de Brito with the fleet that had been commanded by his brother George, who with the bravest of his men was killed on the shore of Achem, twenty leagues distant from Pacem, who had been sent thither with six sail and three hundred men. Behold an example of avarice and ingratitude. John de Borba, after suffering shipwreck, having been tossed nine days on the waves with nine companions, and cast upon the shore of Achem, was received and relieved by that king, as if he had been in his native country. But George de Brito arriving, he informed him there was great store of gold in the tombs of the kings, and the more to induce him to commit the robbery, said the king had taken away the goods of some Portuguese. Brito, after some enquiry into the business, began to pick a quarrel with the king, and seize upon that gold. He landed with two hundred men, and finding a fort in his way, took it. Two drunken men issuing out after the taking were killed by the enemy, and several following to relieve or revenge them, George de Brito was at last obliged to come to their succour at the time the king came on with a thousand men and six elephants. Here Brito and most of his men were killed, among them  
fifty



fifty of note. The sad remainder retired to their ships, the command whereof fell to Antony de Brito, (brother to him that was slain) who now joined Albuquerque in the port of Pacem, where he left some men, and three ships, which were afterwards of use against a Moor who infested that coast.

George de Albuquerque returning to Malacca, and taking possession of that command, prepared to make war upon the king of Bintam, who was forty leagues distant from Malacca, in the island Bintam of forty leagues circumference. The island was well fortified, having two strong castles, and the rivers staked, so that it seemed almost inaccessible. Albuquerque set out from Malacca with eighteen sail, and six hundred men. Finding it impossible for the ships to come up, he landed his men in boats to attack a fort, but the water being up to their middles, and the enemies shot very thick, they were forced to retire without doing any execution; they lost twenty men, and had many wounded.

Hence Antony de Brito set sail for the Molucco islands, which are in the midst of many others under the equinoctial, about three hundred leagues from Malacca eastward. The principal of them are five, about twenty-five leagues distant from each other. Their names (though in general called Moluccos) are Ternate, Tidore, Moufeli, Maquien, Bacham; the biggest not above six leagues in circumference. They are covered with woods and fogs, therefore unhealthy. These five produce cloves, but no manner of food; and the island Batochina, sixty leagues in length, produces food but no cloves. In some there are flaming mountains, chiefly in Ternate. Their chief sustenance is meal made of the bark of trees like to the palm; from these and others they have wine and vinegar. There is a sort of canes that in the hollow have a liquor delightful to drink. The inhabitants are not great lovers of flesh, though they have plenty; more of fish, of which there is an infinite quantity. They are not affable, but warlike, and most swift either in running or swimming. Idolaters as to their religion. Of their origin there is no account. They were in process of time possessed by Moors, since whose first coming to them there was yet living an old master when Brito arrived.

To these islands, and particularly Ternate, Brito was sent to build a fort, which long since Boylese the king thereof had desired. Others had gone before but to no effect, as in the time of Albuquerque, Antony de Abreu, who lost one of the three ships he carried, but saved the men. He arrived in the island Banda; five go under this name, but it is most proper to the chief, which is like an earthly paradise, one great ornament of it being the plant which produces the mace. Antony de Abreu returned to Malacca, but his other captain Francis Serram was drove to Ternate, the king whereof seeing him, and some of his men in armour, concluded a prophecy was fulfilled, which foretold, that men of iron should come to that island, who would make it famous. Antony de Miranda went thither afterwards, Francis Serram staying there to expect an answer from king Emanuel, to the letters of the kings of Ternate and Tidore, each striving to have the fort built in this island. Don Tristan de Meneses afterwards carried this answer. Because the difference increased about the same thing between the two kings and the king of Bachan who desired the same, Tristan deferred the work to avoid the danger, and get loading for five ships he had with him. This was what happened from the taking of Malacca, till this time when Antony de Brito undertook the affairs of Molucco.

He had six ships and above three hundred men. At the island Agacim he met don Garcia Enriquez with four sail. They sailed together, and Brito arrived at Ternate

some



some time after the king Boleysse was dead, and he of Tidore had submitted to the Spaniards, thinking himself as happy in them, as Ternate could be in the Portuguese. Yet seeing the queen of Ternate governess of her son, received Brito with great joy; he visited and finding him displeased on account of the new guests he had entertained, offered to deliver them up to him. This he thought would oblige him to build the fort at Tidore, which at length was done at Ternate as the most convenient, Brito laying the first stone, attended by all the captains and men of note crowned with garlands, it being upon the feast of St John the Baptist.

It is necessary something be said of those captains who the foregoing A. D. 1521. years were sent to several parts, though what they did was in relation to trade, a subject unbecoming a grave history. Fernan Perez de Andrade had secured the trade of China in the city Quantung. The profit was exceeding great, and all mens desires were directed thither. His brother Simon de Andrade obtained leave of the governor to undertake that voyage with five ships. They anchored in the port of the island Tamou, opposite to Quantung where the other had been. The ambassador to the king of China was not yet gone thence, but went soon after up a large river with three vessels richly furnished, with Portuguese colours, it being a received custom that none but those of China should be seen there, which are gules a lion rampant. Thomas Perez landed, and travelled northwards to the province and city Nanquin, where the king then was, having spent four months on the journey without staying at any place. So large is that empire. That prince designed to give him audience at Peking, a city farther distant. The ambassador followed. But now appeared the effects of trading avarice, for whilst he travelled, Simon de Andrade behaved himself after such a manner in the island Tamou, that an account of his bad proceedings was sent after Thomas Perez. The ambassador set out, but the information reached the king first, and was fully credited. He and his companions were condemned to death as spies. The rigour of the sentence was mitigated, but the embassy not received, and they were sent back prisoners to Quantung, with orders, that in case the Portuguese would restore Malacca to its king, who was a subject to China, they might be restored and heard, otherwise they should be punished, and none ever after admitted, but treated as enemies.

Simon de Andrade was proud and conceited, and thought by a high hand to authorize his unjust dealing. To this end, as if he had been king of that island, he raised a fort, and set up a gallows to terrify the people. He committed violence upon the merchants who resorted thither, contrary to their privileges, and bought young people of both sexes without the usual precautions, giving occasion to thieves to steal them from their parents. These extravagancies were heard by the king before Thomas Perez, and had the effect above related.

At this time arrived there James Calva, with one ship from Lisbon, and others from Malacca. The Portuguese agreed in acting more insolently, which very much exasperated the governors of Quantung, who, to punish them, secured some, and contrived to take the ship last arrived. They began to act, when Duarte Coello arrived with two vessels from Malacca, well manned and provided. The itao, or admiral of that sea attacked them with fifty sail, and did some damage, but received greater from the Portuguese artillery; he was forced to retire, and lying off, kept them besieged. Forty days he had kept them in, when Ambrose del Rego came with two ships more from Malacca, and it was resolved to force their way through the itao's fleet, and get out of the



the island. The fight was bloody, but a storm arising, dispersed the enemy's fleet, and left the Portuguese in safety.

The itao revenged this disaster upon some of the Portuguese that arrived there, and upon their ambassador, Thomas Perez, and his companions; who being returned to Quantung, were all slain, and robbed of the present sent to that king, and what Perez had gained. This man, who was chosen ambassador for his good parts, was of base parentage, and by trade an apothecary, yet at this time there was found with him two thousand weight of rhubarb, sixteen hundred pieces of damask, four hundred of other silks, above an hundred ounces of gold, and two thousand of silver, three quarters of a hundred of loose musk, and above three thousand purses of it, at first called Papos, and much other merchandise.

Mocrin, king of Lalah, refused to pay the tribute due to the king of Ormuz for the islands of Baharem and Catifa, on the coast of Arabia; and the king of Ormuz was backward in paying the Portuguese, excusing himself with the failure of the other. He had already sent a great force, with some Portuguese, to reduce him, but to no effect. He now resolved to do it effectually, and treated about it with James Lopez de Sequiero, who, to secure the tribute, consented to assist him against his enemy. The king of Ormuz sent out two hundred vessels with three thousand Arabs and Persians. The Portuguese party consisted of seven ships and four hundred men, commanded by Antony Corea. All the Portuguese ships arrived at Baharem; Racz Xarafo commanded the Ormuzians, some whereof came not up.

Mocrin was well prepared to receive them, with three hundred Arabian horse, four hundred Persian archers, twenty Turkish musqueteers, besides natives, and above eleven thousand armed with several weapons, strong intrenchments, and other works, the wall well furnished with cannon, all under the care of tried commanders.

Racz Zarafo was ordered to relieve where he should see the greatest need, whilst Corea landed with one hundred and seventy Portuguese, to which his brother Ayres led the van with fifty, all of them knee-deep in water. The trenches were assaulted, the fight was hot, the king encouraging his men at the head of them, till weariness and heat obliged both parties to take breath. Being recovered, they returned to the attack, and the king was shot through the thigh, whereof six days after he died, his men fainted, and great numbers being killed and wounded, they left the Portuguese a complete victory. Racz Zarafo from his vessel looked on all the time; but after knowing the dead body of the king was carried over to be buried at Lalah, he obtained leave to go and take it, which done, he cut off his head, and carried it to Ormuz. The Portuguese had many wounded, seven killed, and the island in two hours was restored to them. For this reason Antony Corea had the title of Baharem added to his name, and the head of a king to his arms, which continues in his posterity.

James Lopez now designed to reassume the business against Diu, and therefore sent James Fernandez de Beja, with four galleons, to hinder any ships entering that port, which he effectually executed, and took several vessels; but the ships of Melique Az coming out with much cannon, sunk one of the Portuguese ships, and did much damage to the others, till the wind, which had failed, favouring, they were obliged to retire. With like fortune James Lopez drew near, for having taken a ship by the way, and divided the Moors that were in her among his ships, those who were allotted to  
Antony



Antony Corea set fire to the powder, which blew the poop into the air, and sunk the vessel: thus miserably ended that brave captain, who had triumphed over king Mocrin.

These misfortunes obliged James Lopez to desist from the enterprize, and go over to Chaul. Here he found Ferdinando Camelo, who came from the court of Nizamaluco, with leave for the Portuguese to build a fort there for his own ends, and chiefly for the importation of horses, which at that time was the trade of Goa only. The work was begun, and Melique Az, fearing it would lessen the trade of Diu, and encrease the power of the Portuguese, resolved to obstruct it. He appeared in the sea of Chaul, with above fifty vessels of his own and confederates, and presently sunk a ship in which Peter de Silva de Meneses was just come from Ormuz; and for the space of twenty days did much damage in the ships and gallies, wherewith don Alexis de Meneses opposed them. Notwithstanding all dangers, the work was carried on with good success. But it being necessary for the governor to repair to Cochin, because his successor was arrived, and he must prepare to return home, he set out of Dabul, rushing through the dangers that surrounded the work. He left his nephew Henry de Meneses to command the fort, and Antony de Corea at sea, while James Lopez de Sequiero, with his ships, set out from Cochin for Portugal\*.

## CHAPTER X.

### *Voyage to the Island of St. Thomas.*

WE shall conclude this section of Portuguese voyages, with a voyage written by a Portuguese pilot, and addressed to Count Raymond de la Torre. It was written originally in Portuguese, translated into Italian, and inserted in Ramusio's Collection, from which we take it.

Your lordship knows, that before I left Venice, I received letters from signor Pieronimo Fracastoro, in which he signified to me his pleasure, that I should make a transcript of the memoirs I had in my possession, respecting the voyage to the island of St. Thomas. He was of opinion, that a voyage to the equinoctial line, under which that island lies, must be highly interesting, and worth general notice. By the addition of your lordship's command, my first business at my arrival in the said place was to put them into immediate execution.

As I am a mariner, and unpractised in literature, I flatter myself your lordship will easily excuse me, if the materials are not set in the requisite order, and written with that elegance which so much enhances the merit of the like relations.

The vessels destined for the commerce of sugars to St. Thomas, commonly sail from Lisbon in the month of February, although there is no time in the year in which they do not sail. Their course is south-south-west until they arrive at the Canaries. They touch at Palma, from which island there are two courses, one of which is generally taken.

\* Faria y Sousa.

If



If a ship happens to be provided with fish to salt, which is a substantial support to the crew, they steer to the island of Sal, which is one of the islands of Cape Verde. Its sterility must be the cause of its being uninhabited: for there is not any animal to be met with but wild goats; and being, moreover, of a low situation, it is often exposed to inundations in its most accessible parts. When the sun darts its beams perpendicularly on this island, which happens when it is in the tropic of Cancer, the water congeals and brings forth that salt for which it is famed. The same must be said of the other islands of Cape Verde and the Canaries, but of that island in particular; which, for this reason, goes by the name of Sal.—Bonavista is the next place to Sal, and after it, Majo; in which there is a lake above two leagues in length, and as many in breadth, of nothing but salt, where a thousand ships may be loaded, without the least fee to its sovereign. It is remarkable, that the goats of all the Cape Verde islands are so teeming, as to bring forth three or four little ones at a time, repeating the same every four months. The kids are most delicate for eating, as their flesh is fat, and fine flavoured, owing, perhaps, to the sea water, which their mothers drink.

But if the ship has no fish to salt, the course to be taken from Palma to St. Thomas, is towards the coast of Africa, to the Rio d'Ouro, which is one hundred and ten miles from Palma. Here, if they have calms, and smooth seas, they may take in, with their nets, or with a certain number of thin long strings, armed with angles or fish-hooks, in less than three hours, such a store of fish, as will last them the rest of their voyage; the attractive power of their bate is so efficacious, that the fish come to it by shoals. When they are taken, they open them on the back, and salt them, a food not unpalatable, and indispensable in this voyage. However, the Portuguese are never suffered to live upon them; as it is their opinion the flesh is productive of disorders, though we have the contrary examples in the Castilians, who never fail to lay in a quantity for provision on their way to the West Indies. Should the weather, on the said river, happen to be turbulent, they run along the coast towards Cape Blanco, in expectation of its becoming calm; afterwards they steer as far as Arguim. It should be mentioned, that from Cape Bajador the whole coast is low and sandy, as far as Cape Blanco, and which continues even to Arguim. Arguim is inhabited by Moors and negroes: and here are the limits that divide Barbary from Negro-land.

From the island of Sal, they pass to that of St. Jago, one of the Cape Verde islands, in fifteen degrees north latitude: thirty leagues distance from Sal. Its length is computed to be seventeen leagues. It has a town on the sea side called Ravina Granda, with a good port, being sheltered by two high mountains, and has a river of fresh water rising about two leagues off. This river, from its source down to the city, is bordered on both sides with orange, lemon, cedar, grenado, and fig-trees of every description. Some years ago, they planted palms, which produce the cocoa, or nuts of India. There is no kind of herb that does not prosper here; but their seed are all unproductive and useless, and they are obliged to recur every year to Spain for a fresh collection. The town lies southward, and is remarkable for its good houses, which are built of stone and lime: it is peopled by a number of Portuguese and Castilians; and is reckoned to contain about five hundred families. Our king keeps a *corregidor* there, and there are annually two justices elected; the one to preside over maritime affairs, and the other for administering justice to the inhabitants of that and the circumjacent islands. Barren and ungrateful as the island is in the mountainous and



rocky parts, it is rich and cultivated in the vallies. When the sun enters Cancer, it rains without intermission; wherefore the Portuguese have called that month *Luna de las aguas*, or the watery month. At the beginning of August they sow a grain called *zaburfo*, millet, the same that grows in the West Indies under the name of maize. This grain is as common on the coast of Africa as in these islands, and is the chief sustenance of both these countries. They gather their crops in forty days. They also cultivate rice and cotton, which serves them very well, as they know how to manufacture cloths of various colours, which they barter on the western coast of Africa for negroes.

From the island of St. Jago the navigators steer for Rio Grande, or the Grand River, in Ethiopia, in nine degrees of latitude; which river is generally reputed to be the Niger of the ancients, and a branch of the Nile flowing westward, since there are also crocodiles and sea-horses, whose teeth the modern negroes hold in great value, as they wear rings of them, which they affirm to preserve them from certain maladies. Leaving this river, they come to a mountain called Siera Leona, whose summit is involved in thick mist; let the sun be ever so ardent and perpendicular, it will never dispel that mist. Our ships always keep sight of the coast, though at a great distance, solicitously anchoring when the sun declines; and thus they keep on in a southern direction, until they find themselves under the fourth degree north, when they tack to the east, and steer with the coast of Ethiopia on their left, until they arrive at the island St. Thomas, when they are exactly under the equinoctial line. Often at twenty miles distance from the coast, the sea has hardly fifty fathoms depth; but farther out it increases disproportionately. The Portuguese pilots keep an ordinary register, in which they inscribe all particularities of the voyage from day to day. At our arrival in the Gold River, which flows directly under the tropic of Cancer, we began to descry four stars, in form of a cross, of an admirable brightness, and of the largest degree of magnitude: they are three degrees from the antarctic pole, and are called the *Cruzero*. They appeared very low: we directed an instrument, called califtra, to one of them, which made the foot of the cross. When we were at St. Thomas's, they were very high. Some years, after rain, a kind of lunar iris, or rainbow, may be seen there in night time; but the colours the moon produces are like white fogs. About the tides, I must observe, that from the streights of Gibraltar to the tropic of Cancer, the flux of the sea is hardly perceptible; but from that latitude to Rio Grande, which was called the Niger, the tide on that river is more visible. The frequent rains in Ethiopia, causes that river to swell and roll in mud, at the same time as the Nile increases. The red and muddy waters of the former river may be distinguished at forty miles distance at sea. In the island of St. Thomas, the tide does not flow higher than a fathom and an half.

The island of St. Thomas, which has been discovered above eighty years, by the captains of our king, having been unknown to the ancients, is of a circular form, and is sixty Italian miles in diameter, or one degree. Its horizon extends to both poles: its days and nights are equal the whole year. The arctic polar star is invisible, but its satellites may be seen; and the stars of the cross appear in considerable elevation. Eastward of St. Thomas lies a small island, called the Princes, and its distance is one hundred and twenty miles: it is inhabited and cultivated at present. The income from the sugar is the property of our prince, and therefore it is called the Princes.

There



There is also another uninhabited island near, called Anobon, which is small, stony and desert; but there are excellent fisheries about it, and the inhabitants of St. Thomas make the best of them. It lies forty leagues distance, in two degrees south latitude. It is a nest of innumerable crocodiles and poisonous snakes.

When St. Thomas was first discovered, it was nothing but one thick forest, composed of green and superb, though unfruitful, trees, extending their branches not out and round, as in our parts, but straight and upright. Since they have levelled a great part of it, a principal city has been built there, which they call Povoasan, where there is a good port. The houses are all built of wood. They have their bishop ordained by the supreme pontiff, at our king's request, with a corregidor, whose province is to distribute justice. There may be about six or seven hundred houses: its inhabitants are, in great part, Portuguese, Castilians, French, or Genoese merchants. All foreigners are received with distinction; and marriages are much promoted. Those who are born in that island, preserve our colour; but it happens some times that our European merchants intermarry with negro females; the more readily, as there are several opulent and intelligent negroes settled there, who have their daughters educated after the European manners and customs, and then the offspring of such marriages form a tawny generation, which are known by the name of Mulattoes.

The staple commodity of the inhabitants of St. Thomas, is sugar; which they sell to the merchants annually resorting thither; and for which they receive meal, Spanish wines, oil, cheese, leather for shoes, swords, glass cups, glass toys, and a kind of small white shell, which are called in Italy *porcellette*; they serve as the current standard of prices in Ethiopia, in lieu of money. Those merchants would be greatly exposed, if they were not relieved by this commerce with Europe, as they could not subsist upon the victuals of the negroes. Each inhabitant, therefore, procures himself a certain number of slaves, both male and female, from Guinea, to work his land, and bring his sugar to perfection. There are some wealthy persons who keep even three hundred slaves of both sexes, whom they compel to work the whole week, except on Saturday, when they are allowed to work for their own subsistence: and in such days, they sow their zaburfo, the roots of *igname*, and many other domestic herbs; such as lettuces, radishes, and parsley: all those vegetables thrive in the shortest time, and arrive to high perfection. The ground is of a red and yellow colour; and through the showers that fall every night, it never dissolves into dust, but is consistent, like soft wax; and to this quality of the ground is to be ascribed its vegetative power. This single instance of the extraordinary virtue of that soil, will suffice as a proof. When the ground is but indifferently overturned and cultivated, there immediately spring up trees, which will in a few days attain the same size, as in our countries in many months: so that they are obliged to cut down and burn them. The spot where they are burned is admirably fit for the plantation of sugar canes, which remain five months in the ground before they come to ripeness. This plant receives no hurt from the perpendicularity of the sun in March and September, as in those periods the sky is covered with dark and pregnant clouds, which continually distill rains, and thereby shelter it.

This island has been computed to yield more than one hundred and fifty thousand arobes of sugar, to thirty-one pound the arobe. This calculation has been deducted from the tythe paid to the king, which generally amounts from twelve to fourteen thousand arobes, omitting an infinity of privileged colonists, which do not discharge the



whole. There are about sixty mills constructed on different waters, in which the canes are ground, the liquor running into large kettles, wherein it is boiled, and afterwards cast into loaves of fifteen and twenty pounds each; they cleanse it with ashes. In such places of the island as are unprovided with water, they employ negroes in this office, or horses, if they have any. The juice extracted from the canes are given to the swine, who have no other food, and to which it has been found extremely congenial, as it fattens them to a surprising degree. Their flesh is so delicate and wholesome, that it is preferred to poultry; and they never fail serving sick persons with it. Those islanders have tempted over from Madeira many expert manufacturers of sugar, to give their own that solidity and whiteness, which they still wanted: but no industry of theirs has ever been sufficient to remedy those defects. The reason has been imputed partly to the softness and fatness of the ground, which is transfused into the plant, and partly to the humid air that continually reigns in that island. We must, however, except the months of June, July, and August, during which time, keen and dry winds arise from Ethiopia; but as they are not efficacious enough, art has been applied to.

They erect a high roof of tables, as it were, diligently closed, and covered on all sides; without windows; and with a single door, the better to preclude the access to the air: therein they erect a large beam, whereupon they fix lesser ones, about four feet distance from one another, and on which they distend tables for supporting the sugar loaves. Underneath the said tables, they set on fire some large dry pieces of wood, which being smothered, emit neither flame nor smoke, but are consumed like coals: by this machinery they dry their sugar, as it were, in a stove. They are studious to sell them on the first opportunity, as they would risk having them melted if they should preserve them only two or three years.

More than one-third of this island is still covered with woods, or unplanted. The king has wisely provided, that any foreigner who comes to settle there, should be allotted, at an easy rate, a competent space of ground, by way of encouragement, to cultivate, the first step of such a new colonist, is to purchase a quantity of negroes, which he employs in rooting out those trees, and burning them; they fertilize the soil, and prepare it for the reception of the sugar canes. These slaves are not supplied with any cloaths or dwelling, but are left to furnish themselves with these necessities; and therefore, except a cover of cotton or palm-rind over their privacies, they go quite naked, both men and women. Their food is the above-described millet, which is a kind of white bean, or they make bread and cakes, baked under ashes, out of its meal. The root of *igname* is a principal article in their food: they drink water, or palm-wine, of which they have plenty, and sheep or goats milk.

As there are seldom winds in this island, it is infested with innumerable flies, which are much bigger than ours, and more troublesome, particularly to those who live in the neighbourhood of woods, as many are necessitated to be, on account of the great want of wood consumed in the boiling of sugar: for this reason, the negroes have devised another way of building their dwellings. They fix four poles, as high as possible, in the ground, in form of a square: on the top of which they construct a roof, with a high fence about it, which they cover on the summit and sides with a certain herb, somewhat like thick straw, with a long ladder to mount it by night, when they are going to sleep. The women get their little children easily up and down, and shelter themselves from this troublesome infection. At the city of Pavoasan, there is little  
incon-



inconveniency from them, as it has no wood in its vicinity. In some years there are seen such a multitude of little black ants, that they devour and gnaw all they can find, nor can they be kept from laying hold on the sugars; but a single rain suffices to dispel, or to exterminate them. The mice are likewise to be ranked among the vexatious and detrimental class of animals in this island.

The root which is called by the Indians of Hispaniola *Batata*, is named *Igname* at St. Thomas, and is one of the most essential articles of their food. Its colour, or the rind, is black without, but within it is white, and resembles a turnip. It tastes like a chestnut, but is much better, and more tender. They eat them baked under ashes, and also boiled: they are very substantial, and satiate like bread: they are neither impregnated with cold or heat, digest easy, and are salubrious. Those roots are divided in various kinds, as the *igname*, and the *simory*, of which a vast quantity is exported for the consumption of the crews that repair thither for the sugar trade. It has the advantage of preserving its freshness during several months, and will be palatable after a whole year. The other species of *igname* are that of Benin, that of Manciongo, and a yellow one; but they are not so preservable as the former. That of Benin, however, excels all the rest in sweetness of taste; it is more planted than the others, and the demand of our ships are frequent and considerable. When they plant it, they cut the root in more slices, leaving on each a little of the black rind. After having well dug the ground, and cleansed it from all weeds, they put it in, fixing a long stick near it, as the *igname* grows very high, and winds round it. It produces a leaf similar in colour and lustre to that of the citron, but less, and thinner. It is five months ripening; they know the time of gathering only by the sticks, and the dryness of the leaves about them; for the ground is so much overgrown with weeds, that without these marks, it would be very laborious to find the root. Upon this they dig near the stick, and discover four or five fruits, the produce of a single slice; then they put them together on heaps, and afterwards spread them in the sun and wind for a few days, whereby they reach their last ripeness and flavour.

There is an eminent mountain, almost in the middle of this island, whose summit is several miles distant from the level of the sea. It is covered all over with lofty, strait, and green trees, in such a thickness, that it may be said to be almost impenetrable. On the top a gloomy fog reigns, which no season, or any time in the day or night can dispel, not unlike the snow, which in our parts perpetually crowns the heads of high mountains. That fog distils, uninterruptedly, water, which moistens those trees, and gushes down on all sides of the mountain in different rivulets, and serves to the negroes for watering their sugar fields. There are some fresh fountains besides in this island, which they use for the same purpose. In Pavoasan itself, a river of the clearest water flows through its middle. It is pretty wide, but shallow; its water is given to sick persons, as it is particularly light on the stomach. It is the opinion of all the inhabitants, that without the advantage of this water, and some other fountains, that island would not be habitable.

Most of the trees growing in this country are wild and unfruitful; when felled, they are generally hollow, and without any appearance of marrow. The inhabitants take this to be the effect of the great moistness of the island. Spaniards who have settled there, have attempted to plant olives, peaches, and almonds, which have produced magnificent and fine trees indeed, but no fruit; and this is the case with all other fruits that have  
stones



stones in them. They have brought the palm-tree from Ethiopia, which yields the cocoa, and which is known in Italy by the name of Indian Nuts. The almond-tree produces fruit, which, when fresh, is exceeding good; and from the piece preserved in the middle of the nut, which is itself very sweet, they make a thousand delicious things. They make incisions on that tree, round which they hang a gourd, into which a white and clear liquor distils, which has the taste of a delicate wine the first day, turns sharp afterwards, and is at last converted into vinegar. They have also began to plant that herb, which in one year grows to the height of a tree. It produces fruit like the figs called Muse in Alexandria, and it is called Abellana in this island.

The seasons of this island are very different from ours, as it is twice in the year perpendicularly visited by the sun, viz. in March and September, in which period the sun attracts vapours from the sea, which dissolve into rains, whence the air is continually gloomy and cloudy. In proportion as the sun declines, the weather turns more serene and clear. For this reason the above two months are considered by the inhabitants as their two winters. They have, however, some months still, which they call wind months; these are May, June, July, and August, which happens when the sun is in the northern signs; the winds that reign then are the south, the east, and the south by east, which are the only ones felt in this island, as it is covered by Africa on the other sides, and are impeded in their effects by the efficacy of the sun. However, as the negroes go naked when any fresh wind sets in, their lean and chilly complexion is violently shocked, and they have often been seen sick and dying for no other reason. As to the white inhabitants, this is the most temperate and favourite time in the year to them. December, January, and February are their warm months, on account of the sun's stifling the winds, whence an insufferable heat arises, owing, in great part, to the vapours settling over the whole island. This season is the reverse of what the former had been to the negroes: they at once resume their gaiety and vigour, work with cheerfulness, and find themselves in perfect health in that benign season: whereas the white inhabitants are all fainting, and broken in their whole person. They are not thrown into any positive illness or fever, but they seem to be deprived of their strength, and hardly able to walk. Several of them go about only in a gown, with a stick to support them; they have no appetite for eating, but an insatiable longing for drink. They submit themselves to frequent bleedings in their arms and front, as they are mostly sanguine. This bleeding is a kind of panacea to all the inhabitants of the island, black and white.

In the city of Pavoasan they have a custom in the calm and gloomy days, where they are most oppressed by the influence of heat, to meet four or five families together, in some extensive subterraneous cave, where they respectively bring their wives and children, and what they have prepared at their houses, laying it upon a table, when every one eats what he likes best; and by various discourses they alleviate, as much as possible, the languor of those sultry days. They never go out for business on those days, and if they walk, they wear a double sole of leather on their shoes, and carry with them a pair of thick slippers.

The white inhabitants of Pavoasan are commonly every eighth or tenth day assailed by paroxysm of a fever, which begins cold, and disappears again in two hours, or less, according to the complexion of the patient, after some heat. This disorder extends only to such as have been inured to that climate by an habitual residence, and they bleed themselves three or four times in a year. But the first fever that attacks  
strangers



strangers is very dangerous, and lasts twenty days. They bleed with the greatest profusion from the arm, to the measure of a whole pint at once. After the operation, they are presented with a sup of bread, water, salt, and oil. If the patient escapes the seventh and fourteenth days, he is looked upon as safe, unless he abandons himself to some excess; so they add every day to his diet of chicken, till at last they permit him the eating of pork.

Two scourges are common to this island, the French distemper and the scab. The negroes are but little concerned about either of those diseases; their women know how to prepare a plaister which carries it off; they also give the water of certain roots to drink, of equal efficacy.

In the time the south wind blows, which is fresh, and comes on in June, the negroes sicken with a fever, and on the day they feel a diminution of it, they make an incision with a razor, about the temples and on the front, which recovers them. Sometimes they bleed themselves on their shoulders, and then their diet is very strict, wholly living upon a small portion of bread and Spanish oil, with a vegetable of their own.

It is not commemorated that any plague or pestilence has reigned in this island, as in those of Cape Verde, where it is said to have once raged with such fury as to stop the circulation, and suffocate the heart. If the white inhabitants are sometimes subject to fevers and fluxes, they are in great part themselves the cause, in drinking without eating in times of calm. Few survive fifty years, and it is a phenomenon to see a white man with a grey beard; but the negroes arrive to an hundred and ten years, the climate being congenial to their complexion. I have been five times in that island, the first in 1520. I had occasion to see an old negro called Giovam Menino, who told me he was one of the first negroes transported thither from the coast of Africa by order of our king. He was very rich, had sons and nephews, and saw his nephews children married and blessed with other children. The inhabitants are much troubled by fleas, and the negroes with lice, of which the white are exempt, and their beds ever free from bugs.

Corn has been sown on this soil, in all times of the year, but it has been found only to lose itself in high ears, void of any grain. This the inhabitants have found to be the effect of the fatness of the soil. It is the same with the vines planted about the houses of St. Thomas; for in the island it would be still more unavailing; only in the yards of houses there are some grapes thriving, which appear in a ludicrous manner, bearing at once some ripe berries, some imperfect and sour, and others in the bud or flower. January and February, August and September, are the months in which they are gathered. The figs appear also twice in the year, and in the same months; their flavour is exquisite. Melons yield but once in the year, viz. in June, July, and August. As to gourds, they are of all seasons. There are innumerable hosts of land crabs, (like the marine,) who grow over the whole island, but those found in the mountains are the best. There is no want of birds, such as partridges, green sparrows that sing, and the smallest of tawny parrots. They are also provided with several sorts of good fish. Between this island and the coast of Africa there form such a multitude of whales as is hardly credible.

These are the chief particulars I have noted about that island; and if your lordship is disgusted at the composition, I must beg you to remember my being unlettered, and only an humble mariner by profession.



## B O O K IV.

## S P A N I S H V O Y A G E S

IN THE BEGINNING OF THE

S I X T E E N T H C E N T U R Y.

## CHAPTER I.

*Voyage of Bastidas to the West Indies. Voyage of Ojeda. Voyage of Obando. Fourth Voyage of Columbus.*

**T**HE report still daily increasing that pearls and gold were brought from the continent in exchange for things of small value, and Spain being then poor in coin, much notice was taken of it. The people being earnest to grow rich, laid aside the dread of sailing over such immense and unknown seas, and this more especially among the inhabitants of Triana, who were mostly mariners. On this one Roderick de Bastidas, a man of great knowledge, resolved to fit out two ships upon discovery, and to barter for pearls. He contracted with some persons, and particularly with John de la Cosa, who was the best pilot for those seas. Having obtained a licence, **A. D. 1501.** he sailed as captain about the beginning of January from Cadiz, whence all the ships at that time were dispatched. They steered to the continent, keeping the same course Columbus steered when he discovered it. Arriving on the coast, they ran along it, touching at all harbours and good roads, where a vast multitude of people came out to trade and barter.

When they came to the bay of Veneçuela, which was called Coquibocoa, and had been discovered by Alonso de Ojeda, they sailed down the coast to the westward, and passed by that part of the shore which is now called Santa Marta and Cartagena, as far as the inlet or bay now called the Gulph of Uraba, within which is the province of Darien. They kept along still to the westward, and came to the port they called Del Retrete, where was afterwards the city and port of Nombre de Dios. All that was at this



this time newly discovered, amounted to above one hundred leagues, and they gave names to Carthagená, and all the islands near.

The ships being no longer in a condition to keep the sea, as they were very leaky and worm-eaten, they turned back, after having bartered for much gold and abundance of pearls. They arrived in the bay of Xaragua, where the ships sunk, and the men went away by land to St. Domingo, which is seventy leagues distant. They also carried with them some Indians, who walked about at St. Domingo naked, as was usual in their country, their private parts being in cases made of pure gold, like funnels, so that nothing was seen.

During all that voyage Bastidas never gave the Indians the least offence. Francis de Bovadilla, pretending that he had bartered for gold with the Indians of Xaragua, imprisoned him; but at last he went away to court, and paid their majesties the fifth part of the gold and pearls he had brought, and all people rejoiced to hear that they were brought from the continent.

When Roderick de Bastidas sailed from Cadiz, Alonso de Ojeda was fitting out for his second voyage, and steered the very same course, without knowing that Bastidas had taken it. He arrived at the Bay of Uraba, and thought proper to build at the mouth of it a fort of timber or boards, that he might the better go up to discover the country. He sent one ship down to the coast westward, which came to the port Retrete, that Bastidas had discovered.

Americus Vesputius, Herara says, was with Ojeda, though still persisting in arrogating to himself the honour of having discovered the continent. Alonso de Ojeda being always niggardly in distributing provisions among his men, they were continually at variance with him, seized and put him in irons, and the men steered the ships to Hispaniola, to the port of Yaquimo, which the admiral called Brasil, eighty leagues distant from St. Domingo. There Ojeda, trusting to his strength and activity, though he was a little man, threw himself one night as privately as he could into the sea, thinking to swim away to the shore, which was a large stone's throw distant. As he swam with only his arms, the two pair of fetters sinking him, he cried out for help, because he was drowning, and they went immediately in the boat, by which means he was saved.

In Spain the admiral exhibited so many complaints against Bovadilla, that their majesties resolved to send another governor to Hispaniola; they therefore appointed Nicholas de Obando, knight of the order of Alcántara, whom they looked upon as a discreet person. The fleet appointed to carry him over consisted of thirty-two sail; and he was enjoined to notify to the Indians that it was their majesties pleasure they should be as free as the Spaniards, only paying their tribute, and that those who would work at the mines should be paid for it.

For the better peopling those parts, a contract was made with Lewis de Arriaga for him to carry over two hundred inhabitants to settle there, without any pay, but upon certain conditions. It was also agreed with James de Lepe, that he should go out upon discovery with four ships, upon condition that he should pay to the crown half of all he should get, after deducting the charges. Vincent Yanes Pinzon was also appointed governor of some part of those lands he had discovered. John de Escalante had likewise licence to make discoveries with three ships, and Alonzo Velez de Men-



doza contracted to carry over fifty men and their wives to the Indies, under the new governor Obando.

The fleet that was to carry over Obando being fitted out under the command of Antony de Torres, there went on board it two thousand five hundred men, most of them well born, and ten Franciscan friars. He sailed from St. Lucar on the A. D. 1502. 13th of February, and at the end of eight days there came on such a dreadful storm at south, that the whole fleet were in great danger of perishing. A large ship, called the Rabida, immediately sunk, with one hundred and twenty men; the other vessels, thirty-one in number, were dispersed, throwing overboard all that was upon deck; but at last, after many perils, they all met again at the Gomera.

At Grand Canaria Obando hired a ship to carry over those people that would go from thence to Hispaniola. He divided the fleet into two parts, because some ships were very bad failers, chusing fifteen or sixteen of the best failors to go with him, and left Antony de Torres to command the rest. He entered the port of St. Domingo on the 15th of April: the people of the town, as soon as they saw the ships, hastened to the shore, and knowing some of the vessels that had been before in the island, enquired for news, and were told that Nicholas de Obando, was come to be their governor. The landmen also told what strange things happened to them; among others, that abundance of gold was found, and particularly one grain that was prodigious; that some stone was mixed among the gold, which would certainly in time be converted into that metal; and the stone that is intermixed with the gold in such large grains as are found, being like little spots, almost all the grains looked like solid gold.

Columbus being come to court, never ceased soliciting to be restored to his full rights and prerogatives, offering (though he was old, and his constitution very much broken) to make considerable discoveries, believing that he might find a strait or passage about that part where Nombre de Dios now stands. Their majesties fed him with fair words and promises, till they could hear what account Obando would send them about the affairs of the island.

Columbus demanded four ships, and provisions for two years, which they granted him, with a promise, that if he died, his son don James should succeed him. The admiral set out from Granada to forward his business at Seville and Cadiz, where he bought four vessels, the largest not above seventy tons, and the least not under fifty, and engaged one hundred and forty men and all necessaries.

On the 9th of May he set sail, taking his brother the adelantado with him. He arrived at Grand Canaria on the 20th of May, and having wooded and watered, proceeded on his voyage on the 25th, and the wind proving favourable, he arrived without handing his sails at the island of Martinico on the 15th of June. There the men landed to refresh themselves, and three days after he sailed again, among a parcel of such delightful islands, that they looked like gardens, though they were five, six, or ten leagues asunder; and one of his ships being a slug, and not able to carry much sail, he was necessitated to repair to St. Domingo, either to change it for one of those that belonged to the fleet that had carried over the new governor, or buy another. He arrived there the 29th of June, and sent Peter de Terreros, captain of a ship, to acquaint Obando



Obando with the necessity he was under of leaving that ship there, and to desire he would permit him to enter the port with his ships, not only to change or buy another, but also to shelter himself from a great storm that he was sure would soon happen. Obando would not consent to it, and Columbus being informed that the fleet of thirty-one sail was ready to put to sea, sent to advise him not to permit it to go out these eight days, because there would be a most dreadful tempest, for which reason he was going to put into the next harbour he should find, as accordingly he did into Puerto Hermoso, sixteen leagues from St. Domingo. Obando would not believe it, and the pilots made a jest of it, calling him a prophet. Among the many tokens of an approaching storm, as observed by mariners, one is the porpoises and other such fish playing upon the surface of the water, from which, and other observations, Columbus concluded that there would be a storm.

Obando's whole fleet set sail about the beginning of July; there were on board it Francis de Bovidilla, Francis Roldan, and all who had been concerned in his insurrection, besides one hundred thousand castellanos of gold (worth more than two millions), the vast grain of gold before-mentioned, and one hundred thousand more belonging to passengers. Within forty hours there arose such a violent storm that twenty ships were cast away, and not a man saved; and the whole town of St. Domingo was blown down. Columbus's ships were dispersed, and in the utmost danger, but met again at Puerto Hermoso, and thus he and his ships escaped. There Francis de Bovadilla perished, as did Francis Roldan and his companions who had rebelled against the king. The two hundred thousand castellanos of gold, and the vast grain above-mentioned, were also lost. The worst ship in the fleet, on board of which the admiral had four thousand persons, escaped, and was the first that arrived in Spain.

Columbus sailed from Puerto Hermoso, and proceeded to the westward to port Yaquimo, which he left on the 14th of July, and making towards the continent, met with many calms, he therefore drew near the islands about Jamaica, but finding no water, dug pits near the sea, where he got some. The currents carried him to the islands near Cuba, which he had before called the Queen's Garden. He stood again for the continent, and not being able to gain upon the contrary winds, and strong currents, spent sixty days in tempestuous weather, rain, thunder, and lightening, without seeing sun or stars, and during all that time he advanced only sixty leagues. The ships being much beaten with the great sea, became leaky, and abundance of the seamen sickened with the extraordinary toil, the admiral himself being reduced to a very weak condition by over watching and care. At length, after many dangers, he discovered a small island, which the Indians called Guanaja, having three or four smaller islands by it, all well inhabited, and the Spaniards called them all by the same name. The admiral ordered his brother the adelantado, who was captain of one of the ships, to go ashore. He took two boats full of Spaniards, found the people very peaceable, and like those in the other islands, saying that they had not such large foreheads, and because they saw many pine-trees in it, the admiral gave it the name of the island of Pine-trees, being twelve leagues from the cape of Honduras, or the city of Truxillo. When Don Bartholomew had landed, there came to the ship an Indian canoe, as long as a galley, and eight feet in breadth, laden with western commodities, which it is likely belonged to the province of Yucatan, the same being but thirty leagues from thence, or little more.



In the midst of it, was an awning made of mats and palm-tree leaves, which in New Spain are called Petates. Under it were the women, children, and goods, being so ordered, that neither the rain, nor the sea water could wet them.

The commodities were abundance of large cotton cloths, of several colours, and curiously wrought; short shirts, or jerkins, without sleeves, or collars, scarce reaching down to the knees, wrought, and of divers colours like the others; as also cloths the men use to cover their nakedness, which in New Spain they call Mastil, like others, for various colours and workmanship. Besides, they had swords made of wood, having a gutter in a fore part, in which were sharp-edged flints strongly fixed with a sort of bitumen and thread; small hatches made of copper to hew wood; small bells and plates; crucibles to melt the copper; and of those berries, which they call Cacao, and in New Spain, passes for money. Their food was bread made of maize, or Indian wheat, and that sort of roots, which in New Spain they call Camotes, and in the islands Axi, and Batatas, and their liquor was made of Indian wheat, being like ale. In the canoe were twenty-five men, who durst not fly, nor defend themselves, when they saw the Spanish boats. They carried them to the admiral, and the women covered their faces and bodies with their cotton cloths, as the Moorish women of Granada use to do with their mantles. The admiral, and the rest were well pleased with those tokens of bashfulness and modesty, entertained them very kindly, and taking some of their sightly goods for samples, gave them others brought from Spain in exchange, let them all depart in their canoe, except an old man, who looked like a discreet person, that he might inform them what there was in that country; for the first thing the admiral enquired after was gold, which he shewed them, and by signs asked where any was to be had; and that old man pointing that it was to the eastward, he carried him till he came where the people did not understand his language; they then sent him back again to his own country.

The admiral still fancied, that keeping along that coast, he should hear news of Cathay, and of the great Chan, and that those cloths of several curious colours were an introduction to it. The Indians seeing him enquire so eagerly for gold, talked much, and by signs gave him to understand, that in certain countries which they pointed at, there was so much of it, that the people wore heavy crowns of it on their heads, and great rings on their arms and legs; and that their chairs, tables, and chests, were covered with gold, and their cloths wove with it. When they shewed them coral, they said the women wore strings of it hanging down from their heads to their backs. When they shewed them pepper, and other spices, they said there was great plenty of it; so that whatsoever was shewn them they said was to be had, to please them.

Upon the information given by that old Indian, the admiral forbore proceeding to the westward, which would have carried him to Yucatan and New Spain; and steering to the eastward, the first land he saw was a point, which he called De Casinas, because there were many trees on it, the fruit whereof is a sort of little apples, good to eat, in his language called Casinas, as the admiral said. The natives that lived nearest to that point, wore jackets of fine colours, like the short shirts above spoken of, and small cloths, to cover their nakedness. On Sunday the 14th of August, the adelantado went ashore with many of the men to hear mass, as they generally used to do, when they had an opportunity; and the Wednesday following he went again  
to



to take possession for their Catholic majesties, at which time he found above an hundred of the natives on the shore, loaded with provisions, as maize, fowl, venison, fish, and fruit. When they came up to the adelantado, the Spaniards fell back, without speaking one word, and he ordered they should give them looking-glasses, hawks-bells, pins, and the like; and the next day above two hundred men appeared in the same place, loaded with such victuals, and several sorts of lupins, like beans, and other fruit, green and beautiful; for that country is very fertile, where there was an infinite multitude of pine-trees, oaks, six or seven sorts of palm, and many mirabolan trees, bearing a pleasant and odoriferous fruit. They understood that there were leopards, and were also informed that there were many tygers. Those people had not great foreheads, like the islanders; spoke several languages; some of them went quite naked, others only covered their privities, and others wore jackets without sleeves, that reached not below their navels. Their bodies wrought with fire, like Moors, some having lions, others stags, or such like creatures drawn on them. The men of the greatest distinction among them, instead of caps, wore on their heads cotton clouts, white and red, and some of them had tufts of hair on their foreheads like fringes.

When they were fine for their festivals, some coloured their faces black, others red, others streaked with several colours, others painted their chins and noses, and others made their eyes very black, all which were looked upon as great ornaments. And because there were others along that coast, who made such great holes in their ears, that an egg might pass through them, he called that part *La Costa de la Oreja*, the coast of the ear. From point *Casinas* the admiral sailed to the eastward, with much difficulty against the winds, and the currents, always plying upon a wind, as the sailors call it, so that he scarce advanced five leagues in a day, and very often not two; there being sixty leagues from point *Casinas* to a cape, that runs far out into the sea, where the land turns off to the south, which renders the navigation more easy; he called it *Cabo de Gracias à Dios*. On the 12th of September, having turned the cape, and being in want of wood and water, he sent the boats to a great river, where the current and the flood meeting, cast away one of the boats with all the men, and therefore he named it *Rio del Desastre*, the river of the disaster. Sunday the 17th of September, they anchored at a small island, called *Quiribiri*, and before a town on the continent, called *Cariari*, where they found the best people, land, and settlement, that they had yet seen, by reason of the height of the hills and woods, and the agreeableness of the rivers and trees; the island was great and most delicious, full of fine groves, and is about a league distant from *Cariari*. That town is by a very great river, whither resorted a vast multitude of people with bows, arrows, darts, and wooden swords, shewing themselves ready to defend their country. The men had their hair made up in tresses, and wound about their heads; the women wore theirs short, as the Spaniards then did, who made signs of peace, and shewed they were willing to barter. They wore great pieces of cotton cloth, like blankets and jackets, and at their necks, eagles of pale gold. Those things they carried to the ships swimming, because those two days the Spaniards went not ashore. The admiral would not allow any thing to be taken of them, to shew that he did not value it; and that made the Indians the more eager to barter, making many signs, spreading out their cloths, like colours, inviting them to go ashore.

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The admiral having ordered some Spanish toys to be given to the Indians, they seeing the Spaniards make no account of their goods, laid all they had received tied up together near the sea, without keeping the least thing, and so they found it the next day, when they went ashore; and those people believing that the Spaniards mistrusted them, sent an old man, that looked like a person of worth, to them, with a flag on a staff, and two girls, one of them fourteen years of age, and the other about eight, with some toys of gold about their necks. The old man put them into the boat, making signs that they might land safely. Some went ashore to take water for the ships, the Indians standing very still, for fear of giving the Spaniards any jealousy. When they had taken their water, the Indians seeing them return to their ships, bid them take the girls, and to comply with the old man's importunity: they did so. It was wonderful to see, that the girls shewed no concern, seeing themselves delivered up to such strange and fierce people. The admiral ordered them to be cloathed, to have meat, and some Spanish trinkets given them, and to be set ashore, that the Indians might understand they were not men that make any ill use of women; but finding nobody to deliver them to, they carried them back aboard the ships. The next day being Thursday the 29th of September, they again carried them ashore, where fifty men were, and the old man that had delivered them received them again, seeming to be much delighted with them. In the afternoon, the boats went again, and found the same people, with the girls, and they restored to the Spaniards all that they had given them, refusing to keep any thing. The next day the adelantado going ashore, to get some information concerning the people and the country, two of the most remarkable among the Indians came up to the boat he was in, and led him by the arms between them, till they seated him on the green grass near the shore, and asking him some questions by signs, he ordered the notary to write down what they said; but they seeing the ink, and paper, and the writing, were in such a consternation, that most of them ran away. It was supposed they did so, believing that the writing was some method to bewitch them, and because when they came near the Spaniards, they scattered a sort of powder towards them, and burnt the same powder, driving the smoke towards them, and for the same reason it was thought they would not keep any thing of what had been given them.

The ships being refitted, the provisions aired, and the sick men refreshed, the admiral ordered his brother to go see the town, and observe the customs and manners of the inhabitants. In their houses, which were built with timber, and thatched with reeds, they had tombs, in which there were dead bodies, dried, and preserved, without any ill scent, and wrapped up in cotton cloths. Over those tombs were planks, with the figures of beasts carved on them, and on some the resemblance of the persons there entombed, and with them some of the most valuable jewels they had. The admiral caused seven of those Indians to be taken, with him, to give him some information of the country; but out of the seven he made choice of two, who seemed to be most rational, and of the best quality, dismissing the others, with some toys, and giving them to understand, that the other two were to be guides, and should be sent back. Hereupon abundance of people came down the next day to the shore, and sent four messengers, offering to give all they had for those two persons that were detained, who it is likely were men of note. They brought as a present two of the country swine, which seemed to be wild, though small. The admiral would not re-  
store



store the two Indians, but ordered some toys to be given to the messengers, and paid for the swine.

Among other places named by the old Indian of the island de los Guanajos, where there was gold, was a town called Caravaro: whereupon the admiral departed from Cariari, on the 5th of October, and proceeded to Caravaro eastward, where there is a bay six leagues in length, and above three in breadth, and in it many little islands, and it had four mouths for ships to pass in and out at all seasons, as if they went along walks in gardens, the boughs of the trees touching the shrouds and rigging. When come to an anchor, the boats went to one of those islands, where they found twenty canoes, and the men naked, with glittering plates of gold at their necks, and some had eagles; only the women cover their nakedness. They shewed no fear, because the two Indians of Cariari spoke to them, and gave a gold plate that weighed ten ducats for three hawks-bells, saying, there was abundance of it on the continent, very near the place where they were. The next day, being the 7th of October, the boats went to the continent, met with two canoes full of men who had all gold plates at their necks. They took two men, the plate one of them had weighed fourteen ducats, and the other's eagle twenty-two, and they affirmed there was great plenty of that metal they so much valued, a day or two's journey from thence. There was abundance of fish in that bay, and on the land many of the beasts before-mentioned, as also great store of the provisions generally used among the Indians. The men went stark-naked, and the women like those of Cariari. From Caravaro they proceeded to another place bordering on it, which they called Aburena, and it was like the former.

Putting out to sea again: twelve leagues farther on they came to a river, where the boats going to the shore, about two hundred Indians that were there ran to them in a furious manner, up to the middle in the water, brandishing their wooden swords, and long cudgels, blowing their horns, beating a drum, and shewing that they would oppose their landing. They cast the salt water with their hands at the Spaniards; wetted herbs, which they threw at them; but the Spaniards not regarding the same, endeavoured by signs to pacify them, and the Indians they carried spoke to them, so that they were appeased, and came to barter with their gold plates, which they gave for two or three hawks-bells. Seventeen plates of fine gold were all they had there, being worth about one hundred and fifty ducats. The next day the boats returned, being allured by the trade, called the Indians that were near, in harbours they had made that night, for fear the Spaniards should go ashore, and do them some harm; but none would come near. They sounded their horns, and beat their drum, and drew near to the sea, with great shouts, threatening, if the boats approached, to cast their darts, if they went not away; but threw none. The Spaniards did not think fit to bear so much; so they shot with a cross-bow, and wounded one in the arm. Next they fired a cannon, and they thinking that the sky was falling upon them, not a man stayed, all taking to their heels, striving who should be foremost. Then four Spaniards landed, called, and advanced towards them as tamely as if nothing had happened. They exchanged three plates, excusing themselves for not having more, as not knowing whether they would like it.

Hence they proceeded to another province called Catiba: and when they were come to an anchor, the natives went about calling one another together with horns and drums. They sent a canoe with two men to the ships, to enquire what new people those



those were, and what they wanted. The two Indians that had been taken before spoke, and then they went aboard the admiral, without any jealousy, and at the persuasion of the said two Indians of Cariari, they took off the gold plates they had at their necks, and gave them to the admiral, who in return ordered them some Spanish toys. When the two first returned to land, another canoe came from thence, with three men; having their plates at their necks, who did as the first had done. Friendship being thus contracted, the boats went ashore, where they found abundance of people with the king of those towns, who no way differed from the rest, saving his being covered with a leaf of a tree, because it rained, and that the rest paid him much respect. He was the first that exchanged his plate, and gave leave to the rest to barter for theirs; and all they got were nineteen plates of fine gold. Hence they sailed to Huriran, where they purchased ninety marks of gold for three dozen of hawks-bells. They then went on to a town called Cubigá, where, according to the information of the Indians, the trading country ended, which began at Caravaró, and ended at Cubigá, being about fifty leagues along the coast; and from hence the admiral held on his course, and on the 2d of November entered Porto Bello, four or five leagues from Nombre de Dios. He thought it large and beautiful, the ships entering in between two small islands, and might within lie near the shore, and turn it out if they would. The country was very agreeable, and all tilled, full of houses, about a stone's throw, or the shot of a cross-bow from one another; so that it all looked like a landscape. There he staid seven days, on account of continual rains and foul weather. Canoes resorted from all the adjacent parts, to barter with the Spaniards such food and fruits as they had, and bottoms of spun cotton, which they gave for baubles made of tin, pins, and points, or tags.

The admiral left Porto Bello, and on the 9th of November sailed eight leagues in foul weather. He turned back again, and entered the harbour of Nombre de Dios, though he called it De Bastimentos, or of Provision, because all the country about it, and three small islands near by, are full of Indian corn fields. A boat pushed forward in pursuit of a canoe they saw. The Indians fled; but finding the Spaniards come up with them, they leaped into the sea, and the seamen laboured in vain to overtake them, for they dived, like water-fowl, and came up again a cross-bow shot from the first place. This sport, which afforded much diversion, held them above half a league, and the Indians saved themselves, baffling the sailors, who returned aboard tired and ashamed. Here they staid to refit their ships, till the 23d of November. Holding on their course, they arrived at a country called Guigá, and when they landed, there were above three hundred of the natives waiting for the Spaniards to exchange their provisions, and some small bits of gold they wore on their noses and ears; but the admiral would make no stay there; and on Saturday the 26th of the same month, they entered a little port, which they called El Retrete, or the Closet, on account of its straitness, for it would not contain above five or six ships, and the mouth of it was not above fifteen or twenty paces wide, having rocks on both sides as sharp as needles, under water; the channel between them being so clear, that drawing near to the sides, men might leap ashore; besides that, they could find no bottom to it, which was the saving of the ships. Here they staid nine days, the winds blowing fresh and contrary. At first the Indians behaved themselves very peaceably, and traded in the most innocent manner; but after the sailors stole privately ashore, without the admiral's leave, and repairing to the houses of the Indians, gave them cause to be alarmed; they took  
arms,



arms, and some skirmishes happened; their numbers daily increasing, they attacked the ships, which lay close to the land. The admiral, to prevent their damaging the vessels, endeavoured to appease them with patience and kindness, though at the same time, to check their boldness, he sometimes ordered cannon to be fired, which they answered with hideous cries, striking the boughs of the trees with their clubs, threatening, and shewing that they were not frightened at the noise of the great guns, believing them to be like thunder without lightening, that does no harm. To convince them of their folly, and humble their pride, he ordered a gun to be levelled at a number of people that stood close together on a little hill; and the ball passing through the midst of them, they were convinced there was a thunderbolt as well as thunder, and therefore dare not afterwards look over the hills.

The natives of the province were the best proportioned of any they had yet seen, tall, slender, and well countenanced. The land was plain, yielding much grass and few trees. In the harbour there were extraordinary large allegators, that went to sleep ashore, and smelled like musk, being so ravenous, that if they find a man asleep on the land, they drag him away to devour him; yet they are so timorous, that they fly when attacked. There are many of them in these rivers that fall into the north sea, but many more in those that empty themselves into the south sea, and they are very much like, if not the same, as the crocodiles of the river Nile.

The stormy east and north-east winds obstructing the admiral from proceeding in his intended course, on Monday the 5th of December he resolved to tack about, to be fully informed concerning the rich gold mines he had been told there were in the province of Veragua. The same day he arrived before Porto Bello, and holding on his course, there arose a dreadful storm, which lasted nine days, with such fury that they did not expect to save their lives, the sea running so high, and looking like fire, that the like had scarce ever been seen. One whole day and night the lightening was so fierce and continual, that the sky seemed to be all in a flame, and aboard every ship they fancied the others fired their guns, as signals of distress. Besides all this, it rained incessantly for two or three days. To add to all these calamities, a prodigious spout fell, which they narrowly escaped. The men were quite spent with these hardships, and many of them fell sick; but a calm ensuing, greatly comforted them. At this time there appeared about the ships such a multitude of sharks as had never been seen before. The men killed and eat many of them, which was a considerable relief, because abundance of their provisions were spoiled by the heat and damp, they having been out eight months. The many tempestuous and contrary winds the admiral met with between Porto Bello and Veragua, made him call that La Costa de los Contrastes, or the Coast of Crossness.

On the 6th of January, they entered a river, which the Indians called  
A. D. 1503. Yebra, and the admiral named it Belem, or Bethlehem, in honour of that

day, in which the three kings or wise men arrived at that holy place. Further on he discovered another river, by the natives called Veragua. The admiral ordered them both to be founded; and the boats went up the river of Bethlehem till they reached the town, where they were informed, that the gold mines were at Veragua. The next day they went up that river, where the natives were preparing for their defence; but one of the Indians the admiral had with him speaking to them, they were appeased, and bartered with the Spaniards, giving twenty plates of gold, some pipes, grains, and beads of gold; and to put the greater value upon it, they feigned it was



found on some very uncouth mountains far remote from thence, and that when they gathered it, they did not eat, nor keep company with their wives, with other such like fictions, to get the more for it. The river of Bethlehem being deepest, the admiral resolved to go into it, and there the Indians resorted to trade with fish, and some gold, which they gave for pins, beads, and hawks-bells; but all still affirming, that the gold was at Veragua, the adelantado went with the boats up to the town where the cazique of the country, called Quibia, was, and he came out with many canoes to meet the Spaniards. They met as lovingly as if they had been brothers, Quibia gave the adelantado what gold he had, and he in return gave him some Spanish toys: thus being both well satisfied, the cazique went away to his town, and Don Bartholomew to the ships.

In this river, the admiral was drove from his anchors, by a sudden and prodigious land flood, and fell foul of another ship, so that it was a miracle, that they did not both perish. This sudden inundation, it is likely, was occasioned by some violent rain falling on the mountains of Veragua, which the admiral called St. Christopher. The point of the highest of them seems to ascend above the region of the air, for it never has any cloud over it, they being all far below. These mountains are about twenty leagues up the country, and all thick wooded. After the aforesaid flood, ensued a most outrageous tempest, in which they must all have perished, had they been out at sea. The weather growing calm on Monday the 6th of February, the adelantado went by sea with sixty-eight men to the river of Veragua, a little above a league to the westward, and put in a league and half from Quibia's town, where he spent a day enquiring out the way to the mines, which were shewn him by three Indians the cazique appointed him for guides. When come to the mines, these guides pointed out to several places westward that abounded in gold. In short, during the space of two hours they stayed there, every man gathered some little gold among the roots of the trees, all that place being very woody, with which they were satisfied, and returned that day to the town, and the next day to their ships, looking on it as a token of the vast wealth of the country, that they could gather so much gold in so short time without any labour; whereas much is generally required to come at it. Afterwards, it was known, that these were not the mines of Veragua, which were nearer; but of Urira, another town belonging to enemies of Quibia, who directed the Spaniards thither, in hatred to those people, and to the end that the Spaniards liking that country, might settle there, and leave his dominion.

Thursday the 16th of February, the adelantado went again by the admiral's order, to discover along the coast, and came to a river called Urira, six or seven leagues from Bethlehem westward. The lord of that part came out with twenty men to receive him, and presented a great quantity of provisions; they traded for some gold plates, and then went all together to the town, where abundance of people came out to meet them. A large house was provided to entertain them where they lodged, and furnished them with plenty of eatables. Soon after the lord of Dururi came to visit them, from that place which was near, with abundance of people, bringing plates of gold to exchange; and they had information, that there were lords up the country, who had very great store of gold, and that they were an armed people like the Spaniards; but the latter proved false, for they either said it, that the Spaniards might advance no farther, or else they did not understand them, because all they said was by signs. The adelantado observing the peaceable temper of the Indians, resolved to



to go up the country, and with thirty men came to a town called Zobraba, where there was above six leagues in extent of land sowed with Indian wheat. He proceeded to Cateba, meeting there with good entertainment, and bartered for plates of gold, as big as saucers, little more or less, weighing ten or twelve crowns each, which the Indians wore hanging about their necks by cords. The adelantado thinking he had already gone far enough from his brother, and that there appeared no better place for a colony than at the river of Bethlehem, he returned with much gold he had got by bartering.

Those tokens being so agreeable, the admiral resolved to leave his brother in that country, with most of the men, whilst he returned into Spain to fetch more forces. Eighty men were appointed to stay. They began to build their houses on the bank of the river, near the mouth of it, beyond a little creek that is on the right hand going up the river, over which mouth is a little hill, higher than the rest of the land. The houses were of timber, covered with palm-tree leaves. One was erected larger than the rest, to serve for a store-house, into which they put the artillery, and all that was necessary for the use of the inhabitants; but the biscuit, wine, oil, and some other things were left aboard one of the ships that were to remain behind, as being the safer place, and this was the first colony the Spaniards planted on the continent, though it subsisted but a short time. There were also many nets left, and other fishing tackle, because an immense quantity of fish passes along the coast. The Indians make very good and large nets, and hooks of bones and tortoiseshell, and because they had no iron, they cut them with threads made of a sort of hemp, which in Hispaniola they call Cabuya, as those who make beads, cut bones with a thin saw, and after that manner they will cut iron. Having great plenty of fish, they roasted much to preserve it. They had good liquor, white and red, made with their wheat, as ale is made with us, and they added to it that which they thought wholesome spice. They also made another sort of liquor of the palm-trees, which they held in high esteem. Another of pine-apples, a very odoriferous and good fruit; besides other fruits. When the houses were built, and the admiral was ready to sail for Spain, the weather proved so dry, and no water coming from above, the ships could not pass over the bar, so that they were in a manner blocked up, having no remedy but to pray to God for rain to swell the river; which was the only means to deliver them out of that distress.

Whilst the admiral was in the river of Bethlehem, in the distress that has been before mentioned, the Indians perceiving that the Spaniards built houses, as if they designed to stay among them, without their leave, they began to be alarmed, and the adelantado suspecting that they designed to set fire to his  
A. D. 1503. houses, he marched out with seventy-four men, on the 30th of March, and ordering them to advance two by two as privately as they could, came to the cazique Quibia's house, where he secured him, some of his wives and children, and about fifty persons in all, who offered a great treasure, which they said was on the mountain, for their ransom. The adelantado fearing the country would rise upon him, and rescue the prisoners, sent them all away to the ships, and followed the next day himself, with the plunder of Quibia's house, which might amount to the value of three hundred ducats, in gold plates, eagles, beads, and the like; but the cazique made his escape from those that had him in charge, and returned to his people. Soon after the rains fell, and the floods coming down, opened the mouth of the  
river,



river, when the admiral sailed out with three ships, leaving one for the service of his brother. However he came to an anchor a league from thence to wait for fair weather, and in the mean time sent back the boat for water, and on some message to his brother. Those that were on shore, as soon as the weather grew calm, went all away in two large canoes, they had made fast together, that they might not overfet, and their own boat, leaving nothing behind them but the hull of the ship, which was all worm-eaten.

Being all aboard, they sailed in the three ships, steering to the eastward, as far as Porto Bello, where they were obliged to leave one of the ships, as it was so leaky, that they could not keep it above water. They proceeded thence to a province near which there were many small islands, which the admiral called Las Barbas, or the Beard, but it is now known by the name of the Bay of St. Blase. Ten leagues from thence he turned away from the continent, and stood to the northward, to recover Hispaniola. At the end of ten days, they arrived at two small islands, which were all covered with tortoises, as well as the sea, which looked like ridges of rocks, and therefore the admiral called them Las Tortugas, or the Tortoises, and they are now called Caymanes, being about twenty-five leagues west of Jamaica, and forty-five to the southward of Cuba, there being no other all the way the admiral passed. Thence they came to anchor at Jardin de la Reyna, or the Queen's Garden, being a great number of small islands south of Cuba. Ten leagues from Cuba, they were in much want, their biscuit being spoiled, and having little oil, labouring day and night at the pumps, because the ships were ready to sink. There arose such a storm, that one of them ran foul of the admiral, tore off part of his poop, the cables gave way, and all had like to have perished. Departing thence, they arrived at a town in the island of Cuba, called Macaca, where they refreshed themselves, being readily supplied by the Indians. Thence they stood for Jamaica, not being able to make Hispaniola, by reason of the winds and currents, where they arrived at Puerto Bueno, or Good Port, on Midsummer Eve; but it was a bad port for them, there being neither water, nor any Indian town, so that the day after Midsummer, they proceeded to another called Santa Gloria; and being no longer able to keep the ships above water, they laid them fast aground, as near the shore as they possibly could, being about a cross-bow shot from it, and the two ships close together, board and board, shoaring them on both sides, so that they could not stir; but they were filled with water almost up to the deck, and cabbins were made on the heads and sterns to shelter the men.

When the ships were thus secured, the Indians came in their canoes to sell provisions, being covetous of Spanish toys; and to prevent controversies, the admiral appointed two persons to deal with them, and every afternoon to divide what they had purchased among the men, there being nothing left in the ships to maintain them, for the provisions were all either eaten or spoiled.

The admiral looked upon it as a great mercy that God had brought him to Jamaica, because that island was very populous, abounded in eatables, and the natives were desirous to trade; therefore, to keep them in good humour, he would not go up the country, lest the Spaniards should disoblige the people, which would prove of ill consequence, and was so pleasing to the Indians, that they gave two small rabbits for a bit of tin, and two of their cakes of bread for two little green or yellow beads; and for things of more value they took a hawk's-bell. They gave the caziques little looking-glasses, red caps, or scissors to please them. The admiral having purchased ten canoes for



for the service of his damaged ships, by this method the men were plentifully supplied with necessaries, and the Indians no way disturbed at their stay.

Columbus having consulted with the prime men about the means of getting away from thence, it was concluded to send advice to Nicholas de Obando, governor of Hispaniola, and to Alonso Sanchez de Carvajal, the admiral's factor there, of the condition they were in, to the end that a ship might be there freighted, at the admiral's expence, to fetch them all away.

This being an affair of much difficulty, two persons of fidelity and discretion were appointed for the undertaking, in canoes, the distance between the two nearest points of Jamaica and Hispaniola being twenty-five leagues, besides thirty more to the points where they were to cross over. In that passage there is only one little island, or rock, called Navasa, which is eight leagues from Hispaniola. The persons chosen for this enterprize were James Mendez de Segura, chief notary of the fleet, a very honest and discreet man, and Bartholomew Fiesco, a Genoese, a person excellently qualified, and worthy of such a trust. Each of these went into a canoe, with six Spaniards, and ten Indians to row. The admiral ordered James Mendez, as soon as he came to St. Domingo, to go away for Spain, with his dispatches for their majesties, containing a full relation of his voyage, the dangers and troubles he had met with, the lands he had discovered, and the rich mines he had found at Veragua, and at the same time complained of the unworthy usage he had before met with, his imprisonment, and the seizing of all he had; praying redress, and lamenting that after having spent twenty years in the service of the crown, he had not a house to take shelter in, but must be obliged, when he came into Spain, to take up his lodging at an inn, &c. Bartholomew Fiesco was to treat with the governor of Hispaniola about sending a ship to bring the men off, and to return with it himself. The two canoes set out on the 7th of July, the Spaniards carrying their provisions, swords and targets, and the Indians their gourds full of water, *axi* and *cazabi*. When they came to the point of the island of Jamaica, they were obliged to stay till the sea was very calm, to venture to run over, the danger being very great, especially for the Spaniards, the Indians being very expert swimmers, and naked, if the canoes happen to overset, soon turned them up again, and with their gourds threw out the water. As soon as the weather grew calm, they put themselves into the hands of God, and launched out one night, the Indians rowing, who, to cool themselves, sometimes leaped into the water, and returned to their oar. When they had lost sight of Jamaica, the Spaniards relieved the Indians, but were watchful lest they should overpower them. The second day after their departure, they began to be very tired, but the two chiefs encouraged their men, and advised them to eat, to recover their strength. The Indians being heated with the sun, and the labour of the oars, were more busy with their gourds than they should have been, so that they were soon fatigued, and the heat encreasing, and their thirst with it, by noon their strength was quite exhausted. The commanders then relieved them, giving them now and then to drink out of their rindlets, and so revived them till the cool of the evening. That which most perplexed them, after having rowed a night and two days, was the fear that they had mistaken their way, in which they were to find the island of Navasa, eight leagues from Hispaniola, where they meant to refresh themselves. That afternoon they had thrown an Indian overboard, who died for thirst, others lay quite disabled, and the rest were totally dejected, expecting death, holding salt water in their mouths to cool them. They proceeded



the second night without seeing the island, till the moon rising, James Mendes perceived that it appeared like an half-moon, the other half being at first covered by the island, for otherwise they could not have seen it, by reason of its smallness, and the night. Then they all encouraged the Indians, shewing them the land, and giving them some sips of water, wherewith they were so much encouraged, that they rowed on, and by break of day arrived at the island, where they landed.

They found the island was all a solid rock, about half a league in circumference, but there was no tree nor spring of water on it; however, going about from one cleft to another, they took up as much in the hollows as served to quench their thirst, which did them harm, because being scorched with drought, they drank so much of it, that some of the poor Indians died upon the spot, and others fell sick. They staid there that day till the afternoon, recreating themselves with the best the place would afford, gathering small shell-fish on the shore, and making a fire to broil them, for James Mendez had carried the necessaries for it. Being then in sight of the point of Hispaniola, which the admiral had named St. Michael's, and was since called Del Tiberon, and desiring to conclude their passage before the weather grew foul; as soon as the sun was low, they went into their canoes again, and by break of day arrived at the cape, the fourth day after their setting out. They refreshed themselves there two days, and neither Spaniards nor Indians would run the hazard of returning to Jamaica the same way they came. James Mendez being in haste, went on as far as he could in a canoe, and at length arrived in the province of Xaragua, where he found the governor of Hispaniola, who seemed well pleased with the letter he brought him, though he proved very tedious in dispatching the business he came about; for he suspecting the admiral's sincerity, was afraid lest some disturbance might happen in the island. After much importuning, he gave James Mendez leave to proceed with his company to St. Domingo, to perform what the admiral had ordered him. He there bought a ship, and sent it well provided, though it was a considerable time before he could execute it.

When Bartholomew Fiesco and James Mendes were gone in their canoes for Hispaniola, the Spaniards that remained in Jamaica with the admiral, having suffered very much in that voyage, began to sicken, and despairing of relief, all their discourse was how they should make their way to Hispaniola, railing at the admiral, as he had been the cause of their misfortunes. The chief promoters of these discontents were two brothers, natives of Seville, whose names were Porras, one of whom had gone over captain of ship, and the other purser of the fleet. These men having endeavoured to bring all the others over to their design, thought it sufficient that they had gained forty of the most mutinous, and resolved to declare their intentions. Accordingly on the 2d of January 1504, being all armed, captain Francis de Porras went upon the poop where the admiral was, and without any respect, said, "We are of opinion, that your lordship will not go into Spain, and design to keep us here to perish." The admiral hearing those audacious words, mildly answered, "he could not but be sensible how impracticable it was for them to pass over to Hispaniola; and if they had any better method to offer, they might propose it." Francis de Porras replied, "there was no need of so much advising, for I will go away into Spain with all those that will follow me." Then the conspirators seized ten of the canoes the admiral had bought, and many of those that were sick joined them, went away to the eastern point of Jamaica, and committed many insolencies in their way against the Indians; and being come to the point of the island, attempted to pass over into Hispaniola, forcing some



some of the natives to go with them; but the sea growing rough, and wetting them, they thought fit to lighten the canoes, which were heavy laden, throwing overboard all they had, except only some provisions and water, then their arms, and at last the poor Indians that rowed, cutting their hands, if they offered to ease themselves, holding by the sides of the canoes when tired with swimming. Returning ashore, they went from town to town, sometimes bartering with the people for provisions, and sometimes taking them by force. Whilst they were thus ranging, the admiral took particular care of the sick, to secure them to him, and laboured to gain the friendship of the Indians, to secure his provisions; and by such methods, all those that had been distempered, recovered. However, the Spaniards eating much more than the natives, it was a difficult matter to supply them plentifully, and great part of his men being revolted from the admiral, those people began to make the less account of him, so that he was reduced to great straits.

The admiral knew there would be an eclipse of the moon within three days; whereupon he sent an Indian that spoke Spanish, to call the caziques and prime men of those parts to him. They being come a day before the eclipse, he told them, that the Spaniards were Christians, servants of the Great God who dwells in heaven, Lord and Maker of all things; who rewards the good, and punishes the wicked; and therefore, he being angry with those that had mutinied, would not permit them to pass over into Hispaniola, as the others sent by him had done: that he was also displeased with them, because they did not supply him with provisions in exchange for his commodities, and therefore was resolved to chastise them with famine, and other calamities; and that they might be convinced of the truth of what he had said, they might that night observe, at the rising of the moon, that she would appear of a bloody hue, to denote the punishment God would inflict on them. When he had made his speech, some of them went away in a fright, and others scoffed at it; but the eclipse beginning as soon as the moon was up, and increasing the higher she rose, it put them in such a consternation, that they hastened to the ships grievously lamenting, and loaded with provisions, entreating the admiral to pray to God, that he would not be angry with them; and they would for the future bring him all the provisions he should have occasion for. The admiral answered, he would offer up his prayers to God, and then shutting himself up, waited till the eclipse was at a height, and ready to decrease, when he came out again, telling them he had prayed for them, promising that they would be good, and supply the Christians; whereupon God had forgiven them, and consequently they would see that the moon, by degrees, was like to be appeased, and to return to her usual complexion. The Indians perceiving the eclipse to go off, and entirely to cease, returned the admiral many thanks, and admiring the God of the Christians, went away very well pleased, not forgetting to be grateful for the benefit they thought they had received of the admiral; for they supplied him plentifully with provisions, always blessing God, believing he would punish them for their sins, and that the eclipses they had formerly seen had been tokens of his anger.

Eight months passed after the departure of Bartholomew Fiesco and James Mendez, without any advice of their arrival, or what had befallen them. One Bernard of Valencia, and all the rest that had remained sick, conspired together to do as the Porras had done before. But God prevented this mischief by the arrival of a small caravel, sent by the governor of Hispaniola, under the command of James de Escobar, one of those that had been in the rebellion with Francis Roldan. He had orders not



to go aboard the ships nor ashore, but only to see the condition the admiral and his men were in. The governor pitched upon Escobar to execute this commission, because he knew he had been in the aforesaid rebellion, and therefore would not side with those persons in distress. Escobar leaving his caravel at a distance, went in his boat to deliver a letter from the governor; and then standing off, made an empty compliment from him; after which he presented the admiral with a cask of wine and two flitches of bacon.

The admiral answered the governor's letter, giving him account of what he had discovered, and what had happened since, and praying him to send speedy relief; whereupon Escobar sailed away, which made the men suspect that Obando designed to let them all perish in that island. However, this disappointed the second conspiracy, and the admiral gave them to understand, that Escobar went away so suddenly that they might be the sooner relieved; for he was resolved not to go away without them, and that little caravel could not carry them all. These words, the sight of the little caravel, and the advice that James Mendez and Bartholomew Fiesco were safely arrived in Hispaniola, somewhat comforted those men, and gave them hopes of getting off in time.

The admiral being desirous rather to reduce the mutineers by fair means than by force, that they might do no mischief in the island, sent two of their best friends to acquaint them with the advice he had received. Francis de Porras met the messengers, and answered, that they would not trust the admiral, unless he would promise to find a ship to carry them off, and share half of what he had with them. The messengers refused to make such proposals to the admiral; and Porras replied, that if he would not do it by fair means, he would be compelled to do it by force.

Porras persisting in his rebellion, marched with his followers towards the ships. The admiral sent the adelantado, his brother, with fifty men, to persuade him to return to his duty, which he peremptorily refused, and advanced in fighting order; in consequence of which an engagement ensued, when Francis de Porras and six others were taken prisoners. The adelantado returned to the ships with the captives, and was joyfully received by the admiral and his men.

The day after the battle, being the 20th of May, those that had escaped sent a petition to the admiral, signed by them all, confessing their fault, begging their pardon, and promising to serve him faithfully for the future. The admiral on his part promised to pardon them, provided that their ringleader Francis de Porras should continue a close prisoner; and to prevent any controversies between the rebels and the others, he sent them a commander to keep them in the island, till the ships that were daily expected arrived.

This was the posture of affairs in Jamaica, and the admiral had been there a full year, when a ship arrived that had been freighted by James Mendez, and with it a caravel commanded by James de Salcedo, the admiral's servant.

Columbus, with all his followers, and the rebels embarked; they  
**A. D. 1504.** sailed from thence on the 28th of June, and arrived at St. Domingo on the 13th of August. The governor with all the city went out to meet, and paid him much respect, lodging him in his own house, and paying many compliments; but this was all dissimulation, for he set at liberty Francis de Porras, the ringleader of the rebellion at Jamaica, who was a prisoner aboard the ship, and threatened to punish those that had honourably stood by the admiral, all this directly in opposition



to the admiral's authority and jurisdiction, and without any regard to the power given him by their majesties. This continued till the ship that brought him from Jamaica was refitted, and another was freighted. He set sail on the 12th of September, and as soon as they were out of the port, the mast of the ship split in two, so that he ordered it back, and held on his voyage in the other. When they had sailed about a third part of their way, they met with a dreadful storm, and on Saturday the 19th of October, when the storm was over, the main-mast came by the board, and they were obliged to make a jury mast of the yard. After another tempest, in which they lost their mizen-mast, they arrived at St. Lucar, whence the admiral went away to take some rest at Seville. There he understood that Queen Elizabeth of Castile was dead, which was the greatest affliction that could befall him, she being the person that had always most favoured him, and in whose protection he most confided.

The admiral, when he had rested some months at Seville, in May A. D. 1505. went to the court, which was at Segovia, to desire the performance of what had been promised him, but without effect. He soon after fell sick, and having made the necessary dispositions, he departed this life with much piety at Valladolid, on the 20th of May, 1506. His body was conveyed to the monastery of the Carthusians at Seville, and from thence to the city of St. Domingo, in Hispaniola, where it lies in the chancel of the cathedral. He left his son James his sole heir.

## CHAPTER II.

*Voyage of De Solis and Pinzon to Yucutan. Andrea Morales sails round Hispaniola. Ocampo sails round Cuba. Voyage of Ojeda and De la Cosa. Voyage of Necueffa. Second Voyage of De Solis and Pinzon.*

A. D. 1506. **W**HEN news arrived in Spain of what Columbus had done in his last voyage, John Dias de Solis and Vincent Yanez Pinzon resolved to hold the same course, and sailing as far as the islands Guanajos, held on to the westward as far as Golfo Dolce, but saw it not, because it lies hid, though they observed the inlet which the sea makes between the land that forms that bay and the land of Yucutan, from whence they descried the mountains of Caria, steered away to the northward, and discovered a great part of the kingdom of Yucutan, their main design being to find out something the admiral had not.

About this time the governor Obando ordered Andrea de Morales, a very expert pilot, to sail round the island of Hispaniola, and note down every creek, hill, river, or thing of note.

Also about this time the governor, by the king's command, sent Sebastian Ocampo, a native of Galicia, to discover whether Cuba was an island or a part of the continent.

He



He sailed first along the north side, and then round the whole island, putting into some ports; and having occasion to careen, he did it at the Havannah, which for that reason was called Puerto de Carenas, or the Careening Port. Proceeding thence to the westward, he came to the end of the island, now called Cape St. Anthony, being about fifty leagues from the aforesaid harbour. Turning then to the eastward, along the south coast, he entered the port of Xaragua, that province being so called by the Indians; it is one of the best and safest harbours in the world for a thousand ships. There Ocampo staid with his two ships, very much at his ease, being well supplied by the Indians with an infinite number of partridges, like those in Spain, only that they are somewhat smaller. He had also great plenty of skaits, there being immense shoals of them, and they were pent up in the harbour as safe as if they had been kept in fishponds, being inclosed with reeds and canes, stuck in the ooze, very close together. Thence he returned, coasting along, and brought Obando certain advice of its being an island, having spent eight months on the voyage.

The king being intent upon settling new colonies, Alonso de Ojeda was ready to perform this service, but being poor, was obliged to apply to John de la Cosa, who offered to assist him with his estate; and making interest with the bishop of Palencia, procured for him the government of Uraba, being the inlet the sea makes in the continent beyond Carthagena, extending from Cape de la Vele to the bay of Uraba, by the name of Andalusia. Ojeda was then in Hispaniola. The island of Jamaica was granted jointly to him and Necuiffa (who will be mentioned hereafter) to supply their government with provisions.

John de la Cosa fitted out one ship and two brigantines with all necessaries, and about two hundred men, and sailed to St. Domingo, where Ojeda joined him.

At that time there was in St. Domingo one Enciso, a lawyer, very rich, who readily agreed to forward his design, which he did, by purchasing a ship, Ojeda having appointed him alcaide in his government.

At St. Domingo he had some disputes with Nicuesa about the limits of their governments and about the island of Jamaica, but were reconciled by the mediation of John de la Cosa. The admiral Diego Columbus, son of Christopher, was also angry, and sent John de Esquibel to make settlements in Jamaica. Ojeda declared, if the latter went to Jamaica, he would cut his head off. Ojeda left St. Domingo the 1st of November, with two ships and two brigantines, and with him embarked Francis Pizarro, afterwards the conqueror of Peru.

He departed from the island Beata, and standing to the southward, in a few days arrived at Carthagena, which the Indians called Caramari; they were then in an uproar and ready to oppose the Spaniards, because of the injuries done them by Christopher Guerra and others, who had lately passed that way under pretence of trading. Those people were of a good stature; the men wore their hair down to their ears, and the women very long, and both sexes were very expert at shooting with their bows. Ojeda and John de la Cosa had religious men with them, the king being very desirous to induce those people to submit by fair means; and having Indians of Hispaniola who spoke that language, he advised them to be peaceable, and to lay aside their cruelty, idolatry, sodomy, and other hideous vices practised amongst them; but they being very much incensed, would not give ear to those persuasives.

Ojeda



Ojeda tried all possible methods to allure the Carthagenians, though he had orders, in case they proved obstinate, to declare war, and make slaves of them. He began to barter for gold, giving them a number of Spanish toys, and soothing them; but those islanders being fierce and bold, and beginning to grow boisterous, John de la Cosa said, that since they were outrageous and had poisoned arrows, he thought it would be better to settle a colony at the Bay of Uraba, where the people were more gentle; and that from thence they might return to Carthagenia better provided. Ojeda being always resolute, and having been in a great number of quarrels and engagements both in Spain and Hispaniola, without ever losing a drop of blood, did not regard that advice, but fell upon the Indians, who were preparing to attack him, killed many, took some prisoners, and found a small quantity of gold in the plates taken from them. Not satisfied with that, using some of the prisoners for his guides, he went to a town four leagues up the country, whither those who had escaped from the last fray were retired, and found the people there upon their guard, with swords of extraordinary hard wood, bows, sharp poisoned arrows, and rods, which they threw like darts. The Spaniards fell on them, killing and taking all they met. Eight Indians, who were not so expeditious as the rest, retired into one of their thatched houses, where they defended themselves a considerable time, and killed one Spaniard; at which Ojeda was so provoked, that he ordered the house to be fired, and they all perished in a moment. He took sixty captives, whom he sent to the ships, and pursued those that fled. The inhabitants of a town called Yarbaco, having notice thereof, withdrew into the mountains, with their wives, children, and effects. The Spaniards coming thither by break of day, and finding no body, grew heedless, and dispersed themselves about the country. The Indians observing their carelessness, fell upon them unexpectedly, and the Spaniards endeavoured to retire to some place of safety, but still met with their enemies, who being divided into several detachments, attacked, wounded, and killed them with vast flights of poisoned arrows. Ojeda, with some of his companions, maintained the fight, often kneeling, the better to cover himself with his target; but when he saw most of his men killed, trusting to his activity, he rushed through the thickest of the Indians, and got into the woods, directing his course towards the sea, where the ships were. John de la Cosa got into a house, where he defended himself at the door, till his men were slain, and himself so wounded with poisoned arrows that he could no longer stand: but looking about, he saw one that still fought courageously, to whom he said, that since it had pleased God to preserve him, he should go and tell Ojeda what had happened; and Ojeda and he were the only two that escaped, seventy Spaniards being then slaughtered.

Whilst these things happened, the men on board the ships were in much confusion, not knowing what was become of Ojeda, for which reason they sailed along the coast in their boats, seeking for him; and being very diligent in their search, they came to a place where there were some trees, called Manglares, which always sprout up, grow and live in the salt water, their roots spreading very much, and twined one within another, where they found Ojeda hid, with his sword in his hand, and his target on his back, on which were the marks of above three hundred arrows he had received on it. He was so faint with hunger that he could scarce speak, and had not his constitution been very robust, he must have perished. They made a fire, warmed and gave him such as they had to eat, by which means he recovered his spirits, and came to himself.

As



As they were in this sorrowful plight, hearing him relate his disaster, they saw James de Nicuesa's ships appear, which was no small affliction to him, fearing he might attempt to revenge himself for the challenges and quarrels that had so lately happened between them at St. Domingo; for which reason he ordered his men to go aboard the ships, and leave him alone, without mentioning his name as long as Nicuesa was in the harbour. Ojeda's boats went out to meet Nicuesa's ships, which were entering the port of Carthagena, and in a very doleful manner told him, that so many days before, Ojeda and John de la Cosa had gone ashore, burnt the town, and taken many slaves; and that being farther up the country, and not returned, they were afraid some disaster had befallen them; but that in compliance with their duty, they were resolved to go and look for him, if he would promise them not to take notice of all that had passed between them.

James de Nicuesa, who was much of a gentleman, modest, and of a mild disposition, and moved with what they said, answered, they should go and seek for him immediately, and bring him if he was alive; for he was so far from designing him any harm, that he promised them upon his word that he would relieve all his wants, as if he were his own brother. They brought him, and Nicuesa embraced him, being much concerned at his misfortune, saying, that gentlemen ought to behave themselves generously when they see those they once had any difference with in distress, because it would be base to add fresh affliction to their trouble; for which reason he might reckon that nothing had passed between them, which might obstruct their acting like brothers, and therefore he might order matters as he pleased, and he would follow him with his men, till they had revenged the death of John de la Cosa, and the rest, wherein he had no other view than to assist him. Ojeda was much comforted, and returned him many thanks for that succour. They mounted two horses, and took four hundred Spaniards with them, commanding them not to spare the life of any Indian: and thus marched by night to the town of Yurbaco, where they divided themselves into two parties. There are in those parts certain large red parrots called Guacamayas, which cry and make an hideous noise. As soon as they heard the men they began to shriek, and though the Indians guessed what it might be, thinking that the Spaniards were destroyed, they took no notice of it at first, till afterwards being in a great consternation, some of them ran out of their houses with their arms, others without, and not knowing what way to take, fell into the hands of the Spaniards, who ripped open their bellies; whilst others running back into their houses, were set on fire and burnt. The women being scorched by the fire, ran out with the children in their arms, and meeting with their enemies, and seeing the horses, which they had never seen before, for fear of being devoured by them, fled back into their flaming houses. A dreadful slaughter ensued; none was spared; after which they fell to plunder, and the share of Nicuesa and his men amounted to seven thousand castellanos. Seeking about for more booty in several places, they found the body of John de la Cosa, lying under a tree, stuck so full of arrows, that it looked like a hedge-hog; and being greatly swollen and deformed with the poison of those weapons, it struck such a dread upon the Spaniards, that not a man of them would stay there that night.

The commanders now made friends, returning to the fort, Ojeda took leave of Nicuesa, and sailed for the bay of Uraba, which was the end of his voyage; but meeting with contrary winds, he made some stay at a little island, about thirty-five leagues from Carthagena, down the coast, and having taken some men and gold, he entered



entered the bay of Uraba, where he sought for the river of Darien, much talked of among the Indians for gold and warlike people; but not finding it, he planted a colony on a hilly ground, naming it the town of St. Sebastian, taking that saint for his patron against the poisoned arrows, as that martyr had been killed with arrows. This was the second Spanish town built on the continent: the first being that which the admiral began to build at Veragua. As they were seeking a proper place to build the town, a great alligator came out of the river, laid hold of a mare's leg, dragged her into the water, and devoured her. Ojeda perceiving he had but few men to make good the town of St. Sebastian, and that the natives were warlike, sent away a ship to Hispaniola, with the gold he had got, and the Indian captives to be sold; intending, in return, to have men, arms, and ammunition, and building a strong wooden fort to defend himself.

The Indians in this district were canibals, and used poisoned arrows, which they shot with such force, that they sometimes went through the armour and the man, unless the armour was made very thick with cotton; for such they made use of, because the coats of mail and cuirasses, besides being too heavy for that craggy country, were soon spoiled by the extraordinary dampness of the climate: however brave the Indians were, twelve or fifteen Spaniards, with only their swords and targets, would often attack and rout two hundred of them, though they were very good marksmen with their arrows, gave heavy strokes with their wooden swords, and darted their staves very dexterously. In this country they had no particular houses or temples for religious worship; but those who were appointed for it, talked with the devil, having a great veneration for him, he appearing, as they said, in dreadful shapes, which put them into great fear. In natural things they had very little knowledge. The sons begotten on their first wife were heirs to their fathers. It was usual to marry the daughters of their sisters; and the great men had many wives. When a lord died, his friends and servants met in his house at night, and drank liquor made of their wheat in the dark, lamenting over the corpse; then, after many ceremonies and sorceries, they laid the body in a grave, with his weapons and treasure, meat, drink, and his wives alive; the devil gave them to understand, that they were to live in another kingdom he had provided for them, and were to have those provisions to serve them by the way. These Indians said, they came originally from the country beyond the great river Darien. The caziques and lords were much feared and honoured.

These people are in general well shaped, clean, and their wives beautiful and loving. Their houses were like long harbours, with several apartments, and no beds, but hammocks. The soil was fruitful, and abounding in provisions, and roots that were agreeables. There were great herds of small black swine, whose flesh was very savoury, and abundance of large deer, as also of turkies, and other sorts of fowl; and a variety of fish in the rivers. The tygers were also numerous, and used to devour men; but the Spaniards lessened their numbers; the council of Darien, because of the mischief they did among the cattle, allowing four or five pieces of eight for every one that was killed. A Spaniard was wont to go out with a dog, hunting the tyger, till being tired he climbed up a tree; the man shot him with his cross-bow, and left him there wounded, then coming again, destroyed him. There were also very large snakes, and other creatures, on the mountains and in the woods, the names of which were not known: among them were those called Pericos Ligeros, wonderful to behold for their shape and heavy motion. The men carried their pri-



vities in cases of pure gold, or of bones; they had also bracelets, very small beads, and other ornaments of different kinds, with cotton cloth, the remainder of their body quite naked. The women had cloths wrapped about them, reaching from their navels to their feet, and about the upper part of their body another cloth. They valued themselves upon their beauty, and were always combed and well dressed, after their fashion. There were some great merchants among them, who carried abundance of swine, that had their navels upon their backs, with salt and fish, to sell up the country; for which they brought back gold and cloth. Their bows were made of black palm-trees, the wood whereof was extraordinary hard; a fathom in length, some longer: their arrows long and sharp, and so poisoned, that they were certain death, if they drew blood, even no more than the prick of a pin; so that few or none that were wounded ever recovered.

This poison was made with certain stinking grey roots, found along the sea coast, and being burnt in earthen pipkins, they made a paste with a sort of very black pismires, as big as beetles, so poisonous, that if they happened to bite a man, it made him mad. They added to this composition large spiders, and hairy worms, as long as half a man's finger; the bite of which is as bad as that of the pismires above-mentioned; as also the wings of bats, and the head and tail of a sea fish called tavorino, very venomous; besides toads, the tails of snakes, and mançanillas, which are like beautiful apples, but a deadly poison. All these ingredients being set on a great fire, in an open field, remote from their towns, were well boiled in pots, by slaves, till it came to a proper consistence. The person that looked to it died of the steam.—Another sort of poisonous composition they made of fourteen different ingredients, and another of twenty-four: one that killed in three days, another in five, and another later; and it was found by experience, that sometimes the wounded person lived as many days as the poison had been made. They said, that fire, sea-water, and continence, were the antidotes against this venom; others prescribed the dung of the wounded person, taken in pills or otherwise.

When the Spaniards first came to Carthagena, they eat some of the mançanillas, which in smell and taste were not inferior to the apples in Spain, except that they had a sort of milky juice in them, which was the poison. All those that ate of them thought they would have burst, but they were relieved with oil; and they concluded from the violent reachings and pangs that they must infallibly have died, had it not been for the oil. This dreadful poison did much mischief, till a remedy was found against it.

Alonso de Ojeda, who had built a fort to defend himself against the Indians, at the colony of St. Sebastian, in the bay of Uraba, was informed by some prisoners he had taken, that not far from thence there was a king of many subjects, whose name was Tirusi, and much gold. He resolved to go to him, leaving what men he thought fit to defend the fort; and the fame of the Spaniards being spread throughout the country, the people met him, shooting flights of arrows like hail, of which many Spaniards died raving: for which reason he thought fit to secure himself at the fort. Soon after, the stores which John de la Cosa had carried from Spain, and what they got from Hispaniola, grew short, and Ojeda, before they were quite consumed, made inroads into the country, to the Indian towns, seeking provision. One day they came to a pass, where they met with so much opposition from the natives, that they were obliged to retire to their fort, the Indians still pursuing, till they got into it, where  
those



those who defended it, had enough to do to bury the dead, and dress the wounded. When the provisions were quite spent, they durst not go abroad to seek more, for fear of the poisoned arrows; so that they were forced to feed on herbs and roots, without distinguishing between the good and bad, which so distempered their bodies, that many of them died, and others by hunger. In this distress, Almighty God thought fit to relieve them: for one Bernardi de Talavera, an inhabitant of the town of Yaquimo, in Hispaniola, who was much in debt, to escape being thrown into gaol, thought fit to get out of that island; and not knowing where to go, or perhaps had concerted it with Alonso de Ojeda, on account of what he had heard from those aboard the ship that came for provisions, that he was settled in a rich country, he agreed with others that were in debt, and some that had withdrawn themselves for crimes, to steal a ship that lay at the point of cape Tiburon, two leagues from the town of Salvatierra de la Zabana, at the western end of the island; and that ship belonged to certain Genoefes, who were lading cazabi bread and bacon, to carry it to St. Domingo. Seventy of these men assembling themselves, seized the ship, and arrived safe where Alonso de Ojeda was near perishing with hunger.

The joy and satisfaction the people received by the arrival of that ship may easily be conceived. They landed the provisions; for which Ojeda paid the person who was intrusted with it, in gold, and being noted for an ill manager, he divided among them unequally; whereupon those who had received the least share muttered, and designed to go away in that ship to Hispaniola. He, on the other hand, endeavoured to please them with the hopes of the batchelor Enciso's coming, whom he daily expected.

The Indians, in the mean time, always alarmed and troubled them, and being acquainted with Ojeda's activity, who was always the first that sallied out and overtook them, and that no arrow ever touched him, they contrived to lay in ambush for him. Four archers posted themselves behind some bushes, and others shouted another way: Ojeda rushed first out of the fort, and coming near the archers, they shot at him, and one of their arrows went through his thigh. He returned very melancholy, concluding he should die raving, for no man having ever before drawn blood from him, he thought this would carry him off. Upon this apprehension he ordered two iron plates to be heated in the fire, and a surgeon to apply them to his thigh. The surgeon refused, saying, it would kill him. Ojeda swore he would hang him if he objected; he therefore submitted, knowing the poison to be of a cold nature. The surgeon applied the red-hot plates to both sides of his thigh; so that they not only burnt him and overcame the malignity of the poison, but inflamed his whole body in such a manner, that a cask of vinegar was spent in wetting sheets to wrap him in, and by that means the excessive heat was tempered. Ojeda endured this voluntarily, with wonderful patience and resolution, a great instance of his extraordinary courage and bravery.

When the provisions that came with Bernardin de Talavera were expended, they began to want again; and the batchelor Enciso not appearing, all cried out against Ojeda, requiring him to carry them from thence, since they were perishing, and they contrived to steal the brigantines to go away. Ojeda considering the uneasiness and wretched condition of his men, resolved to go to Hispaniola himself, in the ship that conveyed Bernardi de Talavera, to get provisions, allowing, in case he did not return in fifty days, that they might depart from thence, and go where they thought proper. This satisfied them all; and he leaving Francis Pizarro for his lieutenant,



till such time as Enciso should come, whom he appointed his chief alcalde, he embarked with most of those that came over in the ship, who seeing what a wretched place that was, would not stay with Ojeda's men, choosing rather to suffer any thing in Hispaniola, than to be exposed to what they saw there.

Ojeda and his men not being able to make Hispaniola, fell in upon the province of Xagua, in the island of Cuba, where landing, and quitting the ship, they travelled along the island to the eastward, to be the nearer to Hispaniola. Talavera and Ojeda had quarrelled aboard the ship about the command, and all siding with Talavera, they had seized Ojeda, and carried him as a prisoner.

At the same time that De la Cosa applied for the government of Uraba, James de Nicuesa, who was then in favour of the court, made interest for that of Veragua, containing the other half of the bay, to Cape Gracias a Dios, which the king ordered should be called Castillo del Oro. Nicuesa being rich, fitted out four large ships and two brigantines, and sailed likewise for St. Domingo soon after De la Cosa. He stopped at Santa Cruz in his way, which is fifteen leagues from St. John de Puerto Rico, where he seized all the Indians, whom he sent for slaves; alledging, he had the king's order, as they were cannibals. At St. Domingo he was so successful in raising men, that he was obliged to buy another ship. He sailed with seven ships and seven hundred men, well equipped, appointing Lope de Olano his commander in chief. Going on board a caravel, he ordered two brigantines to keep with him, Lope de Olano's lieutenant being in one of them, and that the ships should keep farther out at sea, for fear of the shoals, whilst he held his course near the land, in quest of Veragua. Arriving one night near that place, he stood out to sea again, to avoid the dangers ships are exposed to in the dark, supposing that Lope de Olano would have followed him with the two brigantines, as he ought to have done; but he lay by that night near a little island, which he alledged he had done for fear of the foul weather, though some, and Nicuesa himself suspected, he had done it with a design to take to himself the command of the ships, and the government; he having been one of Roldan's followers in the rebellion at Hispaniola, was a sufficient cause to suspect him. The caravel of Nicuesa not appearing in the morning, he made to the ships, which he found in the river De los Lagartos, or of Alligators, now called Chagre; those ships having landed there all their provisions, and whatsoever else they had aboard, by reason they were so much worm-eaten, that they could not keep above water. There Lope de Olano said, that James de Nicuesa was cast away, and he had escaped himself very wonderfully. Being Nicuesa's lieutenant, they all obeyed him; whereupon he resolved to pass thence to the river of Belen or Bethlehem, which is four leagues from Veragua, and accordingly left the ships at a point of land, and sought out for a place to fix a colony. The leaving of the ships in that place, was looked upon as an artifice, to the end that the Spaniards, who began already to want provisions, and grow uneasy, might lay aside all thoughts of departing thence, and that the ships might be lost, as they could not enter the river for want of water.

Lope de Olano having disposed of the ships, went into a boat well manned, and at the mouth of the river the sea running very high, the boat sunk, and fourteen men were drowned, he and some others that could swim very narrowly escaped, and continuing ashore four days without eating, because they could get provisions from the ships, by reason of the stormy weather. At length he got out of the river of Belen,



Belen, and went up the river of Veragua in the brigantines, with as many men as they could carry. There he ordered search to be made for gold, and though the men found enough, they denied it, saying, there was neither gold, nor any thing to eat, but it was a wretched country. This they did by reason they were all very uneasy, and to the end that Lope de Olano might entertain no thoughts of staying there, but return to Hispaniola, to be out of a place where they all expected to perish with hunger and misery. Some men were left at the river of Belen, who, being fed by measure, having no shelter but some wretched barracks, which could not secure them against the heavy rains, and the dampness of the sea, pestered with the innumerable mosquitos, or gnats, and despairing of relief, were in the utmost affliction, especially as several died; in which distress they observed, that all died at the time of the ebb, and being buried in the sand, they found by experience that in eight days the bodies were consumed as if they had been fifty years under ground, which they looked upon as an ill sign, thinking that the very sand helped to consume them. To add to their calamity, there happened so great a storm one night, that it washed away the sand on which their barracks were built; so that they were obliged to make others farther up, to their very great fatigue and trouble. Lope de Olano returned to the river of Belen, where he ordered a caravel to be built out of the planks and timbers of the shattered ships, under pretence of going over to Hispaniola; but it was only to make use of it in that country, where he designed to stay. When the caravel was begun, and the work somewhat advanced, their provisions were at an end, and they were reduced to such extreme hunger, that as soon as a mare had foaled, they ran like so many hungry wolves, and devoured it, and the after-birth.

Whilst Lope de Olano and his men laboured under this distress, James de Nicuesa was not exempt from storms and troubles. He, when day appeared, after the aforementioned storms, missing the brigantines with which Olano was, to his great sorrow, concluded they were cast away; on which he made up to the coast with his caravel, and spying a river, sailed up, finding water sufficient, for it was swollen with the great rains that came down from the mountains; but in a few hours it sunk so low, without being perceived, that the caravel touched the sand, and having nothing to support it, lay on her side. A sailor perceiving that the caravel opened, leaped into the water with a rope to make it fast to some tree on shore; but the current ran so strong, that not being able to stem it, he was carried out to sea, where none could assist him. Another, not regarding the fate of the former, leaped over immediately, and getting the better of the stream, landed, and fastened the rope to a tree, by the help of which Nicuesa and the rest got on shore; all they had was lost with the caravel; so that they remained in a desperate condition, without victuals or cloaths; whereupon Nicuesa resolved to travel to the westward, in quest of that unhappy Veragua which had been so fatal to him.

He ordered four men to go by sea in the boat of the caravel, though it was very dangerous, to turn up the rivers and creeks, and carry him and his company over where they could not wade. Thus feeding on herbs and shell-fish they found on the shore, many of them barefooted and almost naked: they passed many quagmires, brooks, and rivers, without any track or road, and what grieved them most was, that they knew not where Veragua lay, or whether they went right or wrong. One morning as they were pursuing their journey, a servant of Nicuesa wearing a white hat, some Indians who observed him at a distance, supposing him to be the commander, cast a dart at him out of a wood, which killed him on the spot. This disaster troubled them



them very much, and Nicuessá more particularly. Being come to a point, made by a large bay, they resolved to pass over by degrees in the boat to the opposite shore, and as soon as they arrived there, found it to be the point of a desert island, which had not even a spring of fresh water on it; so that finding themselves shut up in it, they utterly despaired. Four sailors perceiving it to be an island, and that those who remained there must perish, thought fit one night, without acquainting Nicuessá, to turn back, believing the ships were more to the westward. When the men that were left found that the boat was gone, it is easy to imagine what a deplorable situation they were in. They fed on herbs, without knowing whether they were wholesome or not, and all sorts of shell-fish they could find; but their greatest misfortune was the want of water, having only a muddy puddle, and that was brackish. They tried several times to make a float of sticks, or boughs of trees, to get over from the island to the continent, but to no purpose; for those that could swim wanting strength, and having no oars for the float, the current carried it out to sea, and they returned to the island.

There they continued a long time, some say three months, many dying daily through hunger and thirst, eating unwholesome herbs, and drinking brackish water; those that remained alive, crawling about on all fours, not having strength to walk. The boat, after escaping many dangers, arrived where Lope de Olano was with the rest of his men, and acquainting him, that James de Nicuessá, turning back to seek him, had been wrecked, what hardships he endured, and the condition they left him in, and that they had come away without his knowledge to seek out the ships, in order to relieve him, being convinced that if they had told him of it he would not have permitted them so to do, and they must all have perished. This was no agreeable news to Lope de Olano, being afraid of Nicuessá, knowing that he had been the occasion of that disaster; however, to do his duty, he sent one of the brigantines, and in it the four sailors that came in the boat, with some palmitos, and part of the poor provision he had.

When those who remained alive in the island were reduced to the last extremity, the brigantine hove in sight, and they heartily prayed it might arrive in safety. When it came near, their joy was inexpressible. Nicuessá took care that moderation should be used in eating the palmitos and drinking the fresh water, lest it should prove fatal, though he was himself in as great want as the rest. They all went aboard the brigantine, which, after many difficulties, arrived where Lope de Olano was, who, fearing Nicuessá's indignation, had desired all the men to intercede for him; but Nicuessá immediately caused him to be secured as a traitor, for having exposed him to so many dangers, with a design to usurp his government, and had been the cause of so many men perishing. He also severely reprimanded the other officers, for not having compelled Olano to go in quest of him; but they excused themselves, alledging, that they could not refuse to obey him, being appointed by himself his captain-general; however, fearing he would put him to death, they all unanimously begged he would forgive him, and at length, with much difficulty prevailed.

The people being still in distress, Nicuessá growing daily worse conditioned, and treating those few that remained very harshly, he dispatched both sick and sound, through bogs, and over mountains, to rob the Indian towns, and bring provisions on their backs; in which expeditions they did much mischief: and it was thought he did this to be revenged on those men that had forsaken him. There was nothing at length to



to be found in all the country round, and the Indians being provoked, seized all opportunities to destroy them. Some dying daily for hunger, they were reduced to such distress, that thirty Spaniards who went out to plunder, finding a dead Indian, then almost stinking, ate him, and were so infected by it, that they all died. These disasters made Nicuesa resolve to leave that place; and accordingly ordered every man to get ready what he had, for he would go to the eastward. They begged him to stay till some Indian wheat they had sowed, and other things, were ripe, which would be very soon; but he would not. He put those he thought fit aboard the caravel Olano had built, and the brigantines, under the command of Alonso Munez, whom he had appointed his chief alcalde.

Being embarked, Nicuesa ordered his men to look out along the coast for some good port, and country that promised well. When they had sailed four leagues, a sailor said, he remembered a port near that place, which he had seen when the first admiral discovered those parts; and the token he gave was, that they would there find an anchor half-buried in the sand, which the admiral lost, and not far from it a spring of very good water under a tree. They proceeded to the place, and found both the anchor and the spring; and this was the port which admiral Columbus had named Porto Bello. The sailor was commended for his good memory and ingenuity: his name was Gregory Genoise. Some men went on shore to seek provisions, being all so famished that their legs would scarce carry them, and there and in other places where they landed, the Indians opposed them, and killed twenty Spaniards, being so weak that they could not manage their arms. They sailed six or seven leagues beyond Porto Bello, to another port, the inhabitants whereof were called Chuchareyes, and thinking that a proper place to build a fort, he resolved to make a settlement, saying, "Let us stay here in Nombre de Dios," that is, in the name of God; and it is to this day called the port and city of Nombre de Dios, having been since very famous, not so much for his name, as for the immense quantity of gold and silver that has been there shipped off for Spain; and this is the same that the first admiral called Puerto de Bastimentos, or the Port of Provisions.

Nicuesa being resolved to settle a colony at Nombre de Dios, performed the ceremony of the possession, and began to build a little fort, to curb the first sallies of the Indians, obliging all to work, great and small, sick, healthy, or hungry, as they then were. He made them go to Porto Bello, and bring provisions on their backs, which provoked them to curse him, thinking him barbarous, as he shewed them no compassion. They asked him for something to eat, or to excuse them from working, because their strength failed them through hunger, and he bid them go to the slaughter-house. Indeed he used them so very cruelly, that they died as they were at work, and so by degrees the seven hundred and eighty men he brought from Hispaniola were reduced to an hundred.

The men he left at Belen not being fetched away in five months, by reason of the contrary winds, were brought to such distress that they eat frogs, toads, alligators, and all other living creatures, though ever so loathsome. One of them hit upon an excellent invention, which was to grate or rasp the palmitos, which being reduced to flour like the yuca, they made cakes, and baked it as cazabi bread was made in Hispaniola. This contrivance saved many from perishing. Nicuesa at length sent the caravel for them, and when they were come, he sent Gonzalo de Badajoz with twenty men to the Indian towns, to take as many as he could to be carried to Hispaniola. A kinsman of his



his went in the caravel to fetch away a thousand fitches of bacon he had ordered to be dressed for him at Yaquimo, together with some other provisions, but he never received them, as the new admiral would not permit them to be carried away. Gonzalo de Badajoz went again with fifty men about the country to seek provisions, and much mischief was done, both Spaniards and Indians being killed. When the produce of the earth was eaten, the Indians retired, and standing upon their defence, neither sowed or reaped, so that both parties wanted; the Indians being satisfied with little, found enough to content them; but Nicuesa, and those few that remained with him, not being able to live as they did, were reduced to such distress by sickness and famine, that not one of them was able to watch, or stand centinel at night, and thus they wasted away.

When king Ferdinand returned into Spain this year, he settled and enlarged the Indian house at Seville, granting many privileges and immunities. His next care was to encourage discoveries, and it was agreed that discoveries should be prosecuted to the southward, along the coast of Brasil; and also that settlements should be made at Paria. For the former purpose two caravels were fitted out to go under the command of Vincent Yanez and John Dias, who had instructions given them; according to which the latter was to command at sea, and the former on land. They were not to settle any colonies, but to discover the coast; and if they traded, it was to be in the presence of the notary and steward.

They sailed from Seville in two caravels, and from the islands of Cape Verde passed over directly to Cape St. Augustine, and proceeding thence to the southward, coasting along the continent, came into about forty degrees of south latitude, erecting crosses wherever they landed, and took possession in the most solemn manner. Then thinking they had done enough, they returned to Spain, having been at variance during the voyage. On their return, this affair was examined into at Seville, and the officers of the India-house found John Dias de Solis to be in the wrong; they secured and sent him prisoner to the royal prison of the court; but Vincent Yanez Pinzon was rewarded by the king.

### CHAPTER III.

*Vasco Nunez de Balboa hears of the South Seas. James Velasquez sails to settle Cuba. John Ponce de Leon discovers Florida. John Dias de Solis discovers the river Plata.*

A. D. 1511. **A**BOUT this time a circumstance happened which opened a new field for the Spaniards. Vasco Nunez de Balboa, a sensible, bold, and vigilant man, being at Darien, with his men, paid a visit to Comagre, lord of a province which bore the same name. Here these people were joyfully received, and entertained like brothers. Comagre's eldest son being desirous to oblige his guests, caused several pieces of gold, valuable both for their workmanship and fineness, weighing about four thousand pieces of eight, and seventy slaves, to be brought, all which he gave to Vasco Nunez and Roderick Euriquez de Colmenares, knowing them to be the prime persons. They



They immediately set apart the fifth of the gold for the king, and distributed the rest among themselves. When they were dividing it, some quarrelled about the best and finest of those pieces. Comagre's eldest son, who was present, observing it, ran to the scales, and threw all the gold upon the ground, saying, they need not fall out about such a trifle; but if they were so fond of it as to disturb peaceable nations, and leave their own native country for the sake of it, he would show them a province where they might have as much as their hearts could desire. And having understood that there was great plenty of iron in Spain, of which the swords were made, he said there was more gold in those parts than iron in Spain.

This was the first intimation given of that large country. The youth being acquainted with the great extent and power of that kingdom, said there ought to be at least a thousand Spaniards to invade it, and offered to go with them himself, and assist them with his father's men.

Vasco Nunez and his followers having heard these tidings, were so overjoyed, that they thought they could never make haste enough to discover those countries. They rested there some days, getting all the confirmation they could of the sea being beyond the mountains they then saw, and the immense wealth the youth had mentioned; and being wholly intent upon it, they made haste back to Darien, to send advice to admiral James Columbus, and to the king, of the wonderful discovery they had made, desiring one thousand men might be sent for that enterprize.

Before their departure, Comagre and his sons, with other people, were baptized, the cazique taking the name of Don Carlos, the then prince of Spain.

The same year the admiral James Columbus resolved to make a settlement in Cuba, as he now knew it to be an island, very populous, the soil good, and abounding in provisions. James de Velasquez was appointed to command this expedition, and sailed with four ships, having on board three hundred men.

John Ponce de Leon being out of employment, resolved to do something that might gain him honour and increase his fortune; and being informed that there were lands to the northward, thought fit to prosecute discoveries that way. For this purpose he fitted

out three ships, well stored with provisions and men, and sailed from the  
A. D. 1512. port of St. German, on Thursday the 3d of March, making for Aguada, to steer his course from thence. The next night he stood away north-

west and by north, running eight leagues before sun-rising. Proceeding till the 8th of the same month, they came to an anchor at the shoals of Babucca, near an island called Del Viejo, or the Old Man's, lying in latitude twenty-two degrees and half. The next day they anchored again at one of the Lucayo islands, called Caycos, and then at another called Yaguna, in twenty-four degrees latitude. The eleventh of the same month, they arrived at the island Amaguayo, where they lay by, and then passed by the island Manegua, in twenty-four degrees and an half. The fourteenth they come up with Guanahani, in twenty-five degrees four minutes, where they fitted up a ship to cross the bay to the windward of the Lucayos. This island Guanahani was the first the admiral Christopher Columbus discovered, when he sailed on his first voyage, and called it San Salvador, or St. Saviour. From hence they steered north-west, and on Sunday the twenty-seventh, being Easter-day, in Spanish called Pasqua de Flores, they saw an island, and passed it. Monday the twenty-eighth, they held



on fifteen leagues the same course, as they did on Wednesday, when the weather proving foul, they stood till the second of April west north-west, the water growing shoal till they came to nine fathoms, a league from the land, which was in thirty degrees eight minutes. They ran along the coast seeking some harbour, and at night anchored near the shore in eight fathoms water. Believing that land to be an island, they named it Florida, because it appeared very delightful, having many pleasant groves, and was all level; as also because they discovered it at Easter, which as has been said, the Spaniards call Pasqua de Flores, or Florida. John Ponce went ashore to discover and take possession. Friday the eighth they sailed again the same way, and on Saturday south and by east, till the twentieth of April, when they perceived some Indian bohios, or cottages, where they anchored.

The next day the three ships keeping along the shore, they met with a current so strong that it drove them back, though they had the wind large. Two ships that were nearest the land dropped their anchors, but the force of the current was so great that it strained the cables. The third, which was a brigantine, and farther out at sea, either found no bottom, or was not sensible of the current, which carried her so far from the shore, that they lost sight of her, though the day was bright, and the weather fair.

John Ponce being called to by the Indians, went ashore, and they immediately endeavoured to possess themselves of the boat, the oars, and the arms, which was submitted to, rather than provoke them; till one of them stunning a sailor with a stroke of a cudgel which he gave him on the head, the Spaniards were obliged to fight, and had two of their men wounded with darts, and arrows, pointed with sharp bones. The Indians received little damage. Night parting them, John Ponce, with some difficulty, got his men together, and sailed from thence to a river, where they wooded and watered, and waited for the brigantine. Sixty Indians came to oppose them, one of whom was taken to gain some information, and to learn Spanish. This river they called De la Cruz, or of the cross, leaving one of stone there with an inscription. Sunday the eighth of May they doubled Cape Florida, giving it the name of Cabo de la Corrientes, or Cape Currents, because they are stronger there than the wind, and came to an anchor near a town called Abaioa. All this coast, from Cape Arracifes to Cape Corrientes lies north and south one point to the eastward, is clean, and has six fathoms water, the cape lying in eighteen degrees fifteen minutes. They sailed on till they met with two islands to the southward in twenty-seven degrees; one of which, being a league in compass, they named Santa Marta, and watered there. Friday the thirteenth of May, they sailed along a shoal, and a ridge of islands, as far as one they called Pola, lying in twenty-six degrees and an half. Between the shoal, the row of islands, and the continent is a spacious sea, like a bay. On Whitsunday, the fifteenth of May, they proceeded ten leagues along the ridge of small islands as far as two white ones, and called them altogether Los Martires, or the Martyrs, because the high rocks, at a distance, look like men that are suffering, and the name has fitted them well on account of the many that have since been cast away there. They lye in twenty-six degrees fifteen minutes.

They stood on, sometimes north, and sometimes north-east, till the 23d of May, and on the 24th ran along the coast to the southward, as far as some small islands that lay out at sea, and yet they did not perceive it was the continent. A road appearing to be between them and the coast, for the ships to take wood and water, they continued there



there till the 3d of June, and careened one of the ships, called the St. Christopher. Here the Indians came out in canoes to view the Spaniards, being the first time they did so, for the Spaniards, though called by them, would not go ashore. When they were about to weigh an anchor, only to remove it, those people, thinking they were going away, came out in their canoes, and laid hold of the cable to draw the ship away; on which the long boat was sent after them, and the men going ashore took four women and broke two old canoes. At other times, when they came, there was no falling out, but, on the contrary, they bartered some skins and gold.

Friday the 4th of June, whilst they were waiting for a wind to go in quest of the cazique Don Carlos, who the Indians that were on board said had gold, a canoe came to the ships with an Indian that understood the Spaniards, supposed to be a native of Hispaniola, or some of the islands inhabited by Christians. He bid them stay, for the cazique would send gold to barter. They waited accordingly, and saw twenty canoes, part of them made fast, two and two together: some of them went to the anchors, others to the ships, and begun to fight. Those at the anchors not being able to weigh them, attempted to cut the cables. A long-boat was sent out, which put them to flight, killing some Indians and taking four. John Ponce sent two of them to tell the cazique, that though he had killed a Spaniard, he would make peace with him. The next day the boat went to sound the harbour, and the men landed. Some Indians came and told them, that the cazique would come the next day to trade; but it was an imposition, to gain time to draw men and canoes together, as it appeared, for at eleven o'clock, eighty canoes, well equipped, attacked the nearest ship, and fought from morning till night, without doing the Spaniards any harm, the arrows falling short, because they durst not come near, for fear of the cross bows and great guns. At length they drew off, and the Spaniards having stayed there nine days, resolved on Monday the fourteenth to return to Hispaniola and Porto Rico; they discovered some islands in the way, of which the Indians they had with them gave an account. They sailed among islands till Tuesday the twenty-first, when they arrived at the small islands they called Las Tortugas, or the Tortoises, because they took one hundred and seventy tortoises in a short time one night, in one of those islands, and might have taken more if they would. They also took fourteen dog-fish, and killed many sea gulls, and as many other birds as made up five thousand. Friday the twenty-fourth, they steered south-west and by west. On Sunday they saw land, sailed along it all Monday, and on Wednesday came to an anchor, to trim their yards and sails, but could not tell what country it was. Most of them took it for Cuba, because they found canoes, dogs, and saw cuts of knives, and other iron tools; yet none of them knew it to be that island. The twenty-fifth of July they were among a parcel of low islands, without knowing any thing of that place, till John Ponce sent to view an island, which appeared to be Bahama; and so an old Indian woman they had found alone in another island told them, as did James Mieruelo, a pilot, who happened to be there with a boat from Hispaniola. Having ranged backward and forward till the twenty-third of September, and refitted the ships, John Ponce resolved to send one of them to take a view of the island Bimini, where the Indians said there was much wealth, and a spring that made old people young. John Perez de Ortubia was appointed captain of that ship, and Antony de Alaminos pilot. They took two Indians to shew them the shoals, there being  
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so many, that it is a difficult matter to pass between them. Twenty days after John Ponce de Leon returned to Porto Rico, as did some time after him the ship he had sent, which found the island of Bimini, but not the wonderful spring; the island was large, pleasant, and abounding in waters, and delightful groves.

It is certain that John Ponce de Leon, besides the main design of making new discoveries, as all the Spaniards then aspired to do, was intent upon finding out the spring of Bimini, and a river in Florida, the Indians of Cuba and Hispaniola affirming that old people bathing themselves in it, became young again; and it was certain that many Indians of Cuba, firmly believing that there was a river, had, not long before the Spaniards discovered that island, passed over into Florida in quest of that river, and there built a town, where the race of them continued to this day. This report prevailed with all the princes and caziques in those parts, to endeavour to find out a river that wrought such a wonderful change as making old people young; so that there was not a river, or brook, scarce a lake or puddle, in all Florida, but what they bathed themselves in; and there are some that still persist in it, ignorantly believing that it is the river now called Jordan, at the cape of Santa Elena, never reflecting, that the Spaniards first gave it that name in the year 1520, when the country of Chicora was discovered.

Though this voyage made by John Ponce turned to little or no account to him, yet it gave him encouragement to go to court to sue for some reward for the countries he had discovered, believing them to be all islands, and no continent, which notion continued some years. However that voyage was beneficial on account of the way soon after found out to return to Spain, through the channel of Bahama, which was first performed by the pilot Antony de Alaminos.

For the better understanding of John Ponce's voyage, it is observed, that there are three different clusters of Lucayo Islands. The first the Bahama Islands, which gave name to the channel, where the currents are most impetuous. The second they called De los Organos, and the third the Martyrs, which are next to the Cayos of the Tortoises to the westward, which last being all sand, cannot be seen at a distance, and therefore many ships have perished on them, and all along that coast of the Channel of Bahama, and the Islands of Tortugas. Havannah, in the island of Cuba, is to the southward, and Florida to the northward, and between them are the aforesaid islands of Organos, Bahama, Martyrs, and Tortugas, there being a channel, with a violent current, twenty leagues over in the narrowest place between the Havannah and Los Martyrs, and fourteen leagues from Los Martyrs to Florida, between islands to the eastward; and the widest part of this passage to the westward is forty leagues, with many shoals and deep channels; but there is no passage for ships or brigantines, only for canoes. The passage from the Havannah to Spain is along the Channel of Bahama, between the Havannah, the Martyrs, the Lucayos, and Cape Canaveral.

A. D. 1513. This year Vasco Nunez de Balboa marched over the isthmus of Darien, and discovered the South Sea.

A. D. 1515. This year John Dias de Solis, reputed the ablest navigator in the world, was appointed by the king to command two ships, fitted out to discover a passage to the Spice islands. He sailed from Lepe on the 8th of October, and proceeded to Teneriffe, one of the Canary Islands, and from thence



thence steered his course for Cape Frio, lying in twenty-two degrees and half north latitude; saw the coast of St. Roque, in six degrees north latitude, then steering south and by west; and the pilots said they were ninety leagues to the windward of Cape St. Augustine, but the currents running west, were so strong, that they drove them two degrees to the leeward of the cape, which lies in eight degrees and a quarter of south latitude, according to the reckoning kept this voyage. From Cape Frio to Cape St. Augustine, they reckoned thirteen degrees and three quarters, though Cape Frio was so low that they saw it not, and only made their computation by the latitude. They arrived at Rio de Janeiro on the coast of Brasil, and found it lay in twenty-three degrees, thirty minutes south latitude. From this river to Cape Navidad, the coast bears north-east and south-west, being all low land, jutting out into the sea. Next they came to the river De los Inocentes, in twenty-three degrees, fifteen minutes, and then to Cape Cananea, in twenty-five degrees bare, whence they stood for the island called De la Plata, or of Plate, steering south-west, and came to an anchor in twenty-seven degrees south latitude, which John Dias de Solis called *Bahia de los Perdidos*. Having passed Cape Corrientes, they anchored again in twenty-nine degrees, and passed by in sight of the island of St. Sebastian of Cadiz, where are three other islands, which they called De los Lobos, and within them the port of Nuestra Senora de la Candelaria, in thirty-five degrees latitude, where they took possession for the crown of Spain; but they anchored at port De los Patos, in twenty-four degrees, twenty minutes. Next they entered a water, which by reason of its being so spacious, and not salt, they called Mar Dulce, or the Fresh Sea, and afterwards was found to be the river now called De la Plata, or of Plate, but was then named the river of Solis. That commander proceeded farther on in one of his vessels, being a caravel, carrying shoul-der of mutton sails, observing the entrance along the one side of the river, and came to an anchor in the most rapid part of it, near a middling sized island, in twenty-four degrees forty minutes latitude. All the way they coasted till they came to the afore-said latitude, they often descried mountains, and other high cliffs, seeing people on the shore; and on this side the river Plate they discovered many Indian houses, and people that very attentively observed the ship passing by, offering what they had by signs, and laying it on the ground. John Dias de Solis, was willing to see what sort of people they were, and take one of them with him into Spain. Accordingly he went ashore with as many as the long-boat could carry. The Indians, who had lain an ambush of many archers, when they had drawn the Spaniards at some distance from the sea, fell upon and inclosing them, slew every man, not regarding the great guns of the caravel. Then taking up the slain, and carrying them from the shore, so far that those on board might still see what was done, they cut off their heads, arms, and legs, and roasting the bodies whole, devoured them. Having seen this horrid spectacle, the caravel returned to the other ship, and sailed both together to Cape St. Augustine, where they loaded Brasil wood, and made the best of their way back into Spain. This was the unhappy end of John Dias de Solis, a more able pilot than commander\*.

\* Herrera.



## CHAPTER IV.

*Ships built to navigate on the South Seas. Discoveries there. Voyage of Cordova. Voyage of Grijalva.*

VASCO Nunez was sent by Peter Arias, governor of Darien, to the port of Acla, to endeavour to build ships on the south sea. He determined to do this at the river De las Balsas. All the timber for four brigantines was hewed out, carried to that river, and fitted up there. Vasco Nunez sent Companon to the top of the mountains, from whence the waters run down to the South Sea, there to build a house, to rest the men that were to carry the timber, the anchors, and the rigging, on their backs, and to keep provisions and necessaries for their defence.

When the house was built on the top of the mountain, he undertook the conveying of the timber to it, being about twelve leagues, along hills and rivers, the Indian slaves and thirty blacks carrying those burdens, and every Spaniard what he could. It is not to be imagined what immense toil there was in transporting those things, and yet no Spaniard nor black died, but of the Indians many perished; nor was it thought that any man at that time in the Indies durst have attempted such an action, or would have succeeded in it, besides Vasco Nunez.

The timber being thus carried over to the river De las Balsas, was only sufficient to build two brigantines; and there being need of two more, Vasco Nunez divided all his men, Spaniards, Indians, and blacks, into three parties. The first to hew down and work the timber; the second, to bring over from Acla the iron work, rigging, and other necessaries, the distance between the two seas being about twenty-two leagues; and the third; to go marauding, that is, to get provisions for them all. A misfortune happened, which discouraged them very much, viz. that the timber being cut near the salt water, was presently worm-eaten; so that all their labour was lost. However, Vasco Nunez was not dismayed; for he presently applied a remedy, which was, hewing fresh timber on the river; but when it was ready to put upon the stocks, there fell such mighty floods as carried away part of it, and part was buried in mud, the water rising two fathoms above it, the men having no other way to save themselves but by climbing up the trees. This made Vasco Nunez despond, meeting with so many difficulties in his undertaking; which made him think of returning to Acla, hunger at the the same time pressing him to it: he fed upon roots; from whence it may be concluded how his men lived. In short, he was forced to return to Acla to get some provisions, and more Spaniards, if any should happen to come from Darien, or the islands; and to that purpose he sent Hurtado to Darien, to fetch anchors and rigging, and forward all things.

Francis Companon returned with provisions loaded upon many Indians; as did Hurtado to Acla, with sixty Spaniards he had from Peter Arias, and other things that were wanting. Vasco Nunez being encouraged by this supply, went back to the river De las Balsas, with all necessaries to carry on the work of his ships, two whereof he finished with immense labour, and much suffering through hunger. They being launched, he embarked with as many Spaniards as they could carry, and sailed to the greatest of the Pearl islands; where, whilst the brigantines carried over the rest of his men, he endeavoured to bring together all the provisions that could be found

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in the island, as well as to reduce the inhabitants by want; so as to have enough for himself whilst he staid there. Here he is said to have received a letter from don James de Deza, archbishop of Seville, who had contributed, in some measure, towards the discovery of the Indies, being then preceptor to prince John; wherein he told him, he had heard of his discovering the south seas, and that he might be assured, if he followed the land to the westward, he would meet with Indians that used spears, and wore armour on their bodies; and if he went to the eastward, he would find much wealth and cattle. After what has been said, Vasco Nunez sailed towards the continent eastward, with above one hundred men: because the Indians he had prisoners told him, there was much gold that way, which was the third indication of the prodigious wealth of Peru. Coming near a harbour which was called Port, or Point Pinas, twenty-five leagues, or more, beyond the cape, or point of St. Michael, they saw abundance of whales, which looked like rocks, stretching out very far in the sea. The sailors were afraid to come near, because night was drawing on, and arrived at another point, designing to hold on their voyage the next day; but the wind proving contrary, he thought fit to go by land in the country of the cazique Chicama, to revenge the death of the Spaniards that went with Gasper de Morales. The natives advanced to oppose them; but the Spanish swords soon made them fly, and left them masters of the country. Nunez returned to the island, and ordered timber to be hewed to build two other vessels.

A. D. 1514. Galvam says, this year Pedro Arias was sent governor of Castilia del Oro, or Golden Castile, for so they named the countries of Darien, Carthagena, Uraba, and the country newly conquered; and that in the beginning of the year 1515, the governor Pedro Arias de Anila sent one Gasper Morales, with one hundred and fifty men into the gulph of St. Michael, to discern the islands of Terrarqui, Chiape, and Tumaccus. There was one Covigue, Balboa's friend, who gave him many canoes, or boats, made of one tree, wherein they passed unto the island of Pearls, the lord of which opposed them at the landing: but he was pacified, and gave them a great quantity of pearls.

There being great scarcity of provisions at Darien to maintain the  
A. D. 1517. Spaniards this year, the governor, Peter Arias, gave leave to such as would to go away to other parts: and as it was then reported that the Spaniards in Cuba were rich, and at their ease, through the good management of James Velasquez, the governor, and about one hundred men, went over to that island, most of them well-born, who were favourably received by the governor. Some months after, Velasquez proposed to them to go out upon new discoveries, towards the coasts of Yucatan, or Florida.

The governor's design being made known, Francis Hernandez de Cordova, a rich and brave man, offered to go as captain of those men; which being granted, he fitted out two ships and a brigantine, with all necessary stores. He lifted one hundred and ten soldiers, and sailed from St. Domingo of Cuba to the Havannah, where they took up Alonso Gonzalez, a priest, to say mass and administer the sacraments to them.

They left the Havannah on the 8th of February, and on the 12th they doubled Cape St. Antony, holding on their course to the westward, because the pilot Antony de Alaminos said, the first admiral had always inclined that way when he sailed with him,



when a boy. They had a storm that held them two days, in which they expected to have perished; and after twenty-one days being at sea, lying-to at nights, not being acquainted with those seas, they saw land, and from their ships could descry a large town, which was about two leagues from the coast. As they drew near, two canoes full of men appeared, rowing along. They hailed them, the canoes drew near, and thirty Indians went aboard the commodore, having jackets without sleeves, and pieces of cloth wrapped about them instead of breeches. The Spaniards gave them victuals, some Spanish wine, and strings of beads. They made signs, for there was no interpreter, that they would be gone, and return the next day, with some canoes to carry them ashore; very much admiring the ships, the men, their beards, the cloaths, arms, and other things they had never seen before. The next day they returned with twelve canoes and an Indian, who was the cazique, and cried out, *conez cotoche*, that is, come to my house; and for this reason, that place was called Cape Cotoche. The Spaniards having consulted together, hoisted out their boats, and in them and the canoes went ashore, with their arms, where an infinite number of people waited to see them. The cazique still pressed them to go to his house, and they observing so many tokens of friendship, concluded to do that upon courtesy, which perhaps they might be obliged to perform by force; and were to take a view of the country. When they came to a wood, the cazique called out to a great number of armed men, that lay in ambush, and immediately there appeared a multitude in armour made of quilted cotton, with targets, wooden swords edged with flints, large cutlasses, spears, and slings, adorned with plumes of feathers, and their faces painted of several colours. They gave a hideous shout, making no less noise with warlike musical instruments, pouring in at the same time such a shower of stones and arrows, that they wounded fifteen Spaniards; after which they came to close quarters, and fought with much resolution. The Spaniards had only twenty-five cross-bows and muskets, which were well plied; but when the Indians felt the sharpness of the Spanish swords, they fled, many of them being wounded, and seventeen killed.

At the place where this rencounter happened, there were three houses built with lime and stones, being places of worship, in which were many earthen idols, with faces like devils, or other hideous creatures, and some of women, as also of men lying one upon another, representing the sin of Sodom. Whilst the men were engaged, the priest Alonso Gonzales, conveyed away from those temples some small boxes, in which there were earthen and wooden idols, with little plates, ornaments, and diadems of gold. There were taken in this action two youths, who became Christians, and were called Julian and Melchior. The Spaniards returned to their ships, well pleased with having found a rational sort of people, and other things different from what there were at Darien, and in the islands, and more especially houses of stone and lime, which had not till then been seen in the Indies.

They held on their course down the coast, always lying-to at night; and having advanced fifteen days after this manner, they espied a large town, and a bay near it, which they believed to be a river, where they might water, for they were in want. They landed on the Sunday before Palm-Sunday, in Spanish called the Sunday of Lazarus, and therefore they gave it that name; but the Indians called it Quimpech. Being come to a well of good water, of which the natives used to drink, when they had taken what they wanted, and were ready to return to their ships, fifty Indians, clad in jackets, with large cotton cloths instead of cloaks, came, and by signs asked them,



them what they wanted, and whether they came from those parts where the sun rises, inviting them to go to their town. When they had seriously considered on it, and put themselves into a good posture of defence, for fear of being served as they had been at Cotoche, they went to certain places of worship, built with lime and stone, where there were idols of sundry ugly shapes, as they had seen in the former, with fresh signs of blood, as also crosses painted, at which they were much amazed. Abundance of people, men, women and children came flocking, looked upon them with astonishment, and some of them smiled: soon after which two parties of armed men appeared in good order, like those of Cotoche. From one of the temples issued ten men in very long white mantles, their hair long, black, and rolled up, that it might not fly about. In their hands they had little earthen fire-pans, into which they cast gum-anime, which they called copal, and perfumed the Spaniards, bidding them to depart their country, or they would kill them. Then they began to beat their little kettle-drums, and to sound their horns, trumpets and pipes. The Spaniards, on account of those that were wounded at Cotoche having not yet recovered, retired in good order to the shore, pursued by the armed parties, and embarked again without loss.

When they had sailed six days longer, the wind came up at north, bearing upon the coast, so that they had liked to have perished. When the storm ceased they endeavoured to draw near to the shore to water, because their casks were bad and leaky; so that their water lasted not long. They anchored near a town, in a bay, that looked like a river, where they landed in the afternoon, a league from a town called Potonchan, filled their vessels at some wells they found near certain places of worship of lime and stone, like the former. When ready to return, they perceived armed men advancing towards them from the town, just as the others they had seen before. They asked, "whether they came from those parts where the sun rises?" The Spaniards, answered, "they did:" and then the Indians drew back to some houses, night coming on; and the Spaniards, for the same reason, resolved to stay there. A great martial noise being heard some hours after, the Spaniards, upon debate, divided, some being for embarking, and others thinking the retreat dangerous, because there seemed to be three hundred Indians to every one of them. When day appeared, they perceived that the first parties had been joined by others, who, encompassing them, poured in a great shower of arrows, stones from slings, and darts, which wounded near eighty Spaniards, with whom they closed, using their swords and spears; and though the Spaniards were not idle with their fire-arms, cross-bows, and swords, the Indians straightened them; but when they felt the Spanish swords, they drew farther off, the better to take aim with their arrows. Whilst they were fighting, they cried out, *calachuni, calachuni*, which in the Yucatan language signifies, cazique, or captain, meaning that they should aim at the commander Francis Hernandez; and they were not wanting in their endeavours, for they shot twelve arrows into him, which it was generally said he might have avoided; for there was no encounter in which he was not the foremost, though there was then more occasion for his directing than acting. Finding himself so much wounded, (not in thirty-three places, as Gomara writes) as were many of his men: that they had carried off two of his men, the one called Alonso Bote, and the other an old Portuguese; and that the valour of his men could not vanquish such a multitude, many continually resorting to them, they made a most furious onset and broke through them, the Indians still pursuing with hideous noise and cries. When they came to  
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the boats, their numbers being great, they were ready to sink; but still they made off, some only hanging by them, the natives shooting, and running into the water to wound them with their spears. Forty-seven Spaniards were killed in the action, and five more died aboard the ships: the wounded men endured most excruciating pains, their wounds having been wet with the sea water, and swelling, they cursing the pilot Alminos for his discovery, who still persisting that the country was an island, and they called this bay *De Mala Pelea*, that is, of the bad Fight, on account of the ill success they had met with.

The Spaniards that escaped aboard the ships gave God thanks for their deliverance out of that danger, but being all wounded except only one, resolved to return to Cuba, and for that purpose burnt one of their ships that was leaky, because they wanted able hands to convey them back. Being almost perished for want of drink, having left their casks at Potonchan, some of the soundest men went ashore, who could get no water but what was brackish, which they took at a creek where there were many large alligators; and therefore they called it *De los Lagartos*, or of Alligators. Antony de Alminos consulting with the other pilots, resolved to stand over for Florida, and accordingly in four days they discovered that country. Alminos, the pilot, was sent ashore with twenty of the soundest soldiers, carrying cross-bows and muskets, and the captain Francis Hernandez, who was much wounded, begged he would speedily bring him some water, as he was perishing for want of it. When landed near a creek, Alminos told them, he knew the place, having been there before with John Ponce de Leon, and that they must be upon their guard. Having accordingly posted centinels along an open shore, they dug pits, where, finding good water, they drank, and washed out linen for the wounded men. When returning, they perceived one of their centinels running, and crying, "to sea, to sea; for abundance of warlike Indians are coming:" on the other hand, they espied many canoes coming down the creek, almost with the soldier. The Indians with long bows and arrows, spears, and swords, after their manner, clothed in deer-skins, and being of a large size, were dreadful to behold. They let fly their arrows, and at the first discharge wounded six of the soldiers: but fearing the effect of the cross-bows, muskets, and swords, they made to the canoes, which pressed hard upon the sailors, and wounded Antony de Alminos in the throat. The soldiers closed with them, being up to their waists in water, and with their swords made them quit the boat they had taken. When ready to embark, they asked the soldier who stood sentinel, what was become of his comrade Berrio, who had been the other sentinel? He answered, he had seen him step aside, with a hatchet in his hand to cut down a palmito, going towards the creek, along which the Indians came, and presently had heard the cry of a Spaniard, which made him come to give the alarm. That soldier was the only one that escaped unhurt at Potonchan, and it was his fate to perish there: for the others followed the track of the Indians, found a palm-tree which he had begun to cut, and near it a greater track than elsewhere, which made them conclude, that they had carried him away alive, because they saw no signs of blood; and though they searched about for above an hour, and called out, they returned to the ships without finding him. Those men were so extremely thirsty, that as soon as the boat came to the ship's side, a soldier leaped into it, laid hold of a jar, and drank so much, that he swelled, and died within two days.

Sailing



Sailing from thence, in two days and nights, they arrived at the little islands called the Martyrs, where the greatest depth being but four fathoms, the ship touched upon some rocks, and became very leaky; but it pleased God, that after so many sufferings, they arrived at Port Carenas, now the Havannah; from whence captain Francis Hernandez de Cordova sent an account of his voyage to the governor James Velasquez, with the particulars of all he had seen, and died ten days after. Three of his soldiers also died at the Havannah, which made up fifty-six lost in this expedition; the rest dispersed themselves about the island, and the ships returned to the city of Santiago.

At the same time some very essential discoveries were made by Grijalva, which, as they respect the future conquest of Mexico, we have extracted from De Solis, who has been at great pains to seek information on that subject.

Cuba was at this time the most westerly island hitherto discovered, and the nearest to the continent of America; they had there accounts of many other lands not far distant, though it was still a doubt whether they were islands or not. The great idea conceived of those parts increased by what those soldiers related who had accompanied Francis Hernandez de Cordova, in the discovery of Yucatan.

Diego Velasquez, then governor of Cuba, seeing the name of Yucatan in so much credit, began to entertain thoughts of raising himself to greatness. With this view he resolved to renew the attempt of a discovery, and conceiving fresh hopes from the ardour with which the soldiers offered themselves, he made his design public, enlisted men, fitted out three vessels and a brigantine, stored with ammunition and provisions, appointed Juan de Grijalva to be commander in chief, and Pedro de Alvarado, Francisco de Montexo, and Alonso Davila, to command under him. But notwithstanding they easily assembled two hundred and fifty soldiers, pilots, and marines, and made all the dispatch they could, they did not put to sea until the month of April in the following year.

They sailed with a design to follow the same course as in the former A. D. 1518. voyages; but falling off some degrees, by the strength of the current, they fell in with the island of Cojamel, the first discovery in this voyage, where they refreshed themselves, without any opposition from the natives. Pursuing their course, in a few days they found themselves in sight of Yucatan, and having doubled the point of Cotoche, the most eastern part of that province, they stood westerly, with the larboard on shore, which they coasted, until they arrived at Potonchan, or Champeton, where De Cordova was routed. To revenge his death they landed, and having routed the Indians, determined to pursue their discovery.

They stood westerly without keeping farther from the land than was necessary for their safety, discovered a part of the coast, which extended a great way, and was very delightful, several towns with buildings of stone, which much surprized them. And because one of the soldiers at that time observed that this country was like Spain, it was called New Spain.

They followed the coast until they came to the place where the river Tobasco, one of the navigable rivers which run into the gulph of Mexico, discharges itself into at two mouths; they discovered many spacious groves, and so many towns on the two banks of the stream, that Grijalva resolved to go up the river and view the country: finding by the soundings he could only make use of the two smaller vessels, he



he embarked all his soldiers on board them, and left the other two at anchor with part of the sailors.

Without much difficulty, they stemmed the current, and soon perceived, at a little distance, a number of canoes, filled with Indians, and on the shore several bodies of armed men, who seemed ready for an engagement, but used such gestures as men in fear are wont to use who would keep off danger by menaces. The Spaniards approached in good order, until the two parties were in reach of each others weapons. The general commanded that no one should fire or make any signal but of peace. The Indians stood still, admiring the form of the vessels, and the difference of the men and their habits.

Grijalva took this moment of suspense to leap on shore, followed by his men, whom he drew up, and erected the royal standard. He then endeavoured to make the Indians understand that he came in peace. This was done by the means of two boys who were made prisoners in the first expedition to Yucatan; they understood the language of Tobasco, being like their native tongue.

The result of this conference was such, that thirty Indians had the boldness to draw near in four canoes; these canoes were made of the trunks of trees, so large, that some of them would contain from fifteen to twenty men. The Spaniards and Indians saluted each other courteously, and Grijalva having made them some presents, discoursed with them, by help of his interpreter, telling them, he was the vassal of a powerful monarch, from whom he came to offer peace and great advantages, provided they would become his subjects. One of them, silencing the rest, answered Grijalva with firmness and resolution, that he did not esteem that to be a good kind of peace which implied subjection and vassalage, but as to the point of war or peace, they would acquaint their superiors.

They took leave, and in a short time returned, saying, their caziques accepted peace, not that they feared war, or were so easy to be overcome as the people of Yucatan (whose defeat they had learned); but as they had left peace or war in their election, they thought themselves obliged to choose the last; and in token of it, brought a plentiful regale of provisions and fruit. Soon after the principal cazique came, slightly attended. Grijalva received him with courtesy; the Indian made a return in submission, after his manner, with an air of gravity. After these compliments, he ordered his servants to bring another present of divers curiosities, plumes of various colours, robes of fine cotton, with the figures of animals, made of gold, or curiously wrought in wood, set in gold, or overlaid with it, without staying for the acknowledgments of Grijalva. The cazique gave him to understand, by help of his interpreters, that his design was peace, and that the intention of that present was to maintain it. Grijalva said, that he very much approved his liberality, and that his purpose was to pass forward, without giving him the least umbrage; a resolution to which he inclined, partly to make a return for the confidence those people had placed in him, and partly for the conveniency of a retreat, in case of any accident that might occur. He then took his leave, and embarked, having first made the cazique and his attendants some small presents.

Grijalva pursuing his voyage, and standing the same course, still discovered new lands and towns, until he came to a river which they called the River of Flags, because on the shore they saw a great number of Indians with white flags on the tops of their spears



spears, who, by their manner of waving them, seemed to invite the Spaniards to come near.

Grijalva ordered Francisco Montejo to advance with some of his men in two boats, to try the entrance of the river, and discover the intentions of those Indians. This captain finding a good anchoring place, and little to apprehend from the behaviour of the people, gave notice to the others to come up; they all landed, and were received with great admiration and joy by the Indians; from amongst whom three advanced, who, by the ornaments on their habits, seemed the principal men of the country; they went up directly to Grijalva, whom they accosted with great reverence, and who received them with equal courtesy. The Spanish interpreters did not understand the language of this country, so that compliments were made only by signs.

After this they saw a banquet, which the Indians had provided, of different sorts of food, placed, or rather thrown upon mats of palm, under the shade of the trees; a rustic and disorderly plenty, but not the less grateful to the taste of the hungry soldiers. After this refreshment, the three Indians commanded their people to shew some pieces of gold, which they had concealed till then; and by their manner of shewing and holding them, it was understood that they did not design to make a present of them, but to purchase with them the merchandise of the ships, the fame of which had already reached their ears. Presently a fair was opened for strings of beads, combs, knives, and other instruments of iron; also for alchymy, which in that country might be called jewels of great price, the fondness of the Indians for those trifles giving them a real value. They were exchanged for implements and trinkets of gold, not of the greatest fineness, but in such abundance, that in six days the Spaniards stopped. The ransoms amounted to fifteen thousand pesos. We do not know with what propriety they gave the name of *ransom* to this kind of traffic, nor why they called it *ransomed* gold. I shall make use of this expression, because I find it introduced into the Spanish histories, and before them into the history of the East Indies.

Grijalva finding that the ransoms were at an end, and the ships in some danger, by being exposed to the north wind, took his leave of those people, who remained highly pleased, and resolved to pursue his discovery, having understood by signs, that these three Indian chiefs were subjects to a monarch called Motezuma, whose empire extended over many countries, abounding with gold and other riches, and they came by his order to examine, in a peaceable manner, the intentions of the Spaniards, whose neighbourhood, in all appearance, gave him disturbance. Some writers run into larger accounts, but it does not seem easy to conceive whence they could have gained their knowledge, where people were obliged to speak with their hands, and understand with their eyes.

They sailed on, without losing sight of land, and passing by two or three islands of small note, landed in one they called the Island of Sacrifices, because going in to view a house of lime and stone, which overlooked the rest, they found several idols of a horrible figure, and a more horrible worship paid to them, for near the steps where they were placed were the carcases of six or seven men, newly sacrificed, cut to pieces, and their entrails laid open. This miserable sight struck the people with horror, and affected them with different sentiments, their hearts being filled with compassion at the same time that they were enraged at the abomination. They staid but a little while in this island, because the inhabitants, being in a consternation, the ransoms were not considerable.



They passed on to another, which was not far from the main land, and so situated, that between that and the coast there was sufficient room and convenient shelter for the ships. They called it the island of St. Juan, because they arrived there on the day of the Baptist; and likewise in respect to the name of their general, mixing devotion with flattery; and because an Indian, who was pointing with his hand towards the main land, giving them to understand how it was called, repeating several times, with a bad pronounciation, the words *Culua, Culua*. This gave occasion to the surname by which they distinguished it from St. Juan de Puerto Rico, calling it St. Juan de Ulua; a little island, which lay so low, that sometimes it was covered by the sea. But from these humble beginnings it became the most frequented and most celebrated port of New Spain, on that side which is bounded by the north sea. Here they staid some days, for the Indians of the neighbouring parts came with their pieces of gold, believing they had the advantage of the Spaniards in changing them for glafs.

Grijalva finding that his instructions limited him to discover and ransom, without making a settlement, which was expressly forbidden him, resolved to give an account to Diego Velasquez of the large quantities he had discovered, that in case he should determine to plant a colony there, he might send him new orders, with a supply of forces, and the necessaries, stores, and provisions. For this purpose he dispatched captain Pero de Alvarado, in one of the four ships, giving him all the gold and whatever else they had acquired, that the shew of so much wealth might give his embassy the more weight, and facilitate his proposal of settling, to which he was inclined.

Scarce had Pedro de Alvarado steered his course for Cuba, when the rest of the ships parted from St. Juan de Ulua, in pursuit of their way; and following the guidance of the coast, turned with it towards the north, having in view the two mountains of Tuspa and Tufta, which stretch a great way between the sea and the province of Talscala; after which they came upon the coast of Panuco, the farthest province of New Spain, on the gulph of Mexico, and came to anchor in the River of Canoes, which took this name at that time, because in the little space they stopped to take a view of it, they were assaulted by sixteen canoes, filled with armed Indians, who, by the help of the current, attacked the ship commanded by Alonso Davila, and after discharging a furious shower of arrows, cut one of the cables, and endeavoured to board the ship; but the other two ships coming immediately up to her relief, the men in an instant manned their boats, charging the canoes with so much vigour, that one could not distinguish betwixt the attack and the victory: some of them were overset, many Indians killed, and those who had more prudence to know the danger, or used more diligence to avoid it, put to flight. It did not seem proper to follow this victory, by reason of the small advantage by traffic that could be hoped for from frightened fugitives; therefore they weighed anchor, and prosecuted their voyage till they arrived at a point of land which ran far into the sea. The pilots made use of all their industry and skill to double this cape, but were forced to give way to the strength of the current, and not without danger of overfeting or running ashore.

This accident occasioned the pilots to protest against proceeding any farther, in which they were seconded by the general clamours of the men, grown weary now of so tedious a navigation, and more apprehensive of the dangers that might attend it; upon which Grijalva, a man of great prudence and courage, assembled the captain and pilots, to consult what was to be done in their present circumstances.

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In this account they weighed the difficulty of passing forward, and the uncertainty of returning ; that one of their ships had suffered, and wanted to be refitted ; that their provision began to spoil, and the men to be dissatisfied and fatigued. They likewise considered, that to make a settlement was contrary to the instructions of Diego Velasquez ; and that they were in an ill condition to undertake it, without a further reinforcement ; so that, in the end, they resolved, with one accord, to steer their course for Cuba, in order to furnish themselves with what was necessary for undertaking, this great affair.

This resolution was presently put in execution, and sailing back the way by which they came, taking a view of other parts of the same coasts, without stopping long at any place, yet making some profit by ransoms, they arrived at length at the port of  
A. D. 1518 St. Jago, in Cuba, on the 15th of November.—A few days before, Pedro de Alvarado arrived at the same port, and was very well received by the governor, Diego Velasquez, who expressed an incredible joy at the account of the large countries discovered ; and above all, at the sight of the fifteen thousand pesos of gold, which supported the relation, without any occasion for exaggeration.

## CHAPTER V.

*Account of Cortes : his Voyage to Mexico, extracted from de Solis.*

VELASQUES having heard of the wealth of the new discovered places, had already bought some vessels and began to fit out a new fleet, when Juan de Grijalva arrived. Knowing how much it imported to be quick in his resolutions, and that by losing time he might lose a favourable opportunity, gave immediate orders for refitting the four vessels which served in the voyage of Grijalva, with which and those he had bought, made up ten vessels, from eighty to an hundred tons, using the same dispatch in arming and furnishing them with stores and provisions ; but he was at a loss upon whom to fix the command. His design was to choose a man of resolution, who knew how to disengage himself from difficulties, and make use of opportunities ; but withal so manageable as not to have any other ambition than to advance the glory of his principal ; which, in other words, was to seek for a man of great courage and a mean spirit. The voice of the people was in favour of Juan de Grijalva, and they usually do justice in their elections. What served greatly to recommend him, were his good qualities, the trouble he had taken in this discovery, together with his knowledge of the navigation, and of the country. The other pretenders were Antonio and Bernido Velasquez, near relations of the governor, Baltasar Bermudez, Vasco Porcallo, and other cavaliers of that island, of sufficient merit to pretend to greater employment. But Diego Velasquez feared the ambition of those whose capacity he approved, until advising with Amador de Lariz, the king's treasurer, and Andres de Duero, his secretary, which two he entirely confided in, and who knew his temper perfectly well, they proposed their intimate friend, Hernan Cortes.

Before we go farther it will be proper to say who Hernan Cortes was, and through what variety of events his happy destiny led him to achieve, by his valour and conduct,



duct, the conquest of New Spain, which was the event of this voyage. Cortes was born in Medillin, a town of Estremadura, son of Martinis Cortes of Monroy and Donna Catalina Pizarro Altamarino, names that sufficiently declare the nobility of his extraction. In his youth he for some time applied himself to letters, and was two years at Salamanca, which were sufficient to make him sensible that the sedentary application of a studious life was contrary to his temper, and did not suit the vivacity of his spirit. He resolved to follow the wars, and his parents pointed out to him that of Italy. But when he was to embark, he fell dangerously ill of a distemper, which continued many days: by which accident he found himself obliged to change his intention, though not his profession; and therefore he resolved to go to the Indies, where the war at that time was carried on with a view to glory, rather than to wealth. He embarked, with the approbation of his parents, in 1504, and carried letters of recommendation to Don Nicolas de Olando, then governor of the island of St. Domingo. He was no sooner arrived and known than he gained the general goodwill and esteem, and was so kindly received by the governor as to be immediately admitted by him into the number of his friends. Those favours were not sufficient to divert his inclination to arms, and he desired leave to go and serve in the isle of Cuba, where the war was still carried on; and having gained the consent of his kinsman, he endeavoured to signalize himself in that war by valour and obedience, which are the first rudiments of the military profession. He very soon acquired not only the reputation of a valiant soldier, but also that of an able commander.

Cortes was well made, and of an agreeable countenance; and besides those common natural endowments, he was of a temper which rendered him very amiable; for he always spoke well of the absent, and was pleasant and discrete in his conversation. His generosity was such, that his friends partook of all he had without being suffered by him to publish their obligations. He married in that island Donna Catalina Suarez Pachico, a noble and virtuous young lady; and the governor, in a little time, gave him a distribution of Indians and the post of alcalde, or chief magistrate, in the very town of St. Jago, an employment usually conferred on those who had distinguished themselves in the conquest of those countries. In these circumstances was Hernan Cortes when Amador de Lariz proposed him for the conquest of New Spain, and Diego Velasquez resolved to employ him. They agreed with the governor, that it was necessary immediately to publish the choice, in order to put a stop at once to all further pretensions: and Andres de Duero was not dilatory in the dispatch of the commission; the substance of which was, that Diego Velasquez, the governor of the isle of Cuba, and promoter of the discoveries of Yucatan and New Spain, did name Hernan Cortes for captain-general of the fleet, and of the countries already discovered, or which should be discovered, with the most extensive powers, and most honourable clauses, which the friendship of the secretary could add under pretence of observing the necessary forms. Cortes received the new charge from Velasquez with great expressions of respect and acknowledgments, being as sensibly affected at that time with the confidence the governor reposed in his person, as he was afterwards with his distrust.

Hernan Cortes wholly applied himself to hasten the preparations for his departure. The first step was to erect his standard, with the sign of the Cross: he appeared in the habit of a soldier: he employed his own stock liberally; and what he could borrow from his friends, in the buying of provisions, arms and ammunition, in order to  
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hasten the departure of the fleet, endeavouring at the same time to draw together a number of soldiers for the expedition, in which he did not find much difficulty; for the name of the enterprize, and fame of the captain were so great, that in a few days three hundred soldiers were lifted.

The time for their departure being come, orders were given for the soldiers to embark, which they did in the day-time, the people all running to the sight, and at night, Cortes accompanied by his friends, went to take leave of the governor, who embraced him in a very friendly manner, and the next morning accompanied him to the sea-side, and saw him embark.

The fleet sailed from the port of St. Jago in Cuba the 18th of November, and having coasted along the north side of the island, sailed towards the east, and arrived in a few days at the port of La Trinidad, where Cortes had some friends, who gave him a very kind reception. He presently published his design, and Juan de Escalante, Pedro Sanches, Harfan Gonzalo Mexia, with other considerable persons of that settlement, offered to follow his fortune. He was joined soon after by Pedro de Alvarado and Alonso Davila, who had been captains in the expedition of Juan de Grijalva, and by four brothers of Pedro de Alvarado, viz. Gonzalo, Jorge, Gomez, and Juan de Alvarade. The account of this affair reaching to the town of Sancti Spiritus, which was but a little distance from La Trinidad, there came from thence, with the same design of following the fortune of Cortes, Alonso Hernandez Portocarrero, Gonzalo de Sandoval, Roderigo Rangel, Juan Velasquez de Leon (a relation of the governor,) and other persons of distinction. With this reinforcement of gentlemen, and a hundred soldiers, who came from the two settlements, the strength of the fleet was considerably augmented, and at the same time care was taken to buy up provisions, ammunition, arms, and some horses, Cortes assisting all who wanted with his own money; for he knew how to gain their affection by an obliging behaviour, by inspiring them with hopes, and by maintaining his superiority in such a manner, as to let them see he looked upon himself at the same time as their companion. But scarce had he turned his back to the port of St. Jago, when his enemies began to cry out against him, talking already of his disobedience, after the custom of cowards, who always attack the absent. From such slight beginnings sprung the first resolution which Diego Velasquez took to break with Hernan Cortes, by depriving him of the command of the fleet. He dispatched immediately two couriers to La Trinidad with letters to all his confidants, and express orders to Francisco Verdugo his cousin, (who at that time was chief alcalde of the town) to dispossess him of his captain-generalship in a judicial way, as supposing his commission now revoked, and another person named in his room.

Cortes was quickly informed of this unexpected event; and without being discouraged at the difficulty of the remedy, shewed himself to his friends and soldiers, that he might know in what manner they resented the injury done to their captain, and how far they might depend upon the justice of his cause by the judgment they passed upon it. He found them all not only in his interest, but resolved to guard him from such an injury, though it should carry them to the last extremity, of taking arms in his defence. And though Diego de Ordaz and Juan Velasquez de Leon were less warm, as depending more upon the governor, they were easily brought over to approve of that which they had not power to hinder.

Being



Being thus secure, he went to visit the chief alcalde, who already knew the complaints he had to make. He laid before him the danger to which he might expose himself in supporting such a piece of injustice, by disgusting so many persons of distinction as followed him, and how much the fury of the soldiers was to be feared whose affection he had gained; that he might the better serve Diego Velasquez; and that he already found it difficult to keep them within the bounds of obedience to him. Speaking in such terms, and with such a kind of resolution, as appeared both modest and great, Francisco Verdugo approved his reasons, and from a people of generosity, being unwilling to become the instrument of such justice, offered not only to suspend the execution of the order, but to write to Diego Velasquez to engage to desist from a resolution which was now impracticable, by reason of the disgust it gave the soldiers, and could not be executed without very great inconveniencies. Diego de Ordaz, and the rest who had any interest in the governor, offered to do the same, and wrote immediately. Cortes likewise wrote to him, complaining in a friendly manner of his distrust, without shewing how far he was disgusted, or omitting his ordinary respect as one who found himself obliged to complain, but desired to have no reason to consider himself as a person injured. Having taken these measures, which at that time seemed sufficient to quiet the mind of Velasquez, Cortes resolved to prosecute his voyage; and sending Pedro de Alvara, by land, with a party of soldiers, to take care of the horses, and raise more men in the settlements upon the road, he sailed with the fleet for the Havannah, the most westerly port of Cuba. Here he exercised his soldiers in the use of fire-arms and cross-bows, and the management of their pikes. He taught them how to form a battalion, and file off in order; how to charge, and how to seize a post, instructing them, both by voice and example, in the rudiments of war, after the manner of the great captains of antiquity, who, by feigned battles and assaults, taught new beginners the military art; which practice, in time of peace, was in so much esteem among the Romans, that from this kind of exercise, they gave their armies the name of *caveritus*. With the like diligence and ardour he went on with the rest of his preparations.

But when every one was rejoicing at the approach of the day appointed for their departure, Gasper de Garnira, a servant of Velasquez, arrived at the Havannah with fresh orders to Pedro de Barba, expressly enjoining him to dispossess Cortes of the command of the fleet, and to send him prisoner, with a good convoy, telling him how highly he had been displeased with Francisco Verdugo for letting him go from La Trinidad; giving him likewise to understand how much he would risk in not complying with his orders. He also wrote to Diego de Ordaz, and to Juan Velasquez de Leon, to assist Pedro de Barba in the execution of his commands; but Cortes was apprised of what was doing from several hands, and even by Garnira. They warned him to take care of himself, since he who first entrusted the enterprise to his conduct, was now going to discard him, in a manner highly injurious to his honour; and freed him from the charge of ingratitude, by forcing from him the favour for which he stood obliged.

Although Cortes was a man of great spirit, he could not help being shocked with this new attempt, which touched him very sensibly, as he had no reason to expect it; for he thought Velasquez had been satisfied with the assurances that had been given him by all, in their answer to his first orders, which came to La Trinidad. But being convinced of his obstinacy, by these new orders, he began to think of taking care of himself. On the one side he saw himself applauded and esteemed by all who followed him



him, and on the other degraded, and condemned to prison like a criminal. He acknowledged that Velasquez had expended some money in fitting out the fleet, but then the greatest part of the charge was borne by himself and his friends, and almost all the soldiers were raised upon their credit. He revolved in his mind all the circumstances of the injury done him; and considering the slights he had hitherto suffered, he grew angry with himself, and not without reason blamed his own patience. He was also concerned for the enterprize, which he foresaw would entirely miscarry if he quitted the conduct of it; but that which most sensibly affected him, was the wound given to his honour, which, to those who understand its value, is dearer than life itself. Upon these reflections, and this occasion of resentment, Cortes took his first resolution of breaking with Velasquez: whence it appears, how little justice Antonio de Heriera has done him, by placing this breach in the city of St. Jago, at a time when he had just received such singular obligations. But we shall adhere to what is related by Bernal Diaz dal Castille, an author not the most favourable to Cortes; for Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo affirms, that he acknowledged his dependency on the governor Velasquez, till, upon his arrival in New Spain, he set up for himself, giving account to the emperor of the advances made by him in that conquest.

The pains I have bestowed (says de Solis) in clearing the character of Cortes from these early reproaches, must not be thought a digression from the subject. I am as far from flattering those whom I undertake to defend, as from hating others whom I condemn; but when truth points out the way to justify the steps in a man's conduct, who knew how to make himself so considerable by his actions, I ought to follow the path, and to be pleased with discovering those accounts which appear to be most authentic, and serve best to establish his reputation. I am very sensible that an historian should by no means conceal what deserves reproof; for examples are as useful to make vice abhorred, as to allure us to the imitation of virtue. But it argues a wrong turn in an author, to put the worst construction upon a man's actions, and to relate as truth their own ill-natured conjectures, is a fault of which some writers are guilty, who have read Tacitus, with an ambition to imitate that which in reality is immutable, and fancy they enter into the spirit of that author, when they put such interpretations upon things as favour more of spleen than art. But to return to our history.

Cortes judging that it was now no longer a time to smother his resentment, or take too cautious measures, which are generally enemies to great resolutions, resolved to provide for himself, and make use of the force he was master of, as occasion should require. To this end, before Pedro de Barba had determined to publish the order he had against him, he made haste to send away from the Havannah, Diego de Ordaz, whose fidelity he suspected very much, on account of the efforts he had made to be chosen commander in chief in his absence. He therefore ordered him to embark immediately on board one of the vessels, and to make the best of his way to Guanuanica, a settlement situate on the other side of the Cape St. Antonio, to take in some provisions which he had directed to be carried to that place; and there to wait his arrival with the rest of the fleet. Cortes assisted in putting this order in execution with his usual diligence and calmness; and by this means got quickly rid of a person, who might have given the same opposition to his design. He went then to visit Juan Velasquez de Leon, whom he easily brought over to his interest, being himself not a little displeased with the proceedings of his relation, and withal more tractable and of less artifice than Diego de Ordaz. Having taken these precautions, he shewed himself



himself to the soldiers, acquainting them with the new persecution that threatened him. They all offered him their services, agreeing in the resolution of assisting, but differing in the manner of expressing themselves.

The zeal of the gentry appeared as the natural effect of the obligations they had to him; but the rest declared in his behalf with so much heat, as to give uneasiness to the person in whose favour it designed. And as it appeared by their clamours and threats on this occasion, how much a good cause may suffer in the hands of the multitude: but Pedro de Barba apprehending the ill consequences of not appeasing this tumult in time, went to Cortes, and appearing publicly with him, quietted all in a moment, by declaring aloud, that he did not design to execute the order of Velasquez, or to have any share in so great an injustice. This turned all their threats to acclamations, and he presently shewed the sincerity of his intentions, by publicly dispatching Gasper de Carnica with a letter to Velasquez; in which he told him, that this was not a time to stop Cortes, who was too well attended to let himself be ill treated, or to be reduced to obedience by violence: he represented to him in the strongest terms the ferment his orders had occasioned among the soldiers, and the danger the town had been in by the commotion; and concluded his letter with advising him to regain Cortes by acts of friendship, adding new favours to those he had already bestowed, and relying on his gratitude, for what could not be compassed either by persuasion or force.

This affair being over, Cortes employed all his thoughts to hasten his departure, which he found necessary, in order to quiet the minds of the soldiers, who were disturbed afresh by the report, that Velasquez resolved to come in person, and put his orders in execution. It is said, that he really formed this design, in which he would have run a very great risk without succeeding: for authority is but a weak argument, when opposed both to reason and power.

A brigantine of moderate burden having joined the ten vessels which composed his fleet, Cortes distributed his men into eleven companies, putting one on board each vessel, and named for captains, Juan Velasquez de Leon, Alonso Hernandez, Portocarrero, Francisco de Montego, Christoval de Olid, Juan de Escalante, Francisco de Morla, Pedro de Alvarado, Francisco Samudo, and Diego de Ordaz, who he had not sent out of the way with an intention to forget him; nor was he willing to disoblige him, by not giving him an employment. He reserved for himself the command of the capitana, and entrusted the care of the brigantine to Gines de Vortes. The command of the artillery he bestowed upon Francisco de Orozco, a soldier, who had signalized himself in the wars of Italy, and chose for his chief pilot Antonio de Alaminos, a man of experience in those seas, having served in the same quality in the two voyages of Francisco Hernandez de Cordova, and Juan de Grijalva. He drew up instructions for his officers, wherein, with singular foresight, he provided against contingencies; and the day of embarkation being come, they celebrated a mass of the Holy Ghost with great solemnity; at which all the soldiers very devoutly assisted, recommending to God the beginning of an enterprize, the success of which they expected from his divine assistance, and Hernan Cortes, as the first act of his command, gave the word 'St. Peter,' thereby acknowledging him the patron of this expedition, as he had been of all his actions from his childhood. After which he ordered Pedro de Alvarado to sail for the north coast, in search of Diego de Ordaz, and Guanicanico; and after they were joined, to wait for the fleet at Cape St. Antonio.

The



The rest of the vessels had instructions to follow the Capitana; and in case they should be separated by contrary winds, or any other accident, to stand for the isle of Corumel, discovered by Juan de Grijalva, which was little distant from the land they were in search of, and where Cortes proposed to consider and resolve on what should be most necessary for the prosecution of their enterprize.

A.D. 1519. They departed from the Havannah on the 10th of February. The wind at first was favourable, but did not long continue so, for at sun-set there arose a furious storm, which put them in great disorder; and when the night came, the ships were obliged to separate (that they might not run foul of each other) and to put right before the wind. The ship that Francisco de Morla commanded suffered most, a break of the sea carrying away the rudder, by which he was in great hazard of being lost. He fired several guns as signals of distress, which gave extreme concern to the rest of the captains, who, notwithstanding their own danger, were alarmed at his, and did all that was possible to keep near him; sometimes bearing up against wind and sea, and then again giving way to their violence. But the storm ended with the night, and as soon as they had light enough to distinguish objects, Cortes was the first who came up with the ship in danger; the rest following his example, the damage she had suffered was soon repaired.

At this time Pedro de Alvarado, who was gone in search of Diego de Ordaz, discovered by day break, that the same storm had forced him into the gulph, a great way farther than he imagined; for in order to keep clear of the shore, he had been obliged to put out to sea as least dangerous. The pilot found by his compass and chart, that he was fallen very far from the course prescribed him, and was at such a distance from the Cape St. Antonio, that his return would have been very difficult; wherefore he proposed, as most adviseable, to sail directly for the Isle of Corumel. Alvarado left it to his own choice, representing to him the order of Cortes, after such a manner as looked very like dispensing with it, if necessary; they therefore continued their voyage, and arrived at the island two days before the fleet. They landed, with a design to lodge themselves in a small town near the coast, well known to the captain and some of the soldiers, since the voyage of Grijalva; but they found it deserted, for the Indians, upon the first notice that the Spaniards were landed, abandoned their houses, and retired farther into the country, with what poor moveables they had, such light baggage giving no obstruction to their flight.

Pedro de Alvarado was a young man of spirit and valour, well qualified for any enterprize where he received the orders, but of too little experience to give them. He had a mistaken notion, that while the fleet was coming, any thing but inaction would be virtue in a soldier; and therefore ordered his men to march, and take a view of the inner parts of the island; and a little more than a league distant they found another town, forsaken in the same manner, but not so entirely unfurnished as the former, for here were some cloaths and provisions, which the soldiers seized as spoils of the enemy; and in a temple of one of their idols they found divers jewels, which served to adorn it, and some instruments for sacrificing, made of gold, mixed with copper; which, though of small value, they took away.

This expedition did by no means promote the service they were upon, but, on the contrary, frightened the Indians, and crossed the design of gaining their friendship. Pedro de Alvarado grew sensible, (though too late,) that he made a false step,



and retired to his first post, having taken three prisoners, two men and a woman, who not being able to escape, surrendered without any opposition.

The next day Cortes arrived with the whole fleet, having sent to Diego de Ordaz, at Cape St. Antonio, to join him, suspecting, as it proved, that the storm would hinder Alvarado from executing his orders; and though inwardly well pleased to find him there in safety, he commanded the pilot to be imprisoned, and reprimanded the captain very sharply, as well for not having observed his directions, as for his presumption in marching up into the island and permitting his soldiers to plunder. This rebuke he gave in public, with a design that it might serve as a warning to the rest.

He presently called for the three prisoners, and by Melchiar, (the only interpreter he had in this voyage, his companion being dead), informed them how much he was concerned at what the soldiers had done, and ordering the gold and cloaths to be restored, he set them at liberty, giving them some trifling presents for their caziques, that these tokens of amity might induce them to lay aside the fear they had conceived.

The Spaniards encamped on the sea side, where they rested three days without marching any farther, that they might not occasion any disturbance among the Indians; after which Cortes mustered his army, and found that it consisted of five hundred and eight soldiers, sixteen horses; and of mechanics, pilots, and mariners, an hundred and nine more, besides two chaplains, the licentiate, Juan Diaz, and father Bartholome de Olmedo, a regular of the order of our lady, and De la Merred, who accompanied Cortes to the end of his expedition. The muster being over, he returned to his quarters, attended by his captains and principal soldiers; and taking his seat in the midst of them, he made a speech to persuade and animate his men.

Cortez, after this, found means to pacify the inhabitants of Corumel, and to establish a friendship with the cazique. He endeavoured to recover some Spaniards, who were prisoners at Yucatan, but the person he sent returned without bringing any account of them.

He then put to sea again, to pursue the same course which Juan de Grijalva had done before, and to discover those countries from which he had retired, by too scrupulous an attention to the orders which he had received. The fleet had the wind astern, and all were overjoyed at the prosperous beginning of their voyage, when an unexpected accident happened. Juan de Escalante fired a gun, and the rest of the commanders observed that he followed with difficulty, and soon after tacked and stood for the island. Cortes soon conceived the meaning of this, and immediately ordered the fleet to follow him. Escalante stood in need of all his diligence to save his vessel, for he had sprung a leak, and took in so much water, that she was on the point of sinking when they recovered the shore. The soldiers landed, and the cazique presently came down with the Indians, and seemed surprised at their sudden return; but when they understood the reason, they very cheerfully helped to unload the vessel, and to assist in repairing and careening it.

While this was doing, Cortez visited the temple, and found the cross and image of the virgin in the same place he had left them, and observed some signs of veneration paid them by the Indians. They were four days refitting the vessel, and on the last, as they were going to embark, they discovered, at a distance, a canoe, which was crossing the gulph of Yucatan, and stood directly for the island. They quickly perceived that she



she was filled with armed Indians, and were surpris'd at the diligence they us'd to come up, without shewing any fear of the fleet. Cortez being inform'd of this, gave orders to Andres de Tapia, to place himself in ambuscade near the place at which the canoe was to land the Indians, and to discover their designs. Andres de Tapia took his post accordingly, where he could not be seen; but finding they came on shore with their bows and arrows, he suffered them to pass by a little way from the coast, and then cut off their retreat. As soon as the Indians discovered him they fled, but one amongst them stopped the rest, and advancing three or four paces, pronounced with a loud voice, in the Castilian tongue, that he was a Christian. Andres de Tapia received him with open arms, and full of joy for his good fortune, conducted him to the general, followed by the Indians, who appeared to be the messengers left by Diego de Ordaz upon the coast of Yucatan. The Christian had nothing to cover him, except just enough to hide his nakedness. On one of his shoulders he bore his bow and quiver, and over the other was thrown a mantle like a cloak, in one corner whereof was the Virgin Mary, which he immediately shew'd the Spaniards, ascribing to his devotion the good fortune of seeing himself again among the Christians. He made his compliments very awkwardly, not being able to forbear his new manner, or to deliver what he had to say, without intermixing with the Spanish some terms that were not understood. Cortes caress'd him extremely, and covering him with the coat he had on, inform'd himself in general who he was, and afterwards gave orders to have him cloath'd and regaled. He publish'd it among the soldiers, as a singular felicity, both to himself and the undertaking, that he had redeem'd a Christian from slavery, having no other motive in view at that time than pure charity.

This man was call'd Jerom de Aquilar, a native of Ecya, where he had received deacons orders; and according to the account he afterwards gave of his adventures, had been near eight years in that miserable slavery. He was shipwreck'd in a caravel upon the flats of the Alacran, as he was passing from Darien to the island of St. Domingo, and escaping in the boat with twenty more in company, was driven up the shore of Yucatan, where they were taken and carried to a country of Caribbee Indians, whose cazique immediately culled out the best fed amongst them, to offer them to his idols, and afterwards to feast on the wretched remains of the sacrifice.

One of those who were reserv'd for another occasion, by reason of their leanness, was Jerom de Aquilar; they us'd him very rigorously, but at the same time inhumanly feasted him, that he might be in better plight to furnish a second banquet. Amazing brutality! detestable to nature, and not to be related without horror! Aguilar made a shift to escape out of a wooden cage, in which he was confin'd, not so much to save his life, as to seek another kind of death; and wandering several days, at a distance from all settlements, without any other nourishment than what the herbs of the field afforded, he fell into the hands of certain Indians, who presented him to their cazique, an enemy to him, from whom Aquilar had made his escape. This master us'd him with more humanity, either in contradiction to the other, or perhaps because he had a real aversion to his cruelties. Aquilar serv'd him some years, running through different fortunes in this new slavery; for at first he oblig'd him to work beyond his strength, but afterwards treated him better, being seemingly pleas'd with his obedience, and especially with his modesty, of which the Spaniards gave some proofs, more admirable than the trials of it are decent to be related; for there is no temper so barbarous as to be wholly void



void of the regard due to virtue. Accordingly the cazique gave him an employment near his person, and Aquilar in a little time acquired his esteem and confidence.

This cazique dying, recommended him to his son, under whom he had the same employment, and found a favourable occasion of increasing his credit, for the neighbouring caziques making war upon him, he gained several victories over them, by the valour and conduct of Aquilar; who thereupon became so great a favourite, both of prince and people, and was in so much authority when he received the letter from Cortes, that he could without difficulty treat for his liberty as the recompence for his services, and offer, as his own gift, the presents which were sent as his ransom.

Thus did Aquilar relate his adventures, adding withal that of the rest of the Spanish prisoners, there remained alive only one sailor, whom he had endeavoured to bring with him, but without effect, as he had married a rich Indian woman, by whom he had three or four children.

The Spaniards left this island, the second time, on the 4th of March, A. D. 1519. and without any accident doubled the point of Catoche. Following the coast, they came to the road of Chempaten, where it was debated whether they should land; which being determined in the negative, they sailed to the river Grijalva, and having made a disposition to land, he left the larger vessels at anchor; and having embarked all his soldiers in the smaller vessels and boats, was beginning to make way against the current, when they were met by a party of Indians, who made horrible outcries. When so near as to be heard, Jerom de Aquilar found he understood their language, therefore told Cortes they used menaces. Cortes commanded him to advance in one of the boats, with offers of peace; who soon returned with an account that the Indians were preparing to defend themselves, and had refused to hear him.

The night overtaking them, Cortes thought it adviseable to lay by till day. He got the artillery from the larger vessels, and directed his soldiers to put on their cotton gowns to resist the arrows of the enemy, and make other necessary preparations. At day-break his vessels were drawn up in a half-moon; they advanced slowly, and soon met the canoes with the Indians, who used threats, as the day before. Cortes sent Aquilar again to bring about a peace; but the answer to his second proposal, was the signal for an attack. They advanced, by favour of the current, near enough to use their arrows, of which they discharged so great a number, as to embarrass the Spaniard much; but they having received the first charge, returned it with so much vigour, that the canoes quickly left the passage free. The Spaniards pursued, and began to land on the left side, when they found themselves in a plain, marshy and covered with brambles: here an ambuscade of the enemy made a second attack; but was by the bravery of the Spaniards routed, and fled to the neighbouring town of Tobasco.

The town was fortified with a kind of wall, generally used in the Indies, made of trunks of trees, fixed in the ground, after the manner of palisades, with room between to discharge their arrows. The compass was round, without any traverses, or other defences, and at the closing of the circle, the extremity of one line covered the other, and formed a narrow winding street; in which were two or three castles of wood, which filled up the passages, and wherein they used to post their centinels: a fortress sufficient against the arms of the new world, but soon surrendered to the arms of Spain.

Cortes



Cortes sent out from hence two hundred men to view the country, who were driven back by the Indians. The next day a numerous army made their appearance, which, after a fierce conflict, were defeated. This brought about a peace; which being concluded, the pilots pressed the departure of the fleet, fearing it might be endangered by any further stay in that place. Having remained therefore to celebrate Palm-Sunday, he embarked the next day, and pursuing the coast to the westward, came in sight of the province of Guazacoales, and had a view of the island of Sacrifices, and other laces, discovered by Grijalva.

At length they reached St. John de Uloa on Maundy Thursday at noon. The ships had no sooner anchored, between the island and the main, than they saw two large canoes (called by the inhabitants piraguas) coming towards the fleet, without any signs of fear, and made signs to be heard. Aguilar, the interpreter, did not understand their language; however, there was among the Indians a woman who spoke in the Yucatan language, and served for an interpreter. Here they were informed of the great Indian emperor Motezuma, who afterwards made so conspicuous a figure in the history of Mexico.

Cortes next day landed his troops, and was visited by the general of Motezuma's troops.

What passed after this relates entirely to the conquest of Mexico. Cortes finding his troops grow dissatisfied, resolved to destroy his fleet, which he effected.

## CHAPTER V.

### *Second Voyage of Ojeda and Ocampo.*

A. D. 1520. **A**LONSO de Ojeda, an inhabitant of the island of Cubagua, fitted out a ship, and ran down seven leagues along the coast to the port of Chiribichi, where the Dominican friars, with their own hands, had built a monastery, which they called St. Faith. There were in it, when the ship arrived there, only two friars; the one a priest, and the other a lay-brother, the rest being gone to preach, and hear confessions at Cubagua. The seamen went ashore with the utmost security, because the friars, during their stay there, had brought the natives to such a peaceable temper; that one single Spaniard, loaded with goods to barter, would go four leagues up the country, and return with what he had got in exchange. Those men went to the monastery, the friars received them kindly, and gave them a collation. They said, they would speak to the lord of the town, whose name was Maraguey, a man naturally fierce, discreet, and cautious, and who was not thoroughly satisfied with the behaviour of the Spaniards, but connived at some things to keep the friars in his country for his own security. He was sent for, and when come, went aside with Ojeda and two Spaniards; the one of them steward, and the other clerk of the ship. Ojeda, in the presence of the cazique, asked for a sheet of paper, pen and ink, of the religious man, who was vicar of the house, and thinking no harm, gave it him, and went away. Ojeda asking Maraguey whether he knew of any people in his neighbourhood that eat man's flesh? the Indian, knowing that the Spaniards made war



with such people, and carried them away for slaves, was much incensed, and appeared angry, saying in his language, "No! no man's flesh! no man's flesh!" and went away, refusing to talk to him any more; and though they endeavoured to appease him, he remained very uneasy, suspecting that they only sought some pretence against him and his people.

Ojeda took leave of the friars, and embarking his men, went four leagues from thence down the coast to a town called Maracapana, belonging to a lord, whom the Spaniards called Giles Gonzalez, who had been in the island of Hispaniola; the comptroller Giles Gonzalez made very much of him, and was his great friend. This lord was no less discreet than Maraguey, and lived as cautiously, but always entertained the Spaniards kindly that came to his towns. Ojeda arriving at Maracapana, Giles Gonzalez went out to meet him, entertained them well, and conversed in a friendly manner. Ojeda intimated, that he was going to barter for Indian wheat with the Tagares, being the people on the mountain three leagues from thence; and after having rested awhile, went towards that mountain with twelve of his men, leaving the rest in care of the caravel. The mountaineers received them well: the Spaniards asked for fifty loads of wheat, and for conveying the same to Maracapana, where they would pay them for it. All was complied with, and they came to the town with their burdens on Friday in the afternoon. When come in the market-place they pitched their loads, and lay down to rest by them: the Spaniards surrounded them, and drawing their swords, began to bind them; but some of them starting up made their escape, though wounded: thirty-six were carried aboard.

Giles Gonzalez being highly incensed at this proceeding, sent messengers into the neighbouring parts to give an account of it. To prevent the Spaniards ever more coming again to disturb them, the Indian determined to kill the friars, supposing them accomplices in that fact, since they gave the paper to Ojeda; and because when any Spaniards passed along the coast, they used to refresh themselves at the monastery. Accordingly they agreed, that on the next Sunday, when the Spaniards did no work, but went ashore to divert themselves, Giles Gonzalez should kill Ojeda and his men, (the vessel being still there) and Maraguey the same day should fall upon the friars; and that from thenceforwards they should always be in arms, and destroy all the Spaniards that should make the least attempt to come on shore. Ojeda went on shore on Saturday, as unconcerned as if he had done no harm, and Giles Gonzalez came out with a cheerful countenance to meet him and twelve of his companions; but when they were near the first houses of the town, which stood next the water, a great number of armed men rushed out and fell upon the Spaniards, killed Ojeda and six of his followers; the rest saved themselves by swimming to the ship, which the Indians attacked with a number of canoes; but could not prevail, as it sailed away.

Maraguey being eased of the Spaniards, by the death of Ojeda, was not so hasty in killing the friars; for having them in his possession, staid till Sunday, the appointed time; and then, as the priest was saying mass, and the lay-brother had confessed, in order to receive the Sacrament, Maraguey rung their bell, and the lay-brother opening the door, killed him there, without being perceived by the priest that was vested, behind whom they came and cleft his head with an axe, sending them, says our author, to enjoy the beatific vision; for they may, with the greatest propriety, be reckoned as martyrs, since the occasion of their being there was no other than the preaching of the Catholic faith. Then the Indians burnt the monastery, and all that was in it,  
and



and shot to death a horse those religious men had to draw a little cart for the service of their house.

This disaster was soon known in the island of Cubagua, by means of the Indians, and three or four armed boats went out from thence, which running down the coast, found it in arms, and not daring to land, returned home. Advice hereof being received at Hispaniola, where the admiral then was, it was resolved in council, to chastise those people, by carrying them all away to the islands; to which purpose five ships were ordered to be fitted out, with three hundred men, and Gonzalo de Ocampo was appointed to command them.

About the same time father Casas arrived from Spain with two hundred labourers, a store of provisions, goods to barter, and all other necessaries; the bishop of Burgos having, for fear of cardinal Adrian, who was left to govern Spain, furnished him plentifully. Father Casas was much surprized, at his arrival, to hear what had happened, because the main foundation of his project depended on the monasteries that had been destroyed. However, he had no doubt of reducing the Indians by fair means; and therefore the above-mentioned ships being ready to sail to destroy those who had killed the friars, he applied to the commander Gonzalo de Ocampo; shewed the king's orders, and required him to desist from that enterprize, since his majesty had entrusted him with that affair; but Ocampo turned all off with a jest, and proceeded on his voyage.

Captain Ocampo sailed over to the continent with only two ships, leaving the other three at Cubagua, hoping the better to surprize the Indians. Being arrived at Maracapana, the country of the cazique Giles Gonzalez, he kept his men close under hatches, shewing only four or five sailors, and pretending he came from Spain. The Indians at first were very shy, but seeing so few men began to draw near, being invited with Spanish bread and wine, which they coveted above all things. They asked whence they came; and were answered, from Spain. The Indians again replied, not from Spain, but from Ayti, the name they gave to the island Hispaniola; their fear making them doubt, as being sensible that their punishment must come from St. Domingo. At length, their covetousness of the wine, and the commander's subtilty, deluded them; for several of them went aboard, but the cazique staid in the canoe. Then the men that were under hatches rushed out and seized the Indians, and a sailor Ocampo had ready, being an active man, and a great swimmer, stripped off his cloaths, leaped into the canoe, and grappling with Giles Gonzalez, they both fell into the water, and the sailor stabbed him with a dagger; other seamen then leaped into the water, and killed him. Ocampo sent for the other ships, and hanged several of the prisoners at the yard arms, that they might be seen from the land. He set men ashore, attacked and entered the town, took and killed many, hanging some, and impaling others. Thinking he had done enough for an example, and the neighbouring provinces begging pardon, he sent away the ships, laden with slaves, to the island of Hispaniola, to defray the charge of that expedition, and with his Spaniards founded a town, half a league up the river of Cumana, which was called Toledo.

Father Casas not being able to prevail with Ocampo to desist from his enterprize, presented his commission, and the order he had from the king, before the admiral, the judges of appeal, and the king's officers, being ten in number; who meeting together were called to consult, and required them to cause the same to be executed. They ordered them to be proclaimed by sound of trumpets in the cross-streets, being the



most public place in that city, and particularly that order which enjoined, that no person should presume to hurt or terrify the inhabitants of the provinces within the limits assigned father Casas, which might be any hinderance to the reduction and conversion he had undertaken; but that those who happened to pass along that coast, if they would trade and barter, should go peaceably and friendly, as dealing with subjects of the king of Spain; and therefore they should do it in the most fair and just manner, under pain of forfeiting all their goods, and their persons to be at the king's mercy. He also required them to cause the country to be cleared for him; that Ocampo should be recalled, and not permitted to make war any longer on the Indians, since that assembly had no power from the king to authorize him so to do. They answered, his proposal should be taken into consideration, and because notice was given that father Casas' ship was not fit to go to sea, orders were given to have it searched by skilful men, who reporting that it was unserviceable, it was commanded down the river, which occasioned the putting off his voyage at that time.

## CHAPTER VI.

### *Voyage of Magelhaens, or Magellan, round the World.*

WE are now come to the most important voyage we have hitherto treated of, that of Ferdinand Magelhaens, or Magellan (as he is commonly called) round the world.

A voyage round the world, even in this enlightened age, and in the high state of perfection to which navigation is at present brought, is justly considered as an enterprise of great moment. In what light then must we view the voyage of Magellan, who in those early ages of the arts succeeded in circumnavigating the globe. He justly deserves the utmost admiration of posterity, and to be ranked among the first navigators of any age.

We have several accounts of this voyage preserved by Ramusio, Herrera, and De Barros. We have chosen to give the account in Ramusio from Pigafetta, an Italian, who was one of the adventurers, and consequently an eye-witness in that voyage. What he has omitted, we shall afterwards extract from Herrera.

The reports of the discovery of the South Sea made a great noise in Europe, and raised a strong desire in many to navigate it; but the question was, whether it communicated with the North Sea or not. Although this engaged the attention of the curious in cosmography, hydrography, and navigation, none thought of offering themselves for the discovery, and much less of giving any reasons relative to a streight communicating, till Divine Providence disposed Hernando Magellan, a noble Portuguese, to attempt the discovery of the South Sea.

Magellan, or Magelhaens, was a very intelligent man in the mathematics and the nautic art, and of great experience in the navigation of the East Indies, where he had served, and gained great honour under the standard of that famous captain Alfonso de Albuquerque. He had particularly signalized himself in the expedition against Molucco in 1511, which he had also done in the wars against the Alarbes of Africa.

Having acquired great knowledge in the affairs of this Archipelago, by means of these eastern nations, and through the intimate friendship which he always had with Francisco Serrano, who was sent with Antonio de Abreu in 1511 to discover the islands,



islands of Molucco. Francisco Serrano having discovered the Moluccos, sent a dispatch to the king of Portugal, by Pedro Fernandez, advising him of the riches and opulence of that and the adjoining islands, informing also his friend Magellan of every thing that had happened to him. Some time after Francisco Serrano returned from Molucco; and having embarked for Portugal, died on his passage.

When Fernandez arrived in Portugal with the news of that discovery, he found Magellan at Lisbon, who was then come from Molucco to solicit some reward for his services. He received there the letters of Francisco Serrano; in which he gave intimation of his discoveries: inflamed with the noble ardour to acquire fame, (and be no less than his friend Serrano) and profiting by the intelligence he had received, determined to undertake this discovery; for which he received great assistance from the charts and instructions of Martin de Bohemia, a famous Portuguese cosmographer, native of the island Fayal, to whom is ascribed the ingenious invention of the astrolabe; and from a connexion with another Portuguese astrologer, named Ruy Falero. In concert with this Ruy Falero, Magellan set on foot his new discovery; and having first proposed it to king Don Manuel of Portugal, he did not choose to give it any countenance, but dismissed him with a frown and singular disgrace, very different from what was due to the proposal of Magellan, and to the reputation he had acquired for his valour. Magellan, chagrined at finding his own prince so ill requite his loyalty and good services, determined to go to the Spanish court, which was then at Valladolid, to enter into the service of Charles V. and to execute for him the discovery he had projected.

Magellan arrived at that court; and as the emperor was not there, A. D. 1517. he communicated his intention to Don Juan Rodriguez Fonseca, bishop of Burgos, who at that time had charge of the affairs of the Indies. He was heard with attention, and referred to the grand chancellor, who, approving of it, informed the emperor and monsieur De Gebues of the intention of the two Portuguese, and that they offered to demonstrate the Moluccos and the other islands, from whence the Portuguese got the spices, appertained to the Spanish limit, according to the partition of the pope Alexander VI. and offered to search a passage thither by the Western Ocean, without pursuing the track used by the Portuguese in the route to India, passing to the South Seas, by means of a strait then undiscovered.

Five ships were equipped for this voyage by the emperor's command. The Trinity, Admiral; Stephen Gomez, a Portuguese, pilot; the San Victoria, Luis de Mendoza, captain; the San Antonio, John de Carthagená, captain; the San Jago, John Serran, captain; the Concepcion, Gaspar de Quoxada, captain; Magellan himself was appointed general. The crews amounted to two hundred and thirty-seven men, of which thirty were Portuguese.

On the 10th of August they departed from Seville; the 26th of A. D. 1519. September arrived at Teneriffe, and the 3d of October sailed between the island and Cape Verde. They sailed many days along the coast of Africa, and were so impeded by calms, that they spent seventy days before they reached the equinoctial line, which, when they had passed, they lost sight of the north star, and sailed south-west until they fell in with the land of Brazil, in twenty degrees and an half south latitude. Here they were refreshed with various kinds of fruits.

Steering south in twenty-four degrees and an half south latitude, they saw a river of fresh water and some people; one of whom, from their ships, appeared of a gigantic size, and a voice like a bull. The Spaniards pursued, but could not take him. There were



were seven islands at the mouth of the river, in the largest of which they found precious stones. The Spaniards hoped by this river they might pass into the South Sea, but were soon undeceived. Steering along the coast to the southward, they fell in with two islands, so well stored with penguins and seals, that in a short time all the ships might have been laden with the latter; they are of a black colour, and cannot fly; they live on fish, and were so fat that they could scarcely slay them; they have no feather, but a kind of down, and their bills are like ravens. The fleet were here in great danger from a storm.

Departing from thence they sailed south to forty-nine degrees and an half, where they wintered, and remained two months, during which time they saw no man, except a single giant, who came to the haven dancing and singing. The captain sent a man on shore to make signs of peace, which the giant seeing, came to him, and accompanied him to a small island, where the captain was. When he came to the captain and those who were with him, he seemed much surprized, and made signs, holding up his hands to heaven, signifying, that the Spaniards came from thence. This man was so large, that the head of a man of middling stature came only to his waist. He was well made, had a large face, painted in many colours, but particularly yellow. Upon his cheeks were painted two harts, with red circles about his eyes. His hair was white; his apparel, the skin of a beast sewed together. This beast seemed to the Spaniards to have a large head and ears, like a mule, with the body of a camel, and tail of a horse. The feet of the giant were folded in the said skin, after the manner of shoes. He had in his hand a thick and short bow, the string whereof was made of a sinew of that beast. He had also a bundle of long arrows, made of reeds, feathered, tipped with sharp stones instead of iron heads. The captain caused him to eat and drink, and gave him many things, and among others a large looking-glass, in which, as soon as he saw his own likeness, he was suddenly afraid, and started back with such violence that he overthrew two persons that stood near him. When the captain had given him some hawks and other bells, with a looking-glass, a comb, and a pair of glass beads, he sent him on shore, with four of his own men, well armed.

Shortly after, they saw another giant of somewhat greater stature, with a bow and arrows in his hand. As he drew near, the Spaniards did the like. The captain sent his ship's boat to bring him to a little island in the haven. This giant was very tractable and pleasant. He sung and danced, and in his dancing left the print of his feet on the ground. He remained long with our men, who named him John. He could speak well, and plainly pronounce the words, *Jesus, Ave-Maria, Johannes*, even as we do, but with a louder voice. The captain gave him a linen shirt, and a coat of white woollen cloth, also a cap, a comb, a lookingglass, and divers such things, and sent him to his company. The day following he came again to the ships, and brought with him one of those great beasts which he gave the captain. But after that day they never saw him again, and supposed him to be slain by his own company for the conversation he had with the Spaniards.

After fifteen days were past, there came four other giants, without any weapons, but had hid their bows and arrows in certain bushes. The captain retained two of those who were youngest and best made. He took them by a trick: giving them knives, sheers, looking-glasses, bells, beads of crystal, and such other trifles, he so filled their hands, that they could hold no more; he then caused two pair of shackles of iron to be put on their legs, making signs that he would also give them those chains, which



which they liked very well, because they were made of bright and shining metal. As they could not carry them, their hands being full, the other giants would have done it for them, but the captain would not suffer it. When they felt the shackles fast about their legs, they began to doubt, but the captain comforted them, and bade them stand still. In short, when they saw how they were deceived, they roared like bulls, and cried unto their great devil Setebos to help them. Being thus taken, they were immediately separated, and put in sundry ships.

They could never secure the hands of the other two, yet one of them was with much difficulty overthrown by nine of the Spaniards, and his hands bound; but he suddenly loosed himself, and fled, as did also the other that came with him. In their flying, they shot off their arrows, and slew one of the Spaniards.

They say, that when any of them die, there appear ten or twelve devils, leaping and dancing about the body of the dead, and seem to have their bodies painted with divers colours; and that there is one bigger than the rest, who makes a great noise and rejoices. This great devil they call Setebos, and the lesser Cheleuli. One of the giants which they took declared by signs, that he had seen devils with two horns above their heads, with long hair down to their feet, and that they cast forth fire from their throats.

The captain named these people Patagoni. Most of them wear skins of such beasts as I have already spoken of. They have no settled habitations, but make cottages, which they cover with skins, and carry them from place to place. They live on raw flesh, and a certain sweet root which they call capar. They are very jealous of their women. When they are sick at the stomach, they put an arrow far down the throat, which makes them vomit green bile and blood. For the head-ache they make a cut over the forehead, and bleed themselves. They do the like on the arm or leg, in any aches. They cut their hair like friars, but a little longer, and bind it with a cotton lace. On account of cold in those parts, they truss up themselves so that the genital member is almost hidden within the body. One of those who was in the ships ate at one meal a basket of biscuit, and drank a bowl of water at a draught.

They remained five months in this port of St. Julian, where several of the under captains conspiring the death of their general, were hanged and quartered, among whom was the treasurer, Suigo de Mendoza. Two of the other conspirators he left in the said land of Patagoni, namely, John de Carthagená and a priest. They erected there a cross, in token of possession.

Departing from hence to fifty-one degrees forty minutes towards the south pole, they found a river of fresh water and good fish. Their ships were here in great danger. They remained two months in this port, where they provided themselves with fresh water, fuel, and fish. Here the captain caused all his men to be confessed.

Approaching to fifty-two degrees latitude, they discovered the strait now called the Strait of Magellan, being in some places an hundred and ten leagues in length, and in some places very broad, and in others little more than half a league.

On both the sides of this strait are great and high mountains, covered with snow, beyond which is the entrance into the South Sea. This entrance the captain named Mare Pacificum. Here one of the ships, the St. Antonio, stole away privately, and returned into Spain. In this ship was one of the giants, who died as soon as he felt the heat that is near the equinoctial line.

When



When Captain Magellan was past the streight, and saw the way open to the other sea, he was so glad that he shed tears of joy, and named the point of the land from whence he first saw that sea, Capo Desiderato: supposing the ship which stole away had been lost, they erected a cross upon the top of a high hill, to direct their course in the streight, if it were their chance to come that way.

They found that in this streight, in the month of October, the night was not above four hours long. They also found in this streight, at every three miles, a safe haven, and excellent water to drink; also wood, fish, and a great plenty of good herbs; they thought there was not a finer streight in the world: here also they saw certain flying fish.

The other giant which remained with them in the ship, named bread *casar*, water *oliud*, cloth *cherocai*, red colour *cherche*, black colour *amel*; and spoke all his words in the throat. On seeing a cross made before him, which they kissed, he suddenly cried out "Setebos," and declared, by signs, that if they made any more crosses, yetebos would enter into his body, and make him burst; but when, in fine, he saw no hurt come thereof, he took the cross and embraced and kissed it often, desiring that he might be a Christian before his death. He was therefore baptized, and named Paul.

Departing out of this streight into the sea called Mare Pacificum, A. D. 1520. the 28th of November, they sailed three months and twenty days before they saw any land; and having in this time consumed all their biscuit, and other victuals, they fell into such necessity, that they were forced to eat the powder thereof that remained, being now, full of worms, and stinking like urine. Their fresh water was also putrified, and become yellow: they ate skins and pieces of leather, which were foulded about certain great ropes of the ships; but these skins being made very hard by reason of the sun, rain, and wind, they hung them by a cord in the sea for the space of four or five days to mollify, and then ate them. On account of this famine and unclean feeding, some of their gums grew so much over their teeth, that they died miserably for hunger: by this they lost numbers of men, and also the giant, with an Indian of Brazil; besides these that died, twenty-five or thirty were so sick that they were not able to do any service with their hands or arms for feebleness: so that there were in a manner none without some disease. In these three months and twenty days they sailed four thousand leagues, in one course, through the sea called Pacificum, that is, Pacific; which may well be so called, as in all this time, having no sight of any land, they had no misfortune of wind, or any other tempest. During this time also they discovered only two little islands, uninhabited, where they saw nothing but birds and trees; and therefore named them Unfortunate Islands; being from one another about two hundred leagues distant. The first of these islands lies in fifteen degrees, and the other five. They sailed between fifty, sixty and seventy leagues a day: so that, in fine, had not God given them good weather, they must all have perished for hunger. They observed in this voyage that the antarctic pole had no notable star as the arctic pole has; but they saw many stars gathered together, which are like two clouds, one separate a little from the other, and darkness in the midst. Between these are two stars, not very big, nor much lustre, which move a little; and these two are the south polar stars.

The needle of their compass varied somewhat, and turned towards the arctic pole; but was not so strong as in northern latitudes. Insomuch that it was necessary



to help the needle with the loadstone before they could sail with it, because it moved not, as it doth when it is in our parts. When they were in the midst of the gulph, they saw a cross of five clear stars directly toward the west, and of equal distance from one another.

They sailed between the west and south so far that they approached to the equinoctial line, and were in longitude from the place whence they first departed, one hundred and twenty degrees. In this course they passed two islands of exceeding height, one whereof named Cipanghu, and the other named Sumbdit. When passed the equinoctial line, they sailed west south-west and the quarter of the west, toward the south-west, more than one hundred leagues, changing their sails to the quarter of the south-west, until they came to the thirteenth degree above the equinoctial, and one hundred and forty-six degrees toward the arctic pole, intending as much as possible to approach to the cape, called by the old writers, Cattigera, (which is not found as the cosmographers have described it); but is toward the north about twelve degrees, as they afterwards understood.

When they had thus sailed seventy leagues of this voyage, in the twelfth degree south, and one hundred and forty-six degrees of longitude, (as I have said) the sixth day of March, they discovered a little island toward the north-west, and two other toward the southward; but the one was higher and bigger than the other. In the biggest of these the general would have rested himself a while, but could not, by reason the islanders resorted continually to the ships in their canoes, and pilfering whatever fell into their reach, so that the sailors had no rest; and therefore demanded of the captain, if they might strike their sails, to bring the ships to anchor. But the general being provoked, went ashore with forty armed men, and burnt about fifty of their houses, with many of their canoes, slew seven of the barbarians, and recovered a ship's boat which they had stolen from them; and then pursued his voyage. He named these islands *Ladrones*, that is, the islands of Thieves. When our men had wounded some of them with arrows, which pierced through both their sides, they pulled forth the arrows, not ceasing to marvel at them till they fell down dead; yet the others still followed the ships with more than two hundred of their boats, approaching as near as they could, and profering the men certain fish. As the ships passed with full sail in the midst of their boats, they saw among them some women lamenting and tearing their hair, which the Spaniards thought they did for the loss of their husbands. As far as they could perceive, those people live at their own liberty, without any ruler or governor. They go naked, and some of them have black beards and black hair on their heads, which they wore long down to their waists. They are of the same stature as the Europeans; are well made, and of an olive colour. Their women are well favoured with black and thick hair on their heads, reaching to the ground. They wore a covering over their privities made of the inner bark of the palm-tree: are fairer than the men, and seldom go out of doors. At home, they make mats, nets, and other household necessaries, of the palm-tree. Some of the men wore bonnets on their heads of palm-tree. They colour their teeth red and black, which they esteem a comely thing: their food was cocoas, battas, birds, figs, sugar canes, flying fish, and other things: they anointed their bodies and heads with the oil of cocoa. Their boats are, some all black, some white, and some red; and have sails made of the broad leaves of date-trees sewed together. Instead of a rudder, they used a broad board, with a staff in the top, and can, when necessary, make the stern the fore-castle,



castle, or the forecastle the stern. They sailed so swiftly, that they appeared, at a distance, like dolphins swimming on the water. Their houses are made of timber, covered with boards and leaves of fig-trees, a yard long: they had a hall with windows, and chambers; their bed-furniture consisted of palm-leaves and mats, on which they slept with great repose. Their weapons were clubs, or poles, with a horny head.

The 10th of March, they went ashore upon a little island, named A. D. 1521. Zamal, thirty leagues distant from the island of Thieves. The next day they went ashore on another island, uninhabited: they rested there awhile, where the captain caused a tent to be pitched for the sick and disordered men, and a hog to be killed. The island was called Humunu, and had two clear springs; also gold, white coral, and many fruit-trees. They gave it the name of Good Signs. On the 18th of March they saw a boat with nine men coming toward them, shewing themselves joyful at their coming: they brought many presents with them, and seemed to be people of much humanity. They gave the captain a great fish, and a large vessel, with wine made of those date-trees, which bore the fruit cocoas; they made also signs, that within the space of four days they would bring rice, and divers fowls and beasts, which they did.

The cocoa is a fruit of certain date-trees, whereof they made bread, wine, oil, and vinegar. The wine they made in this manner: they cut a large branch of the tree, and hung to it a reed as big as a man's leg; into which drops a sweet liquor from the tree like white wine, somewhat tart; they let the reed continue there from morning till evening, and from evening till morning. The fruit of this tree, called cocoa, is as big as the head of a man, or larger: the first rind of this is green, and of the thickness of two fingers, having in it certain threads, whereof they make cords, with which they tie their boats: under this rind there is a thick shell, which they burn and make powder with, and use it as a remedy for certain diseases: under this shell is a white substance, like the kernel of a nut, being a finger in thickness, which they eat to flesh and fish, as we do bread: it hath the taste of an almond; and is used instead of bread, when it is dried. In the midst of this kernel is a clear and sweet water, being a very wholesome cordial; it sometimes congeals, and lies within the shell like an egg. When they intend to make vinegar, they suffer only the water to putrify, and then set it to the sun, where it becomes vinegar, like that which is made of white wine; and when they mingle the kernel with the water which is in the midst of the fruit, and strain it through a cloth, they make a milk thereof, like that of goat's milk. These date-trees are like those that bare dates; but are not so full of knots. With the juice of one of these date-trees, a whole family of ten persons may be supplied with wine for eight days. These trees live upwards of one hundred years.

The island where they found that humane and gentle people, is called Zulum, and is not very large. They invited the general to their boats, in which were their merchandize, viz. cloves, cinnamon, ginger, pepper, nutmegs, maize, and gold made in divers things, which they carry to and fro with their barks. He had them also on board his ship, and caused a piece of ordnance to be fired, which terrified them so, that they were ready to leap over-board; but he appeased, and gave them gifts. The 22d of March, they brought oranges, cocoa, palm-wine, and a cock, in their barks. The men were naked, had two gold rings at their ears, and jewels fastened  
with



with gold to their arms: with cocoas they refreshed their sick: they gave an account of a people near this island, whose ears reached down to their shoulders; they had daggers, knives, and lances, ornamented with gold. About this island they found many others, and therefore named that sea, Archipelago di San Lazaro, that is, the great sea of St. Lazarus, lying ten degrees above the equinoctial towards our pole, and an hundred and sixty-one from the place whence they departed. The people of this island are Gentiles: they go naked, saving that they cover their privities with a cloth made of the rind of a certain tree. The chief men have about their hands a filken needle-worked cloth. They are gros and broad set, and of an olive-colour. They anoint their bodies with the oil of cocoas, to defend them against the heat of the sun, and the dryness of the wind.

The 25th of March they departed from thence, and directed their course west and south-west, and sailed between four islands, named Canelo, Huinangham, Hebuffon, and Abarein.

The 28th of March they came to the island of Buthuran, where they were honourably received by the king and the prince his son, who gave them much gold and spices. The captain gave the king a vesture of red cloth, and another of yellow, made after the Turkish fashion, and also a red cap; he also gave to those that came with him, knives, glasses, and beads of crystal. After that, the captain shewed the king the secrets of his ship, and such merchandize as he had therein. He caused a piece of canon suddenly to be fired off, at which the king was terribly frightened; but the captain soon comforted him. He ordered one of his men to be clad in armour, and three others to strike him with their swords, at which the king marvelled greatly, and said to the interpreter, (who was a slave, born in Molucco) that one of those armed men was able to encounter with an hundred of his men; but he was more surprized when the captain told him, that he found the streight by the help of the compass and loadstone, and how many days they were without sight of any land. The king then asking leave to depart, the captain sent two of his men with him, one of whom was Antonio Pigafetta. When they were landed, the king lifted up his hands to the sky, and then to the Christians, as did all the company about him: the like ceremony they used in drinking to one another.

The king's palace was like a house, covered with palm and fig-leaves, built on high lofty timbers, that they were forced to use ladders to get up to it. They sit at meat cross-legged, like taylors. They make light with a gum of a tree, wrapped in leaves of palm-trees.

When the king saw Antonio Pigofetta write the names of many things, and afterwards rehearse them again, he marvelled yet more, making signs that such men must descend from heaven. The king brought them first to his palace, where he entertained them honourably, and gave them many gifts, as did also the prince in his palace, being in another island called Caleghan.

As they sifted a certain mine of earth in the king's island, they found pieces of gold, some as big as nuts, and others as big as eggs. All the king's vessels were of gold, and his house well furnished.

In the whole nation, there was no man of comlier personage than the king. He had his hair long, down to the shoulders, and very black, with a veil of silk rolled about his head, and two great rings of gold hanging at his ears. He had about his head a cloth wrought of cotton and silk, trimmed with gold, and reaching down to his



knees. On one side he had a long dagger, with a hilt of gold, and the sheath of a fair kind of carved wood. He had on every finger three rings of gold, and had his body anointed with oil of storax and Benjamin. The natural colour of his face was like the colour of an olive, and all the rest of his body painted with divers colours. The king's name was Rata Colamba, and the prince was called Raia Seagu.

They easily understood each other, by means of a slave, which they carried with them, taken before at Sumatra. One man offered for six threads of crystal beads a crown of massive gold, with a collar; but the general would not permit such bartering, that they should not perceive more account to be made of their gold by one than by the other of the Spanish wares.

The men of this island are nimble, go naked, but paint themselves. The women are clothed, from the waist downwards, and their long black hair hanging to the ground. They wear ear-rings of gold, in divers forms. They are always chewing arecca, a fruit like a pear, cut in quarters, and rolled up in leaves of a tree called bittre, or vetele, like bay leaves, which having chewed, they spit forth. It makes the mouth red. They say they do it to comfort the heart, and could not live without it.

The captain or general caused a cross to be brought forth, with nails, and a crown of thorns, commanding all his men to give reverence thereto; and signifying to the king, by the interpreter, that that banner was given him by the emperor, his lord and master, who commanded him to leave the same in all places where he came, for the great benefit and profit of all who would reverently receive it as an assured token of friendship; and that he would therefore leave it there, to accomplish the commands of his royal master, and also, that if at any time any Christian ships should chance to come that way, they might, by seeing that cross, perceive that the Spaniards had been well entertained there, and would therefore not only abstain from doing them any hurt or displeasure, but would assist them against their enemies. He therefore requested liberty to erect that cross upon the top of the highest mountain, that it might be seen from the sea on every side; and if they would reverently pray unto it, they should not be hurt by thunder, lightening, or tempests.

When the kings heard these words, they gave the captain great thanks, promising to observe and fulfill all the things he desired. The captain then asked whether they were Moors or Gentiles. They answered, that their religion consisted in lifting up their hands, joined together, and their faces towards heaven, and calling upon their God, Abba. The captain was pleased with this answer, because the Gentiles are sooner persuaded to the Spanish faith.

The Spaniards now departing from hence, were conducted by the said kings pilots to the islands of Zelon, Zubut, Messana, and Calaghan. Zubut is the best of these islands, and has the most trade. In Messana they found dogs, cats, hogs, hens, goats, rice, ginger, cocoas, millet, barley, figs, oranges, wax, and gold, in great quantities. This island is above the equinoctial line towards our pole nine degrees and two-thirds, and one hundred and sixty-two degrees from the place they departed from.

They remained here eight days, and then directed their course towards the north-west, passing between the islands of Zelon, Bohol, Canghu, Barbau, and Cathigan. In Cathigan there are great bats as big as eagles, one of which they caught. They are good to eat, and taste like a hen. Here are also stock-doves, turtle-doves, popinjays, and fowls as big as hens: these fowls have little horns, and lay great eggs, which  
they



they cover a cubit deep in the sand, by the heat of which and the sun they are hatched, and the young birds creep out of the sand by themselves.

From the island of Messana to Cathigan is twenty leagues, sailing westward. As the king of Messana could not follow the ships, they staid for him about the islands of Polo, Ticonbo, and Fozon, where the captain took him into his ship, with several of his principal men, and pursued their voyage towards the island of Zubut, which is about fifty leagues distant from Cathigan. The seventh of April, about noon, they entered the port of Zubut; and passing by many villages and habitations among trees, they came to the city, where the captain commanded the mariners to strike their sails, and prepare for a battle, causing all the ordnance to be shot off, at which the islanders were much frightened. The captain then sent an ambassador and interpreter to the king of Zabut. When they approached near to the city, they found the king with a great company of men, much astonished at the noise of the guns; but the interpreter told them it was always the custom of the Spaniards, when they came to such places, to discharge their ordnance in token of friendship, and to honour the lord of the city. This quieted the king and his company. The interpreter then told them, that the captain, his master, commanded the ships of the greatest prince in the world; that they went to discover the islands of Molucco; that being told, by the king of Messana, of his good name and great fame, they determined to visit him, and to request provisions in exchange for their merchandize. The king answered, that he was contented; that they were heartily welcome; but it was a custom in that place for all ships that entered the haven to pay tribute, and that a few days before, a ship, laden with gold and slaves, did so. To this the interpreter answered, that the captain never paid tribute to any person in the world, and would not now begin; that if he would accept the peace now offered him, he should enjoy it; but if he preferred war, he should have his hands full.

One of the merchants (a Moor) who was with the king, addressed him in the following manner: "Take heed, Sir; for these are the men who conquered Calicut, Molucco, and the greatest part of India. They are of such power, that if you do not treat them well, you will, when too late, know that they are able to do more than they did at those places." The interpreter replied, that his prince had much greater power than the king of Portugal; that his dominions were more extensive, and his ships of greater force, and more in number; that he was king of Spain, and emperor of all Christendom; that if he would not be his friend, he would soon send thither such a number of armed men as would destroy his whole country. The Moor confirmed all this to the king, who said he would further deliberate with his council, and give them a final answer the day following. In the mean time he sent them a quantity of provisions and wine.

When it was known that the captain did all these things by the advise of the king of Messana, who was, next to himself, the chief person there, and lord of many islands, he repaired to the king of Zubut, and told him of the great humanity and courtesy of the captain. Shortly after, Magellan sent several of his men with the interpreter to the king of Zubut, to know his pleasure, and what answer he would make. As they went towards the court they met the king in the street, accompanied by many of his chief men. He caused the Spaniards to sit down by him, and asked them if there was more than one captain in their company, and whither they desired him to pay tribute to the king of Spain. They answered, that they only wished to exchange merchandize



chandize with him. The king said he was willing to do that, but desired the captain would, in token of friendship, send him a little of the blood of his right arm, and he would do the like.

When they returned to the city they found the king in his palace, sitting upon a floor made of the leaves of date-trees, wrought after a curious device, like a certain kind of mats. He had upon his body no apparel, but only a cloth of bombazeen cotton hanging before his private parts. On his head he had a veil of needle work, and about his neck a chain of great value. At his ears hung two rings of gold, wherein were inclosed many precious stones. He was of small stature, but somewhat gross, and had his body painted of different colours, some like flaming fire. Before him he had two vessels, made of the fine earth, called porcelain, with sodden eggs; also four vessels of porcelain, full of wine, made from date-trees, and covered with many odoriferous herbs.

The prince brought them to his house, where he had four daughters, who were well made, and had white complexions. He caused them to dance naked, and to sing and play on timbrels made of metal.

While they were at this island, a Spaniard died in one of the ships; and when they asked leave of the king to bury him on shore, he answered, that as he and all his people were at the command of the king of Spain, how much ought the ground so to be! They much admired the ceremonies performed at the funeral, and honoured the crosses which were set at both ends of the grave.

They live with justice, and have weights and measures. Their houses are made of timber and boards, and are so built above the ground, upon props and poles, that they get to the same by stairs. Under their houses they keep their hogs, goats, and hens. They told a story of some water-fowl, as big as crows, called sagham, which are swallowed by the whales there; but the fowls afterwards kill the whales by eating their hearts. The flesh of these birds is delicate, but the skin is black.

When they came to barter with the Spaniards, they gave gold, rice, hogs, hens, and several other things for trifles of small value. Ten pieces of gold, each worth a ducket and an half, were received for fourteen pounds weight of iron. They esteem nothing more precious than drinking-glasses.

After this the king of Messana, with the king of Zubut, his nephew, (who was the prince), and several other principal persons, came to the ships, and brought the captain many good presents. They entered into conversation on many subjects, and the captain persuaded them to embrace the Christian faith, which they gladly did; and took such pleasure in hearing the articles of it, that tears fell from their eyes for joy. They were then baptized, as were most of the people of the island shortly after.

When the king was baptized, which was done with great solemnity, the captain admonished him not to be afraid of the firing of the ordnance, because it was the custom so to do at such ceremonies. The king was named Charles, after the king of Spain; the prince Ferdinando, after his majesty's brother; the king of Messana was named John, and the Moor, Christopher. To the rest they gave such names as are commonly used in Spain; and thus, before mass begun, five hundred men were baptized.

After this the captain caused them to break all their idols, and to set up the cross in divers places, and directed them to pray to it every morning and evening, kneeling on their knees, and holding up their hands joined together.

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The queen was also baptized, with forty of her principal women, and her daughter, the prince's wife. The queen was very young and fair: her body was covered with a white cloth! her lips were red; she had on her head a hat, on the top of which was a triple crown, much like the pope's; this crown and the hat were made of leaves of date-trees.

Within eight days all the inhabitants of the island were baptized, except one village of idolaters, who would not, in this particular, obey the king's command; the captain therefore sent a party of his men thither, who burnt the town, and erected a cross in that place, because the people were Gentiles, that is, idolaters.

The queen came to the place to hear mass with great pomp and solemnity. Before her went three young damsels and three young men, with their caps in their hands. She was dressed in white and black, a veil of silk, fringed with gold, covered her head, and hung down to her shoulders; she had also a great train of women following her, all barefooted and naked, except that upon their heads and privities they wore certain veils of silk, and went with their hands spread.

Before the king of Zubut was baptized, he was named Raca Humabuon. When the captain demanded of him, "Why all the idols in the island were not burnt according to his promise?" he answered, "That they esteemed them no more as gods, but only made sacrifices to them for the prince's brother, who was very sick, and was as noble and valiant a man as any in the island." The captain replied, "That if he would burn all his idols, and believe faithfully in Christ, and be baptized, he should be immediately restored to health, or he would give them leave to strike off his head." By these words and persuasions of the captain, he conceived such hope of recovery, that, after he was baptized, he felt no more of his disease. This was a manifest miracle wrought in our time, whereby divers infidels were converted to our faith, and their idols destroyed, and also their altars overthrown on which they were accustomed to eat the sacrificed flesh.

The people of this island pay their king a portion of victuals for their tribute, which is also done by all their cities and villages.

Not far from Zubut is the island of Mathan, whose inhabitants use marvellous ceremonies in their sacrifices to the sun, and burying their dead. Before their sacrifice they ring bells; then they bring three platters, in two of which are rice and honey, boiled, and rolled up in loaves, and roasted fish; in the other is a linen cloth, with two fillets or strings, which is spread on the earth: then come two old women, each with a reed trumpet in their hand. These mount upon the cloth, and having worshipped the sun, cover themselves with a cloth. One of them applies one of the strings or fillets, with two horns, to her forehead, holding the other in her hand, and thus founding and dancing round, calling to the sun. The other followeth: both praying, founding, and dancing round about the hog, which lies tied in the midst. The one-horned beldame mumbles to the sun; the other answering. Then a cup of wine is brought, and after making semblance to drink, and divers mutual mumblings, she poureth it on the hog. After which, this horned mother hath a lance brought her, with which, after a deal of mocking and mumbling ceremony, she kills him. All this while a light is burning, and then is put into the mouth of the swine. The other beldame washeth the head of the trumpet in the blood; and with her finger, embrued with blood, first signs her husband's forehead, and then the other mens. Which done, they both disrobe themselves, and eat the vineyards. Women only  
are



are suffered to communicate with them. They singe the hog; the flesh whereof they dare not eat, till it be thus consecrated by these witches. They go naked, except a little cloth before their privities. The males, both great and small, make a hole through their foreskin, and therein a gold ring is put, as big as a goose-tail. They take as many wives as they will; but one is principal. When a man of note dies, the principal women go to his house, and set boughs in cords, fastened about the corpse; in every bough a piece of cotton; so that the place is like a tent. Herein they sit arrayed in white cotton, each having a girdle, with a fan of palm-tree, to cause wind. Then one comes with a knife, and cuts off, by little and little, the hair of the deceased. After which his principal wife lieth upon him, applying her lips to his; her hands to his hands, and her feet to his feet. While the one cutteth, the other laments; when the one ceases to cut, the other sings about the chamber, where there are porcelain dishes with fire, on which they burn myrrh, storax, and other sweet herbs. This ceremony lasts five days; at which time, at midnight, (they say) there comes, as it were, a raven, which pitches on the house, and cries: the dogs, with howling, holding pace with the raven's crying, for five hours each night. After all this they enclose the corpse, in a house, with wood.

The island is governed by seventeen princes; whereof one is named Zula, and another Celapulassu. This Celapulassu refused to pay tribute to the king of Spain. The captain went against him, in person, with sixty of his men, armed with coats of mail and helmets. Celapulassu divided his army into three divisions, each consisting of two thousand and fifty men, armed with bows, arrows, darts, and javelins hardened at the points with fire. The conflict continued long and sharp: the captain being a valiant man, and exposing himself too much in the battle, was sorely wounded by a venomous arrow, and afterwards with a lance of a cane which was thrust in his face, of which he died, the barbarians chiefly directed their force against him. Eight Spaniards, besides the captain, fell in this engagement; of the enemy fifteen were killed, and many wounded.

After the death of the captain, they chose two others in his room, Odoardo Barbosa, a Portuguese, and Juan Serrano, who was shortly after betrayed by the interpreter, and taken prisoner with divers others. The enemy would not permit Magellan's body to be ransomed at any price.

Some days before the captain's death, they had knowledge of the islands of Molucco, which they chiefly sought; departing therefore from the island of Mathan, they sailed for, and came to the cape of another island called Bohol.

In the midst of this main sea, which they named Archipelagus, they determined to burn the ship *Conception*, because they had but few men left, and to furnish the other two ships with the artillery thereof. Thus directing their course toward the south-west, they came to another island, named Paveleghon, where they found black men. Shortly after, they arrived at another great island, whose king was named Raca Calayer; who treated them very friendly in all things, as the king of Messana had done. This island is rich in gold, and has plenty of rice, ginger, hogs, goats, hens, and divers other things. It is named Ehippet, and is eight degrees above the equinoctial line toward our pole, and in longitude, from the place whence they first departed, one hundred and seventy degrees, and about fifty leagues from Zubut. The king, in token of peace, drew blood from his left hand, and therewith anointed his body, face, and the tip of his tongue. The like was done by the Spaniards. Pegafetta was entertained by the



the king and his two wives in an elegant stile. Here he saw much gold, but a scarcity of provisions.

Departing from hence, they came to another island, named Cahacan, forty leagues from Chippet, between west and south-west. This island is very large, but thinly inhabited. The people are Moors, banished out of the island of Borneo, by some called Perne. They use poisoned arrows, and have store of gold. About twenty-five leagues west and north-west from thence, they found an excellent fruitful island, named Pulaon, lying toward our pole above the equinoctial line nine and one-third degrees, and in longitude from the place of their departure one hundred seventy-nine and one-third. It is stored with rice, ginger, hogs, goats, very large figs, and others of a lesser kind: cocoas, battatos, sugar canes, and a kind of pleasant root.

The king, in token of friendship, wounded his breast with a knife, touching with the blood his tongue and forehead; and the Spaniards did the same. They go naked; use poisoned arrows; keep large cocks for fighting, but not for food, through superstition. They make wine of rice, which is better than that of palm-trees, and more intoxicating.

From hence, ten leagues towards the south-west, they saw another island, which seemed sometimes to mount as they sailed along the coast. In entering the port, a boisterous and dark storm arose, but ceased as soon as the fires of the three saints (of which we have before spoken) appeared upon the cables. From the beginning of this island to the port, are five leagues. It is large and rich: the chief city contains twenty-five thousand houses. The king entertained them very friendly, and sent many presents: he also sent two elephants, trapped with silk, to carry the captain to his palace. He had a magnificent court, with a strong guard, and many concubines. The king is a Moor, and is named Raja Scripada. He has a mighty power, and has under him many other kings. The island of Borneo is above the equinoctial line toward our pole five degrees and a quarter, and in longitude from the place of their departure one hundred seventy-six and two-third degrees. They use betle, arecca, and rice-wine, called arrack. Their reverence to the king is, to close their hands over their heads three times; then to lift up their feet, one after another, and lastly to kiss their hands. The king has ten secretaries, who write on barks of trees. His household is conducted by women, daughters of his chief men.

On the 29th of July, they were assaulted by a number of Proas and Junks: they captured four of them; among whom was the son of the king of Luzon, captain-general to the king of Borneo, who was just returned from the plunder of Jao, a city in the island of Java, (for the Ethnikes, or natives, and the Moors of this island, were at war with each other.) Had not the pilot, for a bribe, let him escape, he would have proved a valuable prize to the Spaniards. The king had two pearls of the bigness of a hen's egg each, and so round, that, when put on a plain table, they would be in a perpetual motion. Here grows camphor, which is the gum of the caper-tree; cinnamon, ginger, merabolos, oranges, lemons, sugar; cucumbers, melons, swine, goats, hens, deer, elephants, horses, &c.

Departing from Borneo, they came to an island, called Cimbubon, eight degrees seven minutes above the equinoctial line. Here they remained forty days, to repair their ships, and provide themselves with fresh water and fuel, which caused them much pain and trouble, as they were almost bare-footed and naked, their cloaths being worn out in so long a voyage. In the woods they found a tree, whose leaves, as soon as



they fall on the ground, stir, and remove from place to place, as if they were alive; they resemble mulberry-leaves, and have on every side, as it were, short and blunt feet. When they are cut, or broken, though there is no blood in them, yet, when touched, they suddenly start, and move. Antonio Pegafetta kept one of them in a platter for the space of eight days, and whenever he touched it, it moved about the platter. He supposed they live by the air. Here were also crocodiles, wild hogs, and ostriches. They caught a fish, whose head resembled a swine, and had two horns; the rest of the body appeared like bone, with a saddle on the back.

Departing from hence, they directed their course by the west quarter, to the south-east, to find the islands of Molucco, and sailed past some mountains, where the sea was full of weeds and herbs. From thence they came to the islands of Zolo and Jaghina, where they found large pearls. The king of Borneo had his two pearls from hence, as a ransom for his father-in-law, who had been his captive. Following their course toward the north-east, and then south-east, they arrived at a great city, called Mangdando, lying above the islands of Buthuan and Calagham, where they took a canoe with some of the inhabitants, who informed them of the islands of Molucco, they altered their course to the north-east, close in with the Cape of Buthuan. They were told, that on the banks of a certain river there dwelt a people called Benjamin, who were overgrown with hair, and ate human flesh, with the juice of oranges and lemons. They are tall and strong, and use bows and swords made of wood. In these islands grow the best cinnamon, where the Spaniards exchanged twenty-seven pounds for two knives. Here is the great city Mangdando, being in six degrees, seven minutes, they stood south-east, and encountered four islands, Ceboco, Biramboco, Saragani, and Candingar.

On the 24th of October, they experienced tempestuous weather, when they went to prayers: presently the three lights appeared on their shrouds; the clouds dispersed, the storm ceased, and the weather became serene, whereupon they resolved to free a slave, in honour of the three saints, Helena, Nicholas, and Clare. How much more reasonable (says our author) is the adoration of the Ethnicks to the sun and stars, than adoring inferior meteors? to give glory to frail man, when it only belongs to God.

After the storm, they anchored in the harbour of Saragani, where they heard there was much gold and pearls. Here they took, by force, two pilots for the Moluccos. They passed eight more islands, some inhabited, and some not: their names were, Ceana, Canida, Cabiaco, Camuca, Cababu, Chiaï, Lipar, and Nunza. They then came to an island, called Sanghir, in three and an half degree, where four Gentile kings reigned. They passed five other islands, and espied four others, which their pilot said were the Moluccos.

This was on the 6th of November, and the twenty-seventh month after their departure from Spain. Being therefore joyful, and giving thanks to God, they discharged all their ordinance.

All along the coasts of those islands, even unto the islands of Molucco, they sounded with their lead, and found the depth of the sea to be no less than one hundred and two yards; which is contrary to the account of the Portuguese, who affirm, that no ship could pass that way without great danger, by reason of the shallowness, and rocks or shelves, and on account of the darkness which the clouds cause on the heaven. All which things they fancied, with an intent that no other should attempt greater discoveries.

The



The 8th of November, before the rising of the sun, they entered into the port of the island of Tidore, being one of the chief islands of Molucco, where they were honourably entertained by the king, who declared that he had long dreamed that ships would come from a far country to the islands of Molucco, where they would be honourably entertained. To gain more knowledge of this event, he had frequently consulted the stations of the moon, and observed therein the coming of these ships and men. He then offered to enter into a league of friendship with the Spaniards, and treat them as brethren and children, desiring them to come on shore, and use his houses as their own. He said that island should no longer be called Tidore, but Castile, in honour to the king of Spain, whom he considered as his lord and master.

This king was a Moor, named Raia Sultan Mauzer. He swore by the Alcoran, laying it three or four times on his head, and repeating certain words, to be a friend to the king of Spain.

The Molucco islands are five in number, called Tenate, Tidore, Mutir, Macchian, and Bacchian. Ternate is the chief, and the king of that island is sometimes lord of them all. Mutir and Macchian were now governed by the people. Bacchian had a king.

The clove-trees in these islands are tall, and about as big as a man; the boughs are large in the middle, and pointed at the top; the leaves like those of a bay-tree; the bark of an olive colour. The cloves grow in clusters, ten or twenty together, at the tops of the boughs; at first they are white, red when ripe, and get black in drying. They are gathered twice a year, viz. in June and December; if not taken then, they grow hard. The leaves, bark, and wood, when green, taste as strong as the clove. Every man has his own trees, and bestows little husbandry on them.

The women are brutish, and go naked, except that before their private parts they wear a covering made of a tree, which being steeped in water, they beat into as large a form as they will, till it is as thin as silk.

Directly against Tidore is another large island called Gilolo, inhabited by Moors and Gentiles. The Moors have two kings, one of whom has six hundred children, and the other six hundred and fifty. The Gentiles have not so many. When they come from their houses in the morning, they pray to the first thing they meet, and honour it as their God for that day. The king of the Gentiles is very rich in gold. In this island are reeds as big as a man's leg, and full of clear water, which are wholesome to drink.

The 12th of November the king of Tidore appointed the Spaniards a warehouse in the city, where they might sell their merchandize. The manner of exchange was as follows: For ten yards of good red cloth they received one bahar of cloves, which amounted to four cantars. A cantar and six pounds is an hundred weight. For fifteen yards of cloth, somewhat worse than the other, they received in exchange one bahar; for thirty-five drinking-cups of glass, one bahar; for seventeen cathels of quicksilver one bahar. They came to the ships every day, in barks laden with goats, hens, figs of a span long, a fruit called cocoas, and several other kinds of provisions, in very great abundance. They also furnished the ships with fresh water, which is hot when it issues from the spring, but very cold when it has stood a little while in another place. It springs from the mountains where the clove-trees grow. They saw a cloud rise every day, which encompassed the said mountains. Some nutmeg-trees also grew on these mountains.



The king of the island of Bacchian sent the king of Spain two dead birds of strange form, about the size of turtle-doves, with little heads, long bills, long and small legs, and no wings, but long feathers, of various colours in the room of them, and tails like turtle-doves; all their other feathers were of a tawny colour. They cannot fly, except when the wind blows. The Moors are of opinion that these birds come from Paradise, they therefore call them the birds of God.

In the islands of Molucco are found cloves, ginger, bread of sago, rice, goats, sheep, hens, figs, almonds, sweet pomegranates, four oranges, lemons, and honey, which is made by bees less than ants; also sugar canes, cocoas, melons, gourds, and a very cold fruit, which they name Camulicai, and divers others; likewise white and red popinjays, and other birds of various colours.

It is not fifty years since the Moors first came to these islands, which were before inhabited only by Gentiles.

The island of Tidore lies in about twenty-seven minutes north, from the place from whence they departed, and from the Archipelago, which they named the Island of Thieves, nine degrees and an half. Ternate is under the equinoctial line. Macchian is fifteen minutes towards the south pole; and Bacchian one degree. These islands are like four sharp mountains, except Macchian, which is not sharp. The largest of all these is Bacchian.

When the Spaniards departed from the Molucco islands, the kings accompanied them with their canoes to an island called Mare, where they laid in a stock of fresh water and fuel. The kings of Molucco, after sending many presents to the king of Spain, and embracing the crews of the ships, departed with tears in their eyes. On departing, the Spaniards fired their ordnance.

In the island of Mare they perceived that one of their ships leaked, by which they were forced to stay there three days; but seeing that they could find no remedy, they determined to leave her, giving orders, that if afterwards she should be repaired, they should return into Spain as well as they could.

Departing from the island of Mare, and directing their course towards the south-west, with only forty-six men and thirteen Indians in their ship, they passed by several islands.

They remained fifteen days in the island of Mallua to repair their ships. All the fields of this island are full of long and round pepper, and is situate towards the antarctic pole eight degrees and an half, and is in the longitude of one hundred and sixty-nine degrees and forty minutes. The people are men-eaters. The women use bows and arrows. The men wear their hair and beards in cases. In this island there grows much pepper, both long and round, with leaves like mulberries, and climbing like ivy.

The 26th of January they departed from Molucco, and the day following arrived at a great island, named Timor, being five leagues distant from Molucco, between the south and south-west. In this island

is found the wood of white sanders, ginger, and divers kinds of fruits; also sundry kinds of beasts, and plenty of provisions, and gold. The people of the islands of Giava, Molucco, and Lozon, resort to this island for sanders. The inhabitants are Gentiles. They say, that when they go to cut the wood of sanders, the devil appears to them in divers forms, and asks them what they have need of; and after this vision, many of them are long sick. In all the islands of this Archipelago reigns the French disease more than in any other place in the world. This island lies in ten degrees



grees south. Far from this, between the west and north-west, they came to an island, named Euda, in which grows great plenty of cinnamon. In this tract are found many islands, lying in order, as it were, directly behind one another, even to the island of the greater Giava, and unto the Cape of Malacha, in the East Indies. Giava the less is as big as the island of Madeira, and is but half a league distant from Giava major.

On the 11th of February they departed from the island of Timor, and took their course between the west and south-west, leaving the north coasts on their right, fearing, if they should sail toward the firm land, they might be seen by the Portuguese, who have great power in Malacha, and therefore directed their course without the island of Sumatra: and more safely to pass the Cape of Good Hope, they sailed about forty-two degrees toward the south pole, and remained seven weeks about that cape, with their sails continually aloft. The Cape of Good Hope is in thirty-four degrees and an half south, and one thousand six hundred leagues from the Cape of Malacha, and is the greatest cape in the world. When they had passed this cape certain of them, for want of provision, as also on account of sickness, were observed standing in for a haven belonging to the Portuguese, named Mozambique; but the others resolved to go directly for Spain. They therefore followed their course, sailing toward the south-west, for two months, without touching at any port: in which time there died about twenty-one of their company, and the rest were in danger of dying by famine. In fine, being forced by necessity, they put into one of the islands of Cape Verde, called St. Jago, belonging to the king of Portugal; where, as soon as they arrived, they went on shore for provision, declaring to the Portuguese what necessity they were driven to, and what miseries they had sustained; informing them further of their voyage, and such things as they had seen: they obtained some measures of rice. But when afterwards thirteen of them returned for more, they were detained; the rest on board, fearing the like treatment, departed with crowded sails, on the 7th of September, for the haven of St. Lucar, near Seville, where they immediately went to the great church, in their shirts, and bare-footed, with a torch before them, to give thanks to God, who brought them safe to their own country, and restored them to their wives and children.

After this ship San Victoria, which returned, and had discovered the streights, they were called the Streights of Victoria; which name passed afterwards to that of Magellan.

The other ship, which they left behind them to be repaired, returned afterward by the Archipelago aforesaid, on the coast of the West Indies, and arrived at Darien.

The Portuguese took the Trinity and the Castiliana at Tidore, and overthrew their factory. They built also, by leave, a fort in Ternate, and established a factory for themselves.

John Sebastian Cano, who brought home the ship Victoria into Spain, was well rewarded by the emperor. But much strife grew betwixt the crowns of Spain and Portugal, each challenging the Moluccos to his own division: cosmographers were appointed to determine the controversy, with pilots and judges on both sides; and after many delays, the Portuguese took the advantage of the emperor's marriage to the lady Isabel, sister to king John of Portugal, who having need of money, pawned the islands and trade of spicery (going then into Italy to be crowned, 1529) to the said king, for three hundred and fifty thousand ducats, without term limited. In the year 1548, Cortes offered to repay that money for six years profits of that trade, and to leave



leave the same after that to the crown; but the emperor would not consent to it, and so continued till the crown of Portugal itself was annexed to that of Castile.

Before that time, some also attempted this discovery out of New Spain, by the South Sea; but unluckily, as appears by the relation of Juan Gutain, a Castilian pilot, who set sail from the port of Nativity, in twenty degrees, in the year 1542, and came to the Moluccos, where the king of Tedore gave them kind entertainment; but the weakness of their ship forced them to agree with the Spaniards.

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### EXTRACT *from* HERRERA.

At length Magellan sailed on board the ship *Trinity*: though late in the year, the king of Portugal having used all imaginable endeavours to obstruct it; but the king of Spain assured him, that nothing should be attempted which might be prejudicial to the rights of Portugal; however, the Portuguese comforted themselves by saying, that all the expence of those ships would be thrown away, for Magellan was a talkative man, who had little in him, and consequently would make nothing of that undertaking.

They held on their course south and by west, on which the captains questioned Magellan for not steering south-west, as he had promised to do at Seville; he answered, that they should follow him, and ask no more questions. They still contending, that the course they held would bring them in upon the coast of Guinea. He replied, that it was their duty to follow his flag by day, and his light by night, and no farther account would be given them. Thus the fleet sailed on fifteen days to the coast of Guinea, where they were so becalmed for twenty days more, that they did not advance three leagues; after which they had contrary winds for a month, with such dreadful storms, that they were several times upon the point of cutting away their masts, their round tops almost touching the water. During those tempests, the seamen said, they saw the light on the round tops, which the Spaniards call *Santelmo*, and the ancients named *Castor* and *Pollux*, being some sort of exhalation, which is accounted a good presage. At this time Magellan ordered the men should be brought to a settled allowance of half an azumbre of wine, three quarts of water, and a pound and a half of bread.

Whilst they were in the river of Janeiro, on Sunday the 17th of December, at thirty minutes after four in the morning, being seven hours and thirty minutes before noon, the moon appeared above the eastern horizon, twenty-eight degrees and thirty minutes, and Jupiter above her, in thirty-three degrees fifteen minutes. Deducting the altitude of the moon from that of Jupiter, the difference was four degrees and forty-five minutes. Sunday the 18th of December, having taken the sun's altitude, in the same river Janeiro, they found it in eighty-nine degrees and forty minutes, whence deducting the declination, they found themselves in twenty-three degrees forty-five minutes of south latitude. They staid in this river till Christmas-eve, when they fell down to the mouth of it, and departed on St. Stephen's day. On the feast of St. John, being the 27th of December, they sailed along the coast till Saturday the 31st of December, when they found the sun's altitude eighty-six degrees forty-five minutes, and the shade to the northward; the complement to ninety is three degrees fifteen



fifteen minutes, to which, adding twenty-two degrees eight minutes declination, they found themselves in the latitude of twenty-five degrees twenty-three minutes.

Magellan departing from Rio de Janeiro, at the latter end of the year 1519, held on his course till they found the latitude thirty-four degrees. The 11th they ran along the coast, which is very low, so that they could not make any other land-marks, except three hills that looked like islands, which the pilot said were Cape St. Mary, and knew it by the account he had from John de Lisboa, a Portuguese pilot, who had been there. The 12th they came to an anchor, and rode a great part of the night in a violent storm at east, though their anchors dragged; but the next morning, being the 13th, they sailed again, and ran seven leagues and an half, when they anchored again in seven fathoms water, the bottom black sand. The same day they entered the river of Solis, since called the river of Plate, and sailed two days up it; but would proceed no farther, because they found only three fathoms water in the deepest place, and there was much murmuring among the men. Thus they coasted along about a league by day, and five or six by night, till coming to a very fine bay, Magellan went into it, to see whether it was not a strait; but finding no bottom to come to an anchor, they turned out again, calling it the Bay of Matthias, because they found it on his day. They were then in forty degrees of south latitude, and felt much cold; besides, that the farther they went, the fiercer the storms grew, and sometimes three or four days passed before the ships could come together again.

Advancing under these difficulties, they came to an anchor in a bay to wood and water. A skiff with six men in it was sent ashore, and the coast being dangerous, came to an island where there were many sea-calves, and such quantities of penguins, that the men were amazed. When the skiff was ready to go off, so great a storm arose, that they were obliged to stay on the island all night, where they expected to have been devoured by these sea-calves, or starved with cold. In the morning a boat came with thirty men, sent by the admiral to look for those six; they found the skiff forsaken, among some rocks, and fearing that the sea-calves had devoured those six men, they cried out aloud, whereupon above two hundred of those sea-calves came out from among the rocks; they killed fifty, and the rest got into the sea. They went on to the rocks from whence those calves came out, and found the six men hidden, almost dead with the cold, the water having come up to them. When their yards were hoisted in order to sail, there blew such a tempest in upon them, that the admiral's cables gave way, and he came so near some rocks, that if one cable had not held at last, every man must have perished.

They held on their voyage, and came to a very fine bay, which had a narrow mouth, but was spacious within, and thinking it a proper place to winter, because that season came on in those parts, for it was then April: they went into it, and met with great storms. All that while, the men, who had gone in a skiff for water, could not return, but were forced to feed upon muscles, making a fire at night, that if any ship should be drove ashore, they might know whither to make. At length it pleased God to carry them out of that bay, which they called De los Trabajos, or of Sufferings; and sailing along the coast, put in to the river of St. Julian, on Easter-eve.

On Easter-day, the admiral and all the men went ashore, to hear mass. Having resolved to winter there, he ordered the men's allowance to be shortened; whereupon, and considering the barrenness of the country, and the extreme cold, the men intreated him, that, since he saw that the country stretched away directly towards the antarctic pole,



pole, and no sign of any end appeared, nor any streight, the winter coming on severe, and some had already died by faring hard, that he would either give them a larger allowance, or return back; urging, that it was not the king's design that they should proceed upon impossibilities; that it was enough for them to have gone farther than any person ever yet durst venture, and that if they went on nearer to the pole, some outrageous blast of wind might perhaps cast them into a place where they could never get out, but must all perish.

Magellan, who was a man of resolution, immediately put a stop to any further innovation, by a speech, with which, the common people being fickle, and easily to be led away, were satisfied at that time, though there was murmuring still, for which he slightly punished some of them. However, their stay being very uneasy there, many afterwards were upon the point to mutiny, and Magellan sending his skiff to the ship *St. Antony*, to take in four men to fetch water; before it came to the ship, a man on board bid those in the skiff not to come near, because captain Gaspar de Quesada was there, who had confined Alvaro de la Mezquita, Magellan's kinsman, by him appointed captain, upon deposing of John de Cartagena, and the pilot John Rodriguez Mafra, and that he had murdered the master. Magellan hearing this account, ordered the skiff to return to the same ship, and the rest, and ask, who they were for? Aboard the ship *St. Antony*, captain Gaspar de Quesada answered, that they were for the king and him; aboard the *Victory*, Lewis de Mendoza answered the same, and John de Cartagena said the like in the *Conception*, for he had been set at liberty. Captain John Rodriguez Serrano, aboard the *Santiago*, said the ship was for the king and for Magellan; for he knew nothing of what had happened that night aboard the other ships. Hereupon Magellan considering the mutiny was so far advanced, that there was more occasion for boldness than lenity, ordered all his men to arm, and the guns to be ready. He then put thirty chosen men he could confide in into the long-boat, and five into the skiff, which last he ordered to go aboard the *Victory*, and deliver a letter to captain Lewis de Mendoza, and whilst he was reading it, boldly to stab him, and then the thirty that were in the long-boat were to come in to their assistance. Magellan did this, because he knew there were many aboard that ship of his side, and what he appointed was punctually put in execution; by which means the ship returned to his obedience without any opposition.

When he was informed that Lewis Mendoza was killed, he ordered the men to be upon the watch, lest the other ships should make their way out, it being then about midnight. Soon after they saw the ship *St. Antony* going down the river towards the admiral and the *Victory*, whereupon they both made ready, imagining they were coming to fight; but it was the current that caused her motion, the anchors not being able to hold her. Magellan diligently observed what that ship would do, no man appearing besides captain Gaspar Quesada, who was upon the quarter deck, with a spear and a target, calling his men, but they did not stir; then the admiral's great guns played upon the sides of the *St. Antony*. By this time Magellan had boarded the *Victory*, and entering his men, they secured Gaspar de Quesada, and the other guilty persons, whom they sent aboard the admiral; and setting captain Alvaro de Mesquita and John Rodriguez Mafra at liberty, he commanded a boat with forty men, to know who the *Conception* was for? and they answered, they were for Magellan. They asking again, whether they might safely go aboard? were answered, they might; which



which accordingly they did, seized John de Cartagena, and carried him on board the admiral.

He spent some days in examining into that mutiny, and found above forty men deserved death, whom he pardoned, because he had occasion for them, and did not think it convenient to gain ill will by too much severity. However he condemned Gaspar de Quesada to be quartered, and John de Cartagena to be left in that country. This did not put an end to the disturbance ; for a French clergyman that was on board the ship St. Antony, endeavoured to raise a mutiny among the men, and none consenting to him, he was discovered, secured, and adjudged to be left in that country with John de Cartagena.

The winter beginning then to decline, Magellan commanded captain Serrano to sail along the coast, to see if there was any strait, and if he found none within a certain number of leagues, to return. At twenty leagues distance he found a fine river, that was a league over, and that day being the feast of the "Invention of the Holy Cross," which is on the 3d of May, he gave it the name of Santa Cruz, or the Holy Cross, and staid in it six days, fishing, and killing sea-calves. Serrano would have gone farther, but a gust of wind rent all his sails, and the ship plunging, the helm started out, but it pleased God, that before another sea came, the head struck a-ground upon a flat ; so that all the men got safe on shore : the ship was staved, and all that was in her perished. They fed eight days upon shell-fish they found among the rocks, and intending to return to the other ships, knew not how to get over that great river ; but finding some planks on the shore they carried them on their backs, and being very weak, spent four days in coming to it, though they were but six leagues from it, eating herbs all the way. There were thirty-seven of them, and yet all the planks they carried could only make a little boat to hold two men, because being so weak, they had dropped them by the way.

Two men having passed the river, travelling along the country, at the end of seven days, they arrived at the ships in such miserable plight, that they could scarce be known.

Magellan was much troubled for the loss of the ship, but well pleased that the men were saved. He sent twenty men loaded with bread, wine, and other provisions, by land, to relieve those in distress, because the sea ran so high, that there was no venturing on it. They had suffered very great want, and were forced to thaw the ice to drink. When the bread came, they spent two days in passing over the river in the little boat ; Magellan distributed them on board the ships, and made John Serrano captain of the Conception. As soon as those men were recovered, Magellan gave orders to refit the ships, and for their greater security on shore, though they had seen no Indian as yet, built a stone house, where the forge was fixed. Here the men suffered so much by the snow, that three of them lost the use of their hands ; for that river is in forty-nine degrees latitude, and somewhat better, and the days were very short. The admiral sent four men, well armed, up the country, directing them to erect a cross at thirty leagues distance ; and if they met with any inhabitants, and the soil was good, to stay there ; but finding no people or water, and the country being a mere desert, they returned.

When the ships had been in that bay two months, six Indians appeared, and made signs that they would come on board. The skiff went for them, and when on board, the admiral ordered them a kettle of pottage, made of broken biscuit, to eat,



which would have satisfied twenty Spaniards, but those six ate it all, being so large, the least of them was much bigger and taller than the largest men in Spain. They were cloathed in mantles made of skin; their arms, large bows, and the point of their arrows of sharp flints. When they had eaten, and seen the ships, they said they would be gone, and set on shore. The next day two Indians came, and brought a doe, their mantles being of such skins. Magellan gave them two red jackets, and they went away well pleased. The next day one came with a doe, and said, he would be a Christian. They gave him the name of John Giant, and he seeing some mice thrown into the sea, asked for them, because he would eat them, and for the space of six days, he carried on shore all the mice that were killed, and then returned no more.

During the space of above twenty days, no Indians were seen, and at length four of those that had been there before returned. Magellan ordered two of them to be kept on board, to carry them into Spain, and the other two set ashore. Some fires being seen at midnight, seven men were sent at break of day to search that place; who, finding no people, followed the track on the snow, till sun-set, when being about to return, they saw nine Indian archers, naked, with each three parcels of arrows hanging at a leather girdle, one before, and the other two on their sides, and another thong about their heads, with three other parcels of arrows, that being their custom in war. They attacked the Spaniards, who had but one musket, and were so dexterous at shooting their arrows, that they killed one of them, and had it not been for their targets, they had all perished; however they closed, and with their swords put them to flight. Then returning to the station of the Indians, they found much flesh, half raw, with which they loaded themselves, and retiring into the wood, supped at a fire they made. Magellan was very sorry for the death of the Spaniard, and sent twenty men to bury him, and either take or kill the Indians; but though they travelled about eight days, they found none, and having buried the dead man, returned.

The five winter months, that is, April, May, June, July, and August, being over, Magellan ordered the ships to be made ready to sail, and upon a good observation, found the latitude to be forty-nine degrees eighteen minutes. When all things were ready, John de Cartegana and the French clergyman were set on shore with a good stock of bread and wine, all the rest much pitying them, and the ships sailed out of the bay of St. Julian on the 24th of August, this year 1520, and proceeded to the river of Santa Cruz, or the Holy Cross, which had been discovered by John Serrano, and there they continued all September and October, taking abundance of fish. Whilst they were in that river, on the 11th of October, they observed the eclipse of the sun, which happened here, at eight minutes past ten in the morning. When the sun was come into the altitude of forty-two degrees and an half, his brightness faded, and turned to a dusky colour, inflamed into a dark red, without any intermediate cloud, between the eye and the body of the sun; yet not so as to have his body quite darkened, either in the whole, or in part, but only the brightness of it looked as it does in Spain in the months of July and August, when stubble is burning near at hand, and this continued till he arrived at the latitude of forty-four degrees and an half, when the full brightness returned.

The ships departed out of that river at the end of October, and coasted along to the southward, with much difficulty, by reason of the bad weather, proceeding to Cape Virgins, so called by Magellan, because discovered on the feast of St. Ursula. Thinking there was a great depth, he sent two ships severally to view it, with orders  
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to return in five days. They did so; and the one reported, that they had found nothing but some bays of shoal water, with very high banks. The others said, that it was a strait, because they had sailed three days, without finding any end, the farther they advanced, the more the sea drove, and sometimes when they cast their lead they found no bottom; besides, that the currents being stronger than the ebb, that arm of the sea, or strait, must of necessity go farther. Magellan having heard the account given by both ships, and gone a league up the strait, came to an anchor, and sent a skiff with ten men on shore, to discover what there was. At about a quarter of a mile distance they found a house, in which there were above twenty graves of Indians: for it is their custom to come to the sea-coast in the summer, and there they bury those that die; and in the winter they go up their country. At their return, they saw a prodigious large whale, dead, near the shore, and abundance of bones of them; whence they concluded, that it was a very tempestuous place.

On the 28th of October, being three leagues to the westward of Cape St. Severin, upon observation they found the latitude fifty-two degrees fifty-six minutes south. Hereupon, it being then the beginning of November, the length of the nights only five hours, and the arm of the sea, or strait, lying east and west, Magellan concluding it was what he sought after, was resolved to take a further view, and to that effect sent the ship St. Antony, which passed into the South Sea, and returned to the great joy of the admiral and all his men.

Then Magellan summoned the captains, pilots, and other prime men, to council, and ordered them to compute what store of provisions they had, concluding there was now a certain passage to the Molucco islands. There being still sufficient provisions for three months, and he so full of courage, the generality concluded, that it was fit to proceed, and finish what they were about, not thinking it proper to return into Spain in a pitiful condition, when they had been out seven months. Stephen Gomez, pilot of the ship St. Antony, answered, that since they had found the straits to pass through to the Molucco islands, they should return to Spain, to bring other ships, because they were to cross a large ocean; and if they should meet with any calms, or storms, they must all perish. Magellan, very sedately, told him, that he would go on, though he was sure to eat the hides that were about the yard. He then ordered proclamation to be made on board the ships, that no man should presume, on pain of death, to talk of the voyage, or of the provisions, because he was to sail the next morning. It was observed that the country was very sharp and cold, and because they saw many fires in the night, he called it Terra del Fuego, that is, the Land of Fire.

The next morning the ships sailed, and advanced fifty leagues along the straits, the lands on both sides appearing very beautiful. In some places the breadth of it was somewhat better than a musket shot, and in others it formed very fine bays. When passed those fifty leagues, they entered between some mountains covered with snow, except upon the edges of the strait, where there were great woods of tall trees of several sorts. Perceiving that another arm of the sea turned off among certain mountains, he ordered the ship St. Antony to go that way upon discovery, and to return in three days. When gone, the admiral advanced one day with the other ships, and came to an anchor to wait for her, and laying there six days, when he sent the ship Victory in quest of the St. Antony; which not being found in three days, he went himself with three ships to seek her, though Andrew of St. Martin advised him not to trouble himself, because he believed that ship was gone back to Spain. However he



spent six days in seeking after her, and being concerned for want of the provisions, held on his voyage.

On the 27th of November he came out into the South Sea, being the first that ever went that way. They reckoned this strait to be about one hundred leagues in length. Coming out of it, they perceived the land bear away to the northward, which they looked upon as a good sign, though the sea was very black and boisterous. Magellan ordered public thanksgiving, and sailed away to the northward, to get out of the cold.

The ship St. Antony returned to seek for Magellan, and not finding him, fired some guns, and made smokes; captain Alvaro de Mezquita, would have gone on in quest of the admiral, but the pilot, Stephen Gomez, a Portuguese, and Jerome Guerra, whom Magellan had appointed treasurer, seized, wounded, and kept him confined, on pretence that he had advised Magellan to execute the persons before spoken of. They made Guerra captain of the ship, and directed their course for Guinea, to return to Spain. Magellan steering his course to the northward, was in a great storm, till the 18th of December, when they were in the latitude of thirty-two degrees twenty minutes; then the admiral gave order to steer north-west, and west-north-west, till they should come near to the equinoctial.

The 24th of December, upon an observation, they found twenty-six degrees two minutes of south latitude, having held that course above thirty days, without seeing any land, with much hardship, for provisions grew so short, that they were fed by ounces, and drank stinking water. Besides boiling their rice in sea-water, which was the death of twenty men, and as many more fell sick. At length they discovered two small islands, not inhabited, which they called Las Desventuradas, or the Wretched, because they found in them neither inhabitants, nor comfort, nor any refreshment.

Magellan entered the South Sea, advancing with his three ships into A. D. 1521. that ocean, which daily appeared more immense, finding the sun in his zenith in twenty-one degrees fifty minutes of south latitude, steered still on to the northward, hoping to find some islands, where he might get provisions, and sailed two thousand leagues without seeing any thing besides two desert islands in the midst of the ocean. They advanced eight hundred leagues farther, and on the 20th of January found themselves in the latitude of fifteen degrees forty-eight minutes, where they saw two very beautiful islands, inhabited by abundance of brutish people, who worshipped idols, and passed from one island to the other, being eight leagues distant, in canoes, the biggest of which could carry only ten men. They had well-shaped shoulder-of-mutton sails, made of palm-tree leaves; their food was coconuts, yams, and some small rice. So many of the natives going on board, that the ships could not hold them, Magellan ordered them to be turned out, which was done by force, because they would not go. Those Indians being provoked at it, returned in their canoes, and threw so many staves hardened in the fire, that though at first he had ordered that they should not be hurt, not being able to endure it any longer, he caused the great guns to be fired, which killed some, yet they came again to barter what they had for such things as they liked on board the ships.

One afternoon, as they were cruising by one of those islands, the Indians loosened the skiff that was at the commander's stern, and carried it away. The next morning he sent two boats with ninety armed men, to a place at the foot of a mountain, whither



ther they had carried the skiff. The Indians ran up the hill, and threw so many stones as if it had hailed; but as soon as the muskets were fired, they fled; then the Spaniards entered the town, set fire to it, killed all they found there, and carried off the provisions. The Indians supposing that to be done for the skiff, turned it out to sea, which Magellan secured, watered, and divided the refreshments, many of the men being sick for want.

The next day he sailed from those islands, which he called *De las Velas Latinas*, that is, of the Shoulder-of-Mutton Sails, advanced three hundred leagues westward, and discovered many islands, where there were plenty of provisions, and they understood the language of an Indian Magellan had with him.

Passing through them, they anchored at a small island called *Mazagua*, near a little town. The king sent a canoe with ten men, to know who they were, and what they wanted. Magellan answered, by his interpreter, who understood them, that they were subjects of the king of Spain, who wished to conclude a peace, and trade with them, desiring to be supplied with provision, which should be paid for. The king answered, that he had not enough for so many men, but would part with what he had. They carried on board the shipse four hogs, three goats, and some rice. That being Easter Sunday, Magellan ordered all the people to go on shore and hear mass; and a great cross to be set up on a high hill, to the intent that if other ships happened to come thither, they might see that Christians had been there before.

Magellan asked the king, whether there were any place where he might be furnished with provisions? He answered, that there was a great island twenty leagues off, the king of which was his relation, and would supply him with as much as he required; and being desired to send pilots to shew the way, he offered to go himself. Magellan made him some presents, besides what he had given before. The king embarked with some Indians, and when they arrived at the island of *Zebu*, for so it was called, above two thousand men came out of the town, armed with spears and large shields, who gazed on the ships with astonishment, having never seen any before. The king of *Mazagua* went on shore, told the king his relation that those were peaceable people, that had valuable commodities to barter; and desired he would furnish them with provisions, because they were in great want. The king of *Zebu* sent to inform Magellan, that he would in the first place have him establish peace; who returned for answer, that he was very willing. The king sent again to acquaint him, that his custom was, when he made peace with any strange nation, that the two prime men should be let blood in the breasts, and that they should drink one another's blood. Magellan said that he was willing it should be so. The next morning, when he expected the king on board to perform the ceremony, he sent word, that he took his good will for the deed, and looked upon the peace as concluded; on which Magellan ordered all the guns to be fired for joy, which so astonished the Indians, that if it had been done before the conclusion of the peace, all the inhabitants would have fled out of the town. The Indians immediately carried on board the ships a great quantity of fowls, hogs, goats, rice, cocoa nuts, yams, and other sorts of fruit, all which was purchased for hawk's bells and glass beads.

Four days after, when the men were recovered by the plenty of provisions, Magellan went on shore with his men to hear mass. The king, queen, their son, and all the prime men, flocked to see what the Christians would do; and the priest, by means of  
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the interpreter, gave them some account of the Catholic faith, whereupon they said they would be made Christians. The priest baptized them and all the inhabitants of the town, and Magellan ordered a great cross to be set before the church.

He then caused a house to be built for a factory, in order to barter for provisions; and having got some information of the island of Borneo, resolved to sail thither, hoping to get better information of the Spice Islands.

There were several kings in this island of Zebu, which is one of the Philippines, and they were sometimes at war. The king before spoken of being become a Christian, and owning himself subject to the crown of Spain, Magellan sent to command the other kings of the island to submit themselves to this Christian king. Two of them complied, but the other two took no notice of his orders; on which he set out at midnight, with two boats full of armed men, burnt one of their towns, and came away with a good store of their provisions.

The next day he sent word to the king of Matan, that he would burn his town if he did not submit to the Christian king. He answered, that he might come, and he would expect him. Although the Christian king advised Magellan not to go, because he was informed that the two kings who had submitted, and the other, whose town he had burnt, were already at Matan, with six thousand men; he set out with sixty men in three boats, and the Christian king bore him company, with one thousand men in canoes. He arrived at Matan two hours before day, but the tide being out, the boats could not come within a cross-bow-shot of the town. Magellan would have made the attack immediately, but the Christian king persuaded him from it till day-break, when he landed with fifty-five men, and finding no body in the town, he set fire to it, and was immediately attacked by two bodies of Indians, with whom he maintained a fight most part of the day, till the musqueteers had no more powder, nor the cross-bow-men shafts; which the natives perceiving, they pressed forward, and Magellan thought fit to retire, the Christian king looking on all the while, as he had been commanded. In the retreat Magellan was killed through his own rashness, together with seven Spaniards. The

king seeing the rest so distressed, came to their relief, and brought them  
**A. D. 1521.** off. This happened on the 27th of April, when the Phillippine Islands were first discovered.

Upon the death of Magellan, the Spaniards chose Edward Barbosa for their commander in chief, who being invited on shore by the Christian king, went with several of his men, who were all treacherously murdered there, as they were sitting at an entertainment provided for that wicked end.

Those that remained on board the ships understanding what had happened, appointed John Carvallo their commander, and sailing away, arrived at a large island called Quepindo, the natives whereof were Gentiles, but in the sea-ports there were Moorish merchants, from Molucco and Java.

Finding no rice there, they proceeded to the island of Puluan, where they purchased plenty of rice, hogs, fowls, goats, and other things, for pieces of linen cloth, knives, scissars, glass beads, &c.

Thence they proceeded to Borneo, where, entering the river, three vessels, called canamizes, the sterns whereof were like serpents heads gilt, came from the king, to enquire what ships those were, and what they wanted. On board one of them was an old man, the king's secretary. The ships saluted him with their guns, and he went on board



board the Spanish ship, embraced the commodore in a loving manner; and being informed that they had several commodities to trade, ordered great plenty of provisions to be brought; and the commander sent by him presents to the king, besides what he gave to him and his attendants.

Sailing from this island, they arrived at a bay, where they refitted. There they deposed John Carvallo from the chief command, and conferred it on Gonzalo Gomez de Espinosa, at the same time John Sebastian del Cano was made captain of the ship Victory.

After many difficulties, by the assistance of a Moor they had taken, they arrived on the 8th of November at Tidore, one of the Molucco islands, which they had been so long in search of. The king of this island, whose name was Almanzor, came on board. He bid the sailors that were repairing the buoys welcome; and when in the ship, he stopped his nose, by reason of the smell of bacon, because he was a Mahometan, tho' those people had not been in the island fifty years, they being before inhabited by Gentiles, who kept themselves then in the mountains. The Spaniards having paid the proper respect, made presents to him, his son, and all that attended him, and asked leave to trade in his island, which he readily granted, bidding them kill any man that offended them. He then viewed the standard, and looking upon the Spanish coin, said, he knew before, by astrology, that Christians would come thither for spice, which they might take in a good hour. He then took off his mitre, embraced them, and departed. After this the king took an oath that he would always be a friend to the king of Spain, and supply his subjects when they came to his island, with cloves and such other spices as he had, in exchange for linen, cloth, and silks.

The kings and governors of the other island came on board, and took the like oath, submitting themselves to the crown of Spain, and sending many presents and some youths.

When the ships were ready to sail, the Trinity, the admiral's ship, was found leaky, and there being no possibility of refitting it, without turning up the keel, which would take up much time; it was resolved, that captain John Sebastian del Cano, in the ship Victory, should sail away for Spain, by the way the Portuguese used to take from India, and to carry the letters and presents of the kings of the Molucco islands to the king of Spain.

At the beginning of this year, the ship Victory sailed from Tidore, A. D. 1522. one of the Molucco islands, with sixty Spaniards, and some of the natives. They touched at an island in eight degrees and an half latitude, that produces pepper; and then at Timor, where they took in white saunders, and saw much ginger and gold. Passing by Sumatra, they struck out into the main ocean, and steered south-west, to avoid meeting the Portuguese, and left all the coasts of India on the starboard side, making for the Cape of Good Hope. Thus they came into forty-two degrees of south latitude. They met with some storms and suffered much want, by which some died, and had not God favoured them with fair winds, they must all have perished.

At length they arrived, in much distress, at the island of Santiago, near Cape de Verde. Thirty men went on shore to get some water, and buy provisions, and got some blacks to pump, the ships being leaky, and many of the Spaniards sick. The Portuguese commander there seized them and the boat, and endeavoured to possess himself



himself of the ship ; but captain John Sebastian del Cano hoisted sail, and arrived at St. Lucar, in Spain, on the 6th of September, with his men very weak and fatigued.

They spent three years wanting fourteen days on this voyage, and mistook one day in their reckoning. They sailed ten thousand leagues ; or, according to others, fourteen thousand. Captain John Sebastian del Cano gained immortal renown, being the first man that ever went round the world.

As soon as the ship Victory arrived at St. Lucar, she was unladen. Her cargo consisted of five hundred and thirty-three quintals, or hundred weight of cloves, some cinnamon, nutmegs, saunders, and other small matters. The men went on shore in procession to return thanks to God for their safe arrival after so long a voyage. The king of Spain received captain John Sebastian del Cano very affectionately, rewarding him and all his men as they really deserved for having been the first People that ever sailed round the world.

The ship Trinity, which staid at Tidore to refit when the Victory came away, attempted to sail to Panama, but was forced back to the Molucco islands, and there perished. Some of the men who survived all their sufferings were at last brought over in some Portuguese ships from India, five years after their departure from Spain.

F I N I S.























